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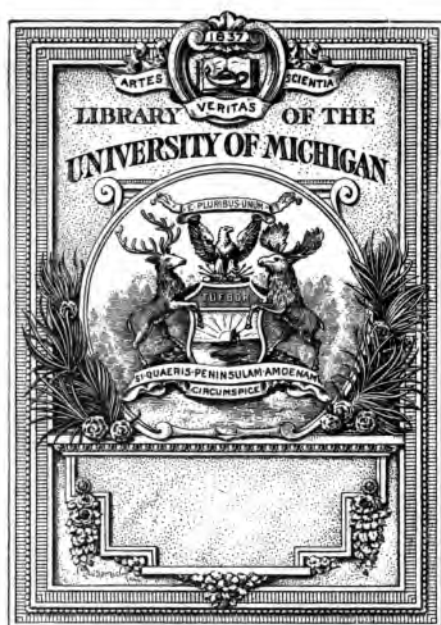
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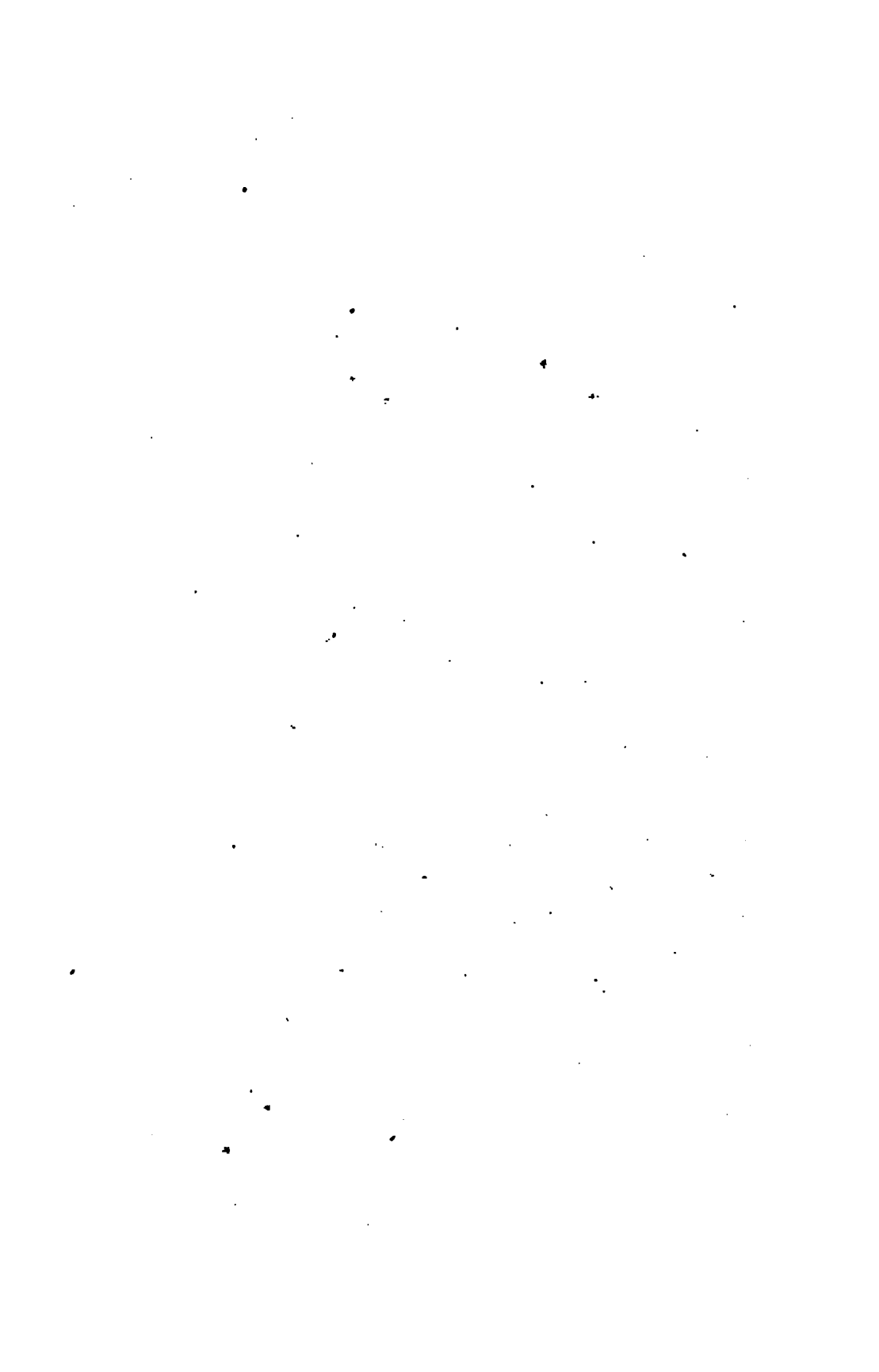


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THE
CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

JANUARY, 1862.

ART. I. — *The Scottish Ecclesiastical, Journal for October, November, and December, 1861.*

THAT our Northern sister, the Church in Scotland, labours under many and singular disadvantages, must have become apparent to the most casual observer of recent ecclesiastical events; and that these disadvantages are both external and internal, will have been at once perceived. For instance, the great disadvantage at which her clergy and people stand in comparison to the established body in that country, is one which tends very obviously to weaken her influence, and hinder her work. A hundred and seventy years have passed away since Episcopacy was finally dis-established, and the new system set up in its place; and, on the whole, these years have been judiciously used by the ministers of the Establishment and their allies to consolidate their own body, and weaken that which has been consistently enough regarded as an united corporation and an open enemy.

Every advantage, looking at the question from a human point of view, lay with those who, at the Revolution of 1688, were installed in the places of the ancient clergy. The people, in many districts, were, to say the least, apathetic; and though the lairds and their followers in one district of Argyllshire, and the Conservative landed proprietors on the Dee, in Buchan, and elsewhere, retained not only an affectionate and reverential regard for the faith and religious polity of their forefathers, but were linked to the outcast clergy by strong political ties, yet the Establishment had the advantage, and held its own with success. The old ecclesiastical divisions of parishes were, of course, retained; and to all appearance, but little alteration was perceptible in the services of the parish kirk, Sunday by Sunday. For long before the Revolution, properly so called, there had been effected such organic changes in the character

of the public service, as to render the Episcopalian and Presbyterian worship extremely like in kind. The demands of the Covenanters and their Puritan allies had been heard by every Scottish priest, and from time to time answered in the affirmative by not a few, with the full sanction of their ecclesiastical rulers. So that the period which immediately preceded the final change from 'Episcopacy' to modern Presbyterianism, was one which, owing to political and other causes, gave a remarkable impetus to the latter. The old system had been half buried in the vagaries and inconsistencies of artful politicians, and the ancient faith so obscured by those who were vainly striving to unite the conflicting creeds of contending factions, that the great bulk of the community, if not indifferent to the dogmatic squabbles of those whose tradition came down from Knox and Melville, were at least generally apathetic in regard to the teaching, both religious and political, of the expelled clergy. And it was only when the harsh cruelties of those who had gained the upper hand were experienced in all their continued bitterness, or when the news spread like wild-fire from castle to cottage that Prince Charlie was amongst them, and their old traditional love for the exiled Stuarts was rekindled and intensified, that the persecuted clergyman, who had recently undergone 'a rabbling,' was sought out, to gather together the trustworthy and the true, who silently cursed the existing state of affairs, and recount to them the former glories of the ancient Church, which were all the more readily appreciated, when placed side by side with the mean position and works of the modern establishment. Hence that living influence, which, towards the latter part of the last century, had so decreased as to present the startling fact that only sixty clergymen remained to represent the faith of their fathers to the people who dwelt in glen and city of the whole land lying between Dumfries and Kirkwall, seemed on the very point of extinction. But, as we know, it was not so. Persecution and penalties had done their worst, but had failed. The evening shadows of a day of shame and scandal had closed in; the night was dark, and the woes of the persecuted remnant were bitter; but the very blackness of the night told that the dawn was near; and so it turned out. During the reign of George III, prosecution of the persecuted Episcopalians began to be openly discountenanced; and those busy officials, who had become obedient servants of a now flourishing establishment, and whose works had been labours of love, found themselves both unsupported by authority, and in many places, especially in the North, openly opposed.

The communications with Archbishop Moore, of Canterbury,

which were first carried on by Dr. Berkeley, a son of the celebrated Bishop of Cloyne, who was then residing at S. Andrews, with regard to the proposed consecration of Dr. Seabury for the Americans, first brought the existence and position of the Scottish Church before the dignitaries of the Church of England. The actual consecration, which took place at Aberdeen, towards the close of the year 1784, led to still further good results. 'It first introduced me,' writes John Skinner, Bishop of Aberdeen, 'to the knowledge and acquaintance of some eminent divines of the Church of England. They were the men who thenceforth interested themselves so much in the repeal of the penal statutes, and in the grievously depressed situation of our Church, that for my own part I had only to inform them, and some invaluable and zealous lay friends, what my venerable colleagues and I wished to be done, and they did it.' From this period, therefore, the ancient Scottish Church began to revive. Political disagreements had mainly been removed, and fewer obstacles remained to impede the repeal of those penal laws referred to by the Bishop of Aberdeen, than had been the case since the setting up of the Scotch establishment. It is no wonder, then, to find that the number of the clergy is steadily on the increase year by year, while various towns and centres of interest once more possess their 'Episcopalian chapel.' In truth, from the opening of the nineteenth century to the present year, the Scottish Church has been steadily but surely lengthening her cords, and strengthening her stakes. And, though the latent Conservatism of her best members may have tended to render this important work rather slow in its progress, yet the continued increase, both in numbers, and in almost every other particular, has been most steady, decided, and satisfactory.

Side by side with this obvious progress, the establishment has suffered severely. In the last century, the secession of a large number of persons who are known as the United Presbyterians, dealt a blow which was most severe, and long felt. Within our own recollection, the rise of the Free Kirk movement, which for success in energy and progress has been unparalleled, has dealt such a blow, as may at any well-selected future destroy the establishment altogether, a result continually shadowed forth by the schemes and plans of those energetic Northern communities—and their name is Legion—who are evidently prepared to unite openly and cordially with the supporters of the Free Kirk for the accomplishment of this object, whenever a fair opportunity of success presents itself. Not of course that this, or any such important organic change can be effected hastily; but the continued and continuous sapping and

mining which is being quietly performed, cannot fail to produce its wished-for result ere long. The admission of dissenting professors to the Scotch universities, and the more recent Parochial Schools Bill, are evidently straws which show the current of public opinion. Nor can any one acquainted with the country fail to perceive how, in a variety of details, the actual superiority of the established community, as an establishment, over other religious bodies, is manifestly decreasing. We write it in no spirit of exultation, when we confidently assert, that recent changes and schisms have led to this result, and that the stamp of decay is visibly impressed upon this body. It usurped the position of the ancient Church, on the ground that the living principles of Christian antiquity were but the invention of men, and brought forth death instead of life. It has had its day and its time of trial. Position, and wealth, and power, all that the world could give, was given, after the rich and the great had taken a lion's share. But at best, and in its hour of success, it was but of the earth, earthy. Its tradition is but of two centuries, or three at the most. If the faithful ask for bread, the bread of life, the ancient truths of Pentecost, and the abiding gifts of the Comforter, could they be dispensed by those whose founders were fallible men, whose doctrines were the doctrines of Calvin, and who had rudely and ruthlessly, but it may be in ignorance, severed the links that connected the marvellous revelation of the past, and its mysteries of grace, with the present daily needs of famishing souls?

Therefore, it follows immediately and by consequence, that, when such results are manifest—when the earthly organizations fail, an opportunity such as has not presented itself for years, should be realised and seized at once by the Scottish Church. In many respects its position is inferior, while the difficulties which continually present themselves to the Bishops and clergy appear almost insurmountable; but, on the other hand, its ministers of every grade possess a freedom of action which is unequalled in any portion of the Church throughout the world; and, with the successes and failures of the neighbouring Church of England as constant guides and warnings respectively, ought to effect a work, which should atone in some measure for the apathy and deadness of the Church, when established under the Stuarts; and realise at the same time in practice at the present day, the pretty theories which—as far as Scotland is concerned—have as yet mainly existed on paper. Ere we point out how these objects may be most reasonably set about with a good hope of success, it may be well to place before our readers certain facts with regard to the Scottish Church, which, notwithstanding the

increased attention which has been bestowed upon her position during the past twenty years, and especially during the recent controversies—cannot but fail to prove of interest to many beyond her pale. For if in 1783, Archbishop Markham of York was totally ignorant of the existence of the Church in Scotland; and if—as was the case only quite recently with some of our prelates and dignitaries at the important meeting at London House, in regard to the diocese of Argyll—the ideas in regard to it were either manifestly erroneous or miserably imperfect, it may be that much which is here to be set down may be new and acceptable to our readers in general.

The Church of Scotland, then, when established, consisted of twelve dioceses and two archdioceses. The dioceses were as follows:—Aberdeen, Dunkeld, Dumblane, Glasgow (afterwards an archbishopric), Moray, Brechin, Caithness, Orkney, Ross, Argyll, the Isles, and Galloway. The archdioceses were S. Andrew's and Glasgow; Edinburgh was raised into an Episcopal see under Charles the First. At the present time there are only seven bishops, some of whom preside over united dioceses, as, for example, that of Glasgow, who also rules Galloway; Argyll, to which is united the Isles; Moray, who also governs Ross; and the Bishop of S. Andrew's, who likewise includes in his jurisdiction the dioceses of Dunkeld and Dumblane. The Bishop of Aberdeen has recently been requested by the Episcopal College to superintend the diocese of Orkney—the result of which has been that one of the Aberdeenshire clergy has been formally sent to Lerwick, an important town in Shetland, where Church people and Church feeling have never entirely died out, and has successfully established a mission there. Thus, at the present time the ancient diocese of Caithness is alone forgotten. Under each of the Bishops, appointed by them at their consecration, and ranking immediately after them in ecclesiastical position, are the deans, whose offices and duties more resemble those of the English archdeacons and the Roman-catholic vicars-general. By a recent decision of the Episcopal College in the case of Mr. James Smith, late Dean of Moray and Ross, a dean can be removed without the assignment of any reason, at any time, by the Bishop who appointed him. This question, which had been raised on a former occasion, was settled in another case by an exactly opposite decision—a fact which proves the need of the existence of modern laws, full and fair, founded on the ancient Canon law; for if this late decision become a precedent, the second order of the clergy lose a fair share of representation at a General Synod—before which, the various deans might be compelled to act as mere creatures of the Bishops; or else be summarily removed to give place to

those whose policy might be more acceptable to their spiritual rulers.

The total number of clergy is 168. Of these, fourteen minister to various congregations in Edinburgh, where there are more churches than in any other city or town of Scotland. Six are stationed in Dundee, where the Bishop of Brechin resides; four in Glasgow; the same number in Aberdeen and Inverness; while there are three in Perth, the cathedral town of the diocese of S. Andrew's. As regards the dioceses, the clergy are thus apportioned:—In Glasgow, 36; in Edinburgh, 30; in Aberdeen, 27; in S. Andrew's, 22; in Brechin, 17; in Moray and Ross, 16; in Argyll, 14; at Trinity College, Glenalmond, 5; in the diocese of Orkney, 1;—making a total of 168. With the exception of the Bishops of Moray and S. Andrew's, all the prelates of the Scotch dioceses are likewise incumbents of particular congregations—a very obvious disadvantage, considering that the churches are virtually governed by the lay-managers or trustees, who in most cases have the entire and uncontrolled right to dispose of the funds as they think fit, and sometimes hamper the Bishops in the performance of their episcopal functions to a very considerable extent. The Scottish Communion Office,¹ which, according to the express terms of the existing code of canons, is of primary authority, and is always used at synods, as also at the consecrations of Bishops, and the ordinations of priests and deacons, appears to be not unlikely to be quietly laid aside. Its peculiarity is, that it is more allied to the Eastern liturgies from the fact, that *after* the consecration by the recital of the words of institution, there occurs an invocation to the Holy Spirit, that the bread and wine may become the Body and Blood of our Blessed Lord. In many respects—even in minute details—it follows the form for celebrating the Holy Communion in Edward VI.'s First Book; in others, again, it possesses characteristics peculiar to itself. As we are now giving reliable statistics upon other subjects, it may not be out of place to add a few particulars with regard to the use of this Office in the various Northern dioceses, and also with reference to the frequency, or rather infrequency, of celebration in the different parts of Scotland.² In the diocese of Edinburgh, the Scottish Office is used in two churches, and the English in twenty-four, while, strange to say, the Holy Communion is celebrated weekly only in three. The diocese of Brechin, which contains sixteen churches, and is presided over by one whose

¹ Vide Appendix to Neale's Life of Bishop Torry. London: Masters. 1856.

² We are mainly indebted to the pages of the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal* for these statistics.

praise is in all the Churches, is even practically in a worse position, for there is weekly Communion only in two churches, viz., at Dundee and Stonehaven. The Scottish Office is used in six, and the English in ten. In the diocese of Argyll, the claims of which have been recently placed before our English Bishops, the English Office is used in fourteen churches, and the Scotch in two. The only church where there are either daily prayers or weekly Communion is the chapel of the College of the Holy Spirit at Cumbræ. In the united dioceses of Moray and Ross, the English Office is made use of in eleven churches, and the Scottish in four,—weekly Communion being celebrated in two. In the diocese of Glasgow, the largest in Scotland, the weekly Communion appears to be an institution entirely unknown, the national Office being used in two churches, and the English in thirty. The diocese of Aberdeen is still the stronghold of the national party, for we find that here the Scottish Office is used in twenty churches, and the English only in six. Of the clergy, twenty-four are in Scotch orders, and three in English. But while this is the case, the only churches where the Holy Communion is celebrated every Sunday are two, S. John's and S. Mary's, Aberdeen. In the diocese of S. Andrew's the Scotch office is used in eight churches, and the English in eleven—five churches possessing the privilege of a weekly celebration. In addition to the Scottish Communion office, there are certain other traditional customs practised, such, for example, as the use of the sign of the cross in confirmation—almost universal in the North—with these words: 'I sign thee' & with the sign of the cross, and I lay my hands upon thee, in 'the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. 'Defend, O Lord, &c.' (as in the English Form). The Holy Sacrament, likewise, is commonly reserved for the Communion of the Sick, and the late Bishop Jolly was accustomed to anoint the departing with blessed oil, as were many of the bishops in the last century. These are known as the 'usages,' and a record of the disputes concerning their adoption or rejection which arose about a hundred and forty years ago would fill many volumes.

The ecclesiastical organisation of the Scotch Church is, in some respects, manifestly deficient. It may be reasonably overlooked, however, when the severity of the comparatively recent persecutions are borne in mind. The parochial system is entirely overthrown, and, as yet, no attempt has been made for its restoration. Although a Scottish clergyman is commonly called incumbent, he is not the incumbent of a parish or district, but of a specific church or congregation, gathered from many parishes—in the country, for miles around. So, likewise, in

towns and cities the same principle holds good. If there are two, three, or half-a-dozen churches, a family can attend whichever may suit their tastes or needs. And when a clergyman is licensed or inducted, the technical forms—as appended to the Canons—used in granting licence or jurisdiction, have special reference to this highly anomalous state of affairs. Thus a very important ground is given up to the English schismatics, who, of course, are not slow in taking advantage of it. And it may, perhaps, be open to question, whether the mere use of the ancient titles by the present Scottish Bishops, in the face of the practice just alluded to, warrants a Scotch Churchman in maintaining that a general jurisdiction is actually claimed by the Church.

The incomes of the clergy are extremely small, and are, with very few exceptions, derived from pew-rents, and the weekly offertory. Perhaps the average throughout all Scotland may be 100*l.* a year. If in some of the large towns and cities their incomes be far higher than this, in outlying districts of the country they are very much below it. For example, it is stated in the Report of the *Church Endowment Scheme* just issued, that a recent annual receipt by the Rev. W. Temple, of Cumines-town, in the diocese of Aberdeen, amounted only to the miserable pittance of a few shillings over 20*l.* About fifty per cent. of the charges throughout Scotland are unable, both with regard to church and school expenses, to pay their way. Consequently, had it not been for the assistance which has been rendered during the past two and twenty years to these congregations, struggling under pecuniary difficulties, by the *Church Society*, which was instituted in 1838 with this express object in view, many charges and missions must have been unhappily and infallibly abandoned. During the year 1860, the sum of 1,995*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* was granted to augment the stipends of the clergy, in addition to about 800*l.* for the support of schools. Notwithstanding which, there exists so great an amount of unhappy apathy amongst almost every class as to appear well-nigh incredible when first considered. Attempts, however, are being made in good earnest, to remedy the present miserable state of indifference, and to induce all classes to co-operate for the general good of the Church, and none are more deserving of credit than that which has been recently set on foot in the diocese of Aberdeen. The following extract from a circular drawn up by the Diocesan Committee, will both plainly and tersely set before our readers a few facts, with which we are confident they are as yet unacquainted:—

*The Aberdeen Diocesan Association have had under their consideration the returns made to the sub-committee by the aid-receiving congregations, in

compliance with their circular of 8th December last; and with every respect for the praiseworthy exertions which have been inaugurated of late years by some of these congregations, they conceive that much yet remains to be done by most, if not all of them. They have come to this conclusion by contrasting these returns with each other, and with what they know to prevail among self-supporting congregations under nearly similar circumstances, and the difference in some instances is very remarkable. The congregations referred to are nine in number, excluding one which has become self-supporting since last year, and the following particulars may suffice to show the necessity of a better system being organised among them.

'In regard to the rate of seat rents, the sums paid yearly for each sitting by the class titled "Large Farmers" (which forms the highest class in the schedules, next to landed proprietors, and includes a few merchants, &c.) are as follows, viz.:—In one congregation, 2*s.* 6*d.*; in seven others (with the exception of one individual) from 4*s.* to 6*s.* and in the ninth or highest, 10*s.* 6*d.* In some of these congregations, the rates paid by the first class are lower than those paid by tradesmen and labourers: and in one of them the highest rate is actually paid by two persons described as "Servants," viz. 8*s.* 6*d.* per sitting, while the "Large Farmers" in that congregation pay at the rate of 6*s.* It is scarcely necessary to remark that what is now the maximum in these congregations, ought to be much below the minimum from the class of persons referred to.

'Nor is the smallness of the rate compensated by the number of seats paid for. In the congregation first alluded to, only two individuals, one with a family of five, and the other with a family of six, pay for more than two sittings;—these pay 7*s.* 6*d.* each, being the rate for three sittings. The highest sum paid by any of the rest of the congregation is 5*s.* including a merchant and a shipmaster, each with a family of five, a butcher with a family of four, a crofter with a family of six, &c. In another congregation, besides four landed proprietors, and two large farmers, occupying pews, there are other twelve large farmers, merchants, &c. paying on the aggregate 5*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* the highest being 1*l.* 5*s.* for five seats, and the lowest 3*s.* 9*d.* for one seat, and the average from each individual being 8*s.* 8½*d.* an amount which is exceeded by some parties under the denomination of small farmers, artisans, and labourers, in the same congregation!

'The Sunday collections are also unsatisfactory, averaging from less than a halfpenny, up to a penny, from each person attending.

'It is unnecessary to go further into such details. As already mentioned, much yet remains to be done by most, if not all, of the congregations referred to, and the Association are willing to suppose that the deficiency is mainly owing to the cause referred to in the circular of 8th December, viz., that the usual contributions are continued from year to year without the parties being aware of their inadequacy, and of the efforts which are incumbent on them, in order to make a more suitable provision for those who labour among them in holy things. The Association, therefore, entertain the hope that, on the necessary efforts being explained, means will not be found wanting to carry them through.'

Startling as is the state of affairs which the perusal of such a document reveals, there are other evils than the existence of apathy and the absence of money, which need to be remedied. A majority of the charges in Scotland, as regards temporal affairs, are said to be entirely under the supervision of laymen alone; a defect which, with the Independent system in England

before our eyes, we cannot but lament. For although technically and directly lay influence is small (laymen having no place or voice in Synod), yet, in reality and for all practical purposes, it is absolutely paramount. These, coupled with other facts of a similar nature, will enable our readers to realise something of the true position of the Scottish Church.

With reference to the late revival of Church principles in England, and its effect upon the Church in the North, the influence of the laity in hindering its progress has been—as a matter of fact—very considerable. For there can be little doubt that the Scotch clergy as a body warmly sympathised with the Oxford school. Nourished in the sharply-defined traditions of the non-jurors, with the corruptions and doctrinal excesses of the Presbyterian establishment ever before their eyes, they were not only prepared to accept the principles with which the early tract writers started, but may almost be said to have always held them. Circumstances, however, which it would be impolitic to enter upon, and not easy to explain briefly, led step by step to the originating of those unhappy Eucharistic controversies which have so seriously crippled the Church's resources, and marred her power for good. On the one hand, the influence of the laity—who in matters ecclesiastical are, one and all, staunch Conservatives—tended to oppose any change either for the better or the worse; while on the other, the rapid progress of events in the history of the Church movement, which those who did not live in its very centre sometimes experienced a difficulty in following, led others, who once were in the forefront of the battle, to retreat with allowable discretion, and occupy new ground. Added to which, the secessions to Rome—the Hampden and Gorham cases—the establishment of the Anglo-Roman Hierarchy, and other similar events, tended to throw popular opinion entirely in the opposite scale to that which was favoured by the Scottish clergy, and so to bring odium upon a movement which was always of a thoroughly loyal character, and the influence of which almost every religious community both north and south of the Tweed, has unknowingly experienced during the past five-and-twenty years. The 'Case' of the Bishop of Brechin, at least, was originated by a coterie of Edinburgh laymen; while the opposition to Mr. Cheyne, however personal in his own immediate neighbourhood, was, if not openly approved, at least tacitly supported by many influential 'managers' of so-called 'Episcopal chapels.'

Now, all such opposition, whether open or covert, must, as a matter of mere policy, be a grievous misfortune in a country where Presbyterianism is the established religion. If the Church

does not boldly put forth her true and special principles, and embody those principles in a consistent daily practice, which may be seen of men, she had better give place to the many imperfect organisations which exist around and about, and permit them to attempt the carrying out of that high and holy work, which, if she be not a living reality, she cannot successfully perform. The Church of Scotland is either one with the ancient Church of Ninian and Palladius and Kentigern,—possessing the self-same powers and clothed with the self-same authority, or she is a modern institution, the same in kind with the ‘Religious Tract Society;’ on a perfect level with Presbyterianism, possessing in addition the mere accidental grace of orders, and cumbering the very ground that she occupies. To descend from a high position, then, in order to gain a temporary popularity—as may be said to be the case whenever Churchmen, lay or clerical, maintain that the necessity of Episcopal ordination for the due organisation of a Church is an open question—is simply to commit ecclesiastical suicide, and to work such mischief by a thoughtless sentence as can hardly be remedied in the active labours of a lifetime. For if Episcopacy be not essential, why is actual schism continually committed by Episcopalians? on what grounds do they remain aliens from the Scottish establishment; especially now that the harsh and ugly outlines of a rigid Calvinism have given place to the pleasing platitudes of a not less dangerous, but more insidious, heresy, in the practical teaching of that community?

But to pass on to those practical works which have mainly resulted from the vitality manifested within this communion during the last twenty years—the *post hoc*, if not the *propter hoc*, of the Oxford movement.

One of the first was the foundation and establishment of the College of the Holy Trinity at Glenalmond. It had been long seen with regret by many, that, while the customary education at the Scottish universities, in weight and character, was about on a par with that given at our third-rate English grammar-schools, the moral training and the higher portions of true education were, if not actually neglected, of the most superficial and unsatisfactory character, and the *ἡθος* low both in type and kind. This was so as regards ordinary schools and colleges, while the training of candidates for holy orders was a process left entirely to accidental circumstances, or entrusted to the Bishop’s chaplain or some country clergyman. The only marvel is that, with such inadequate and incomplete machinery, the rulers of the Church in Scotland were enabled to gain their object in, generally, so successful a mode. In England the education had always been sound, even in the deadest periods of Church history. The foundation was happily of such a character as would well bear a

superstructure of size and weight. But, as a rule, it was far otherwise in the North; and, though in the face of existing difficulties, success was certainly attained by the theologians of a past age, this came to pass rather in spite of the system than by means of it. Hence the proposal to establish a college at Glenalmond was hailed with high approbation, and means to accomplish this object in part were found with a promptness and readiness which astonished many, to whom any bold scheme or great venture appeared, reasonably enough, but a castle in the air. There were to be two departments in the college; one for the training of candidates for orders, similar in character to the institutions at Wells, Chichester, and Cuddesdon; and the other for the general education of the sons of the upper—middle, and higher classes. As regards the former, however successful it at first appeared to be, its present condition is far from realizing the hopes which had been reasonably entertained of its success. There was quite recently not a single candidate for orders within its walls; and the general apathy which appears to pervade the great body of Scottish Church-people in regard to the lack of native pastors, is unaccountable and alarming. It is only when—as is the case just now with two or three dioceses at the least—clergy cannot be obtained to fill the vacant cures, that those who were induced to subscribe liberally for the establishment of a Scottish theological seminary at Glenalmond, express their astonishment at its failure. For truly the pressing need, which it was intended to supply, is found to come home to their very doors. As regards the lower department, the school is said to be filled and flourishing, though some assert that this result has been accomplished by a partial sacrifice of those definite ecclesiastical principles which were more popular fifteen years ago than at present.

The cathedral of S. Ninian at Perth, the college of the Holy Spirit at Cumbræ, together with various quasi-parochial churches of very different degrees of ecclesiastical and architectural merit, but all more or less founded on the models which were set forth for imitation, are likewise the more or less direct results of the same religious movement. The old buildings, of which but very few were consecrated, invariably termed 'chapels,' were entirely deficient in any architectural character whatsoever, and the services were of a correspondingly low type. In many country cures there are those still living who remember the introduction of the surplice; and the Scottish prelates only assumed the peculiar Anglican episcopal habit, when they were presented to the Prince Regent, afterwards George IV. at his levée held at Holyrood Palace. Before this, both prelates and presbyters wore the ordinary preaching-gown. Nothing could

have been meaner in character than the chapels, a few of which still remain in their simple and original integrity, to hand down an accurate idea of the depressed state of the Church a century ago. In most instances they were mere parallelograms, with internal fittings borrowed in character and arrangement from the neighbouring Presbyterian kirk—a high pulpit with cumbersome stairs against the principal side wall, with a low table and arm-chair immediately in front of it, galleries being added at each end of the 'chapel,' as at Monymusk, in Aberdeenshire. In others—as in the case of S. Andrew's, Glasgow, and S. James' Stonehaven, Kincardineshire—they were built in the form of a Greek cross, with the frequent addition of a high semi-circular gallery, which by no means added to the good effect of the interior. Of course this class of structure is giving place to others of a far better character. In truth, the modern buildings already referred to, together with S. Paul's, the Bishop's church at Dundee, S. Salvador's, in the same town, S. John's, Aberdeen, S. Columba's, Edinburgh, and S. John's, Longside, in Buchan, are quite equal in ecclesiastical arrangement and architectural character to the general run of similar buildings in England.

Nor are schools and school-buildings being overlooked. On the contrary, there is a most successful work being carried on, which promises fairly to yield an abundant harvest in the next generation. It should not be forgotten, however, that while the various Presbyterian bodies around make use of the 'Shorter Catechism,' in which partial and often erroneous dogma is taught of the barest and baldest nature, a corresponding policy must be adopted by those having the responsible management of Church Schools, in order that, on the other hand, the ancient truths may be implanted in a terse and dogmatic form. The danger which at present threatens is a tendency to overlook this most important point. Another subject of congratulation is the remarkable increase in schools which has taken place during the past ten years. In 1851 there were exactly 29; whereas in 1861 there are 123. The number of children receiving education from the Church in 1851 was in round numbers, about 1,200; the number now is about 10,000; there being about 30 boys' schools, 47 girls' schools, and 46 mixed schools.

In a *résumé* of educational works in connexion with the Church, S. Margaret's College, Crieff, which has been successfully carried on for years as a place of female education for the middle classes, cannot be overlooked, but deserves honourable mention, as also the Collegiate School, with special, though by no means exclusive, reference to boys who are contemplating becoming clergymen, at the Bridge of Allan. The Orphanage at Crieff, an Hospital at Dundee, are likewise institutions of

great promise, even if only they point out that the Church is beginning to realise her responsibilities, and to act with forethought and prudence.

But amongst the many signs of true progress which are visible on all hands, it cannot but be at once allowed that the result of the recent doctrinal controversies has been such as not only to deaden the feeling of activity, mar many a goodly scheme, and range its supporters in opposite ranks, but to weaken that active interest which was so generally felt by many members of the English Church in the position and progress of her Northern sister. Of the causes, results, and details of the late controversies, our readers are already too familiar, and have, no doubt, long ago formed for themselves a very deliberate and well-grounded opinion as to where the responsibility lies of having originated them. But we are desirous now of attempting to forget the past, in order that a united and well-directed effort may be made by those who have it in their power to do so, to rectify former mistakes, and to make such judicious amends as shall go far to restore peace and co-operative action. The mischievous result of the recent unhappy controversies are the single internal difficulty of any great magnitude which has to be overcome. For it was not alone the dioceses of Brechin and Aberdeen that were affected, but every nook and corner of the Scottish Church; and although it must be apparent to those who have been watchful spectators of passing events that her sound doctrinal position has been considerably strengthened, and her position in Scotland greatly improved; yet, on the other hand, the heartburnings, the jealousies, and the widened breaches remain, either in act or effect, and in some instances in both, as a beacon to warn her rulers for the future of what evils they may become the originators by undue rashness of action, or by an injudicious attempt to obliterate the time-honoured landmarks and traditions of a past age. As regards the Eucharistic controversy itself, it will, we suppose, be very generally allowed, that literary power and theological accuracy were more generally found on the side of those who were called upon to defend the line of thought which was attacked than elsewhere. Here, then, was a marked success, the effects of which can only be rightly gauged at a distance of time from the events in question. The Bishop of Brechin's elaborate 'Defence,' Mr. Keble's weighty and attractive 'Eucharistic Adoration,' in addition to the very able official papers for which Mr. Cheyne was responsible, did but gather up into one coherent and consistent whole, the various scattered fragments of Eucharistic doctrine which had been often actively taught, and to a great extent passively received by the ancient Scottish Church.

These, then, are points for congratulation. Again, as a matter of fact, if the results of the controversy are impartially summed up, it will be found that the most extreme Edinburgh partisan has hardly gained a single important position since a direct issue has been taken. True, Mr. Cheyne is condemned, as the Bishop of Brechin was also condemned; but the pure doctrinal question was left well-nigh untouched amidst the unsatisfactory verbiage and irregular generalities of the Court of Appeal. For example, Mr. Cheyne was plainly accused before his Bishop of teaching the Roman-catholic dogma of transubstantiation; but was on this point fully acquitted. He was condemned, nevertheless; and the terms of his condemnation, at least in November, 1858, point to doctrinal errors; but the main cause of his deprivation, as the Bishop of Aberdeen has over and over again asserted, was the contempt for the ecclesiastical authority of his superiors. And we have little hesitation in asserting that Mr. Cheyne's statement, that the Scottish Episcopal Church was actually and absolutely committed to heresy, had more to do in finally sealing the severity of his sentence, than even the original publication of his sermons. On the other hand, since Mr. Cheyne's deprivation, the Bishop of Aberdeen has formally instituted the Rev. John Comper to the vacated incumbency of S. John's, Aberdeen, notwithstanding that this clergyman was one of seven Scottish priests, who quite recently, and perhaps, some may think, rather injudiciously, challenged the Bishops to re-open the controversy, by publishing a volume of seven sermons, called 'Eucharistic Teaching' (Edinburgh: Lendrum, 1861), in each of which the actual language of Mr. Cheyne, which had been so strongly and specially objected to, was literally or virtually reproduced. This proceeding, as was to be expected, has given rise to criticisms which are not complimentary to Bishop Suther's consistency; but which may be reasonably enough explained, if it be remembered that very possibly that prelate, remembering past reverses, may have wisely resolved for the future to offer no bar to the restoration of peace. For certainly this deliberate official act may warrant us in hoping that so soon as an opportunity offers, means may be taken to modify the very severe sentence under which Mr. Cheyne is at present suffering.

As regards the Bishop of Brechin, the very terms of the document put forth by the Episcopal Synod at Edinburgh, on the 15th of March, 1860, show that he, too, was condemned; though the sentence—by a wise and happy inconsistency—was limited to 'a declaration of censure and admonition.' And the practical result was *nil*.

So much, then, on these questions. During the progress of

the controversies just referred to, the unsatisfactory nature and inadequate definition of the existing Scottish Canons have been over and over again made manifest. Drawn up by those who must have possessed an extremely limited acquaintance with the ancient Canon-law, and with no view to future necessities, they may be truly enough said to be thoroughly imperfect, and practically of very small value. The terms in which they are drawn are so vague, while in some instances their meaning is so ambiguous, and so many points are left for adjudication by those who may chance to be called upon to interpret their signification and force, that it is no wonder that their reformation has been almost universally proposed. Not but that we hold the Bishop of Brechin's decided objection to enter upon such a work *at the present time* to be good and valid; for there must, of course, be many difficulties to be overcome, even in clearing the ground for the actual work, properly so called, which may unwittingly lead to serious misunderstandings, if not to a complete dead-lock; many of them mainly arising from a remembrance of recent proceedings connected with the Eucharistic controversy. For example: it is a known fact that there is no Office-book, or a Book of Common Prayer, of any weight or authority in the Scottish Church. Nor is there even any perfect or authoritative copy of the renowned Scottish Liturgy. As regards ordination, the 8th Canon runs thus:—

‘The Episcopal Church in Scotland, therefore, sincerely venerating the appointment—(query? observance)—of the Ember Weeks, hereby requires that all her ordinations shall be performed at those seasons, unless for reasons of necessity (what are these?) the Bishop shall appoint another time; and also that all her ordinations be performed with public prayer and imposition of hands, and (as hath been the practice of the Church ever since the Restoration of King Charles II.), according to the “form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons,” used in the United Church of England and Ireland, adopting only a few necessary verbal alterations, such as saying “this Church” instead of “this realm,” or “this Church of England.”’

Surely this Canon needs revision; and if the authorities issued a carefully-revised Ordinal, adapted to the needs and position of the Scottish Church, such a step would not be a work of supererogation. The 17th Canon has reference ‘to the due administration of the Sacrament of Baptism,’ and refers continually to a ‘form’ and ‘rubric,’ though neither form, rubric, nor office, exist in the Scottish Church; and it is only by a series of argumental inferences, that an uncertain conclusion may probably lead the clergy to adopt those forms current in the Church of England. Direct law on the subject there is none. In the 18th Canon, the Catechism of the Book of Common Prayer is authorized to be used in public catechizing. The 19th Canon, which refers exclusively to confirmation, is remarkable,

inasmuch as it nowhere defines what the office is or where it is to be found. Custom has ruled that it is the English Office, with the valuable addition already referred to. In the 20th Canon, the clergy are required to 'pay attention to the spirit and design of the rubrics prefixed to the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper in the Book of Common Prayer,' and in the 21st are told that the 'Scotch Communion Office' is 'hereby considered as the authorized service of the Episcopal Church in the administration of that Sacrament;' but what this office is, or where to find an authoritative and complete copy of it, neither canon determines nor can bishop say. The English form for solemnizing matrimony appears to be sanctioned by the 22d Canon; but the following curious sentence easily admits of many meanings: 'In the Solemnization of Matrimony, such prayers only shall be used as are contained in the form prescribed in the (query what?) Book of Common Prayer.' The Office for the Visitation of the Sick *may*, not *shall*, be used. The priest 'shall be ready to administer all suitable comfort and instruction, *either* according to the Order for the Visitation of the Sick, as appointed in the Book of Common Prayer, *or in any other way* as he shall think most needful and convenient,' &c. 'He shall also be ready to do the last duty, when he shall be called upon to read the "Order for the Burial of the Dead," which he shall use as prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, as far as circumstances will permit that Order to be observed by the clergy of this Church.' The 28th Canon orders that the order of 'morning and evening service,' by which we suppose is meant 'Morning and Evening Prayer,' as contained in the English Prayer-Book, shall be used, declaring that both the 'words and rubrical directions' of these forms shall be strictly adhered to. But nothing whatsoever is said of the Litany. Now, without entering upon more difficult and involved questions, such, for example, as those which are referred to in the 36th Canon, 'Respecting accusations against Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons,' we have evidence sufficient with regard to the liturgical portions of the Canons to point out their remarkable vagueness and uncertainty of language, and their consequent need of revision. Added to which, the absence of a recognised and authoritative service-book, and of a formal, authorized, and sealed copy of the Scottish Liturgy, is not calculated to render the existing Canons more valuable, and the proposed revised form more complete. One hypothesis with reference to the Scottish Liturgy was some time ago set forth by the Bishop of Argyll, to the effect that the true Scottish Liturgy was contained in the Prayer-Book drawn up under Archbishop Laud's authority for the special use of the Church in the middle

of the seventeenth century—a form for celebrating the Holy Communion almost identical both in construction and terms with that of the first Prayer-Book of King Edward VI. Others have maintained, and do maintain—though the results of their arguments appear somewhat unpractical, however sound they may be as arguments—that because the ancient office-books of the Scottish Church were never formally or legally abolished by any competent ecclesiastical authority, they are still the legitimate forms at the present time. But this line of argument presupposes, of course, something more than a conviction that the present ‘Episcopal Church in Scotland,’ as it is commonly called, is identical with the Church of the earliest Christian era. Nor would such an opinion be held by any member of that school which is striving so hard to Anglicanise the Scottish Communion.

It is, then, with such conflicting opinions as we have merely briefly touched upon, actively existing, that the clerical and lay committee at Edinburgh are attempting to carry on their work of preparing a revised draft of these Canons for consideration in the various Diocesan Synods. Their work, as may be easily imagined, is by no means of an easy character; we may venture, therefore, to counsel that the greatest care be taken that nothing hasty be proposed, either as regards the allotted time for the consideration by their Clergy in general, or their acceptance and ratification by a solemn General Synod of the whole Church.

It must not be that any particular school or party gains an undue preponderance for opinions which have been wisely tolerated; nor, on the other hand, must all those ancient principles—if the Scottish Church be a living reality, and not a mere modern sect, with only a modern origin—be obscured, which alone will give a reality and success to the schemes which are set on foot for pointing out the old paths, and building up the waste places. For that there exist temptations to overlook both these important principles, and that too in high places, is manifest from recent events.

No! If the future of the Scottish Church is to become that which so many of her most faithful children desire to witness—if her stakes are to be strengthened and her cords enlarged—a policy different in kind to that which has been recently adopted must be boldly proclaimed and consistently carried out. And what this policy should be will be readily enough perceived from a careful consideration of those noble plans—so rife with faith and charity—which served to stamp a Christian impress upon the social organization of Europe in bygone centuries, and brought the Church forward as a patron of the arts, and the

truest and most successful promoter of civilization. Our Northern sister must be careful to adapt herself to the needs of the present day with a forethought and energy that will tend to ensure success; and, while the altered state of society and the shifting aspect of human knowledge are considered, a firm reliance must ever be placed upon those unchangeable principles which are neither shifting nor varying, but which have been found to supply the needs of every nation that sought them out, and to fulfil, in reality, the day-dreams of the philosophers of old.

As a matter of fact, Presbyterianism has been tried in the balance and found wanting. The upper classes it never possessed: the lower it is losing day by day: while the middle classes are just now being led away, especially in the towns and villages of Scotland, by the grotesque doctrine and practical eccentricities of the so-called Revivalists, a class of wandering religionists who (though in some cases really very earnest men) are inwardly feared and disliked by no body of persons more than by the ministers of the Scottish establishment, and, as we readily admitted at the outset, the advantages which this community possesses by being established are great, and should enable those who direct its affairs to retain that *prestige* which they once possessed, but which is gradually passing away from their grasp. Let the men of mark and position be reckoned up in any Scotch county, and, with very few exceptions indeed, it will be found that they belong to some other religious community than that established by law, chiefly and especially to the so-called 'Episcopal Church of Scotland.' So that were those who have it in their power, as far as temporal things are concerned, to reconsider their true ecclesiastical position, a proceeding which is much required, many of the daily-recurring difficulties of our brethren in the north would speedily pass away. Almost two-thirds of the country is in the hands of landed proprietors, who belong to the Church: why are they, then, passed over in appeals for carrying on Church work, for the more liberal-minded laity of England? Why has the Bishop of Argyll, for example, to enlist the sympathies and services of English prelates to point out indirectly, and through reports of their speeches in the newspapers, those plain duties which lie at the doors of every Church nobleman and laird of the North? Were publicity, in the first instance, courted there, such recent scandals as have been deliberately unearthed could hardly be regarded as patent facts. Until, therefore, such a change is adopted as has been shadowed forth in the recent proceedings of the Aberdeen branch of the Scottish Episcopal Church Society, the needs of the Church are brought out, and the duties of the

faithful proclaimed, the self-same miserable offerings will continue to be made, and the poverty and inadequate means of the clergy still unamended.

But this is not all. Money will not tend to increase the successful progress of a communion, unless energy, and zeal, and wisdom be present in the labours of those whose special work it is to effect this end. Nor will even these serve without faith. As Archbishop Whately recently pointed out, in reference to missionary progress, it was faith that enabled the first apostles of Christianity to work such wonders in conversions, and if we of the present century would emulate their deeds, and expect their success, we must have faith. It was a hearty belief in their mission and powers that enabled the revered prelates of a former age to bind together in a firm and secure Christian band, the persecuted remnant of Scottish Church-people. The lamp of faith was with them under their continued persecutions and trials. They worked for the safe keeping of the ancient deposit, and their labours were not in vain in the Lord. Their present could give them no consolation, save that which to suffer reproach for righteousness' sake most surely ever brings with it; but they looked on to the future, when the secular arm of the law should no longer be lifted in malice and persecution, and when the peace for which they daily prayed should become in its fulness, the abiding heritage of their children, and their children's children.

To insure a steady progress, therefore, this spirit must be duly cultivated; and with it, there must be a continual looking forward. Works must be wrought, not for the present alone, but for the future too. Let there be broad and noble foundations, worthy of the deeds of old, and others will come after to watch the rising walls, and lift the highest coping-stone. For what does the very name 'Church of Scotland' indicate? To whom, in the uncertainty of their creed, and in the difficulty of their wanderings, are the great body of the baptized to look as their true spiritual guides and fathers in Christ, but to the Scottish prelates, and those over whom they bear rule? Who are called upon, in comparison with these, to unfurl once again the glowing banner of the Cross, and plant once more that standard of salvation, to which the wandering soldiers shall flock? Did the Scottish Bishops, as a body, realize their high responsibilities, and their present great opportunity, how altered would the Church's position become! Unfettered as they are by any Act of Uniformity, they possess unwittingly—as the current practice of some of them would lead us to believe—powers which are only too seldom put into operation, and an elasticity of system which might produce rich fruit. But since the repeal of

the main portion of the persecuting statutes, too little has been effected towards a more perfect restoration of the ancient organization. The authorities, too, appear still to imagine that the laws are presently in force; and, consequently, shrink from that publicity which it would be very often their obvious interest to court. Again; why are there only seven instead of fourteen Bishops, as of old? If the presence of a priest is so necessary and valuable for preserving intact the ancient congregations, and for gathering together new ones, why is not the Bishop needed likewise? Is it that 'Evangelical truth and apostolic order'—the motto of every 'Scottish Episcopal' tract and the climax of every sermon, are merely principles for paper and not for energetic vitality? If the united dioceses were separated, and new Bishops appointed over them, as well as the Sees of Caithness and Orkney filled, it would hardly be so easy for a single prelate to wield and exercise so personal an influence as was put forward upon recent occasions. Independent of which, a new life would be given to districts where for years the Episcopate has been unknown; and where the true principles of the Church are appreciated in a far less degree than in Honolulu and British Columbia.

While we are upon this part of our subject, we may call the attention of our readers to a collateral question of some importance, which has been very judiciously and ably raised, by a Scottish Churchman of position—Mr. George Gordon, the British Minister at the Court of Wurtemberg. He proposes, that the Cathedral system should be more generally re-introduced into Scotland, and puts before the Bishop of his diocese (Aberdeen) a practical proposition with regard to the erection of a new cathedral in that city.¹ Mr. Beresford Hope's recent work upon 'The English Cathedral of the Nineteenth Century' has evidently been the book which has brought before Mr. Gordon the suggestion of such a plan—which is proposed in modest and yet plain-spoken language. All that is here set forth will at once commend itself cordially to our readers:—

'Allow me, my lord, to offer a few considerations, however imperfect and hastily thrown together, which seem very strongly to urge the necessity and advantage of having a mother-church in every diocese.

'The very existence of a diocese implies the necessity of a cathedral for the Bishop. The Bishop was in the beginnings of Christianity the incumbent of each church that was founded. He was surrounded by his clergy, and, as churches in the diocese multiplied, he appointed the priests to minister therein under his superintendence. But the mother-church was the Bishop's peculiar

¹ A New Cathedral for Aberdeen, considered in a Letter to the Right Rev. Thomas George, Lord Bishop of Aberdeen, from G. J. R. Gordon, Esq. the younger, of Ellon, Aberdeenshire, &c. London: Masters. 1861.

care, at the high altar of which he officiated in the Divine mysteries, and whence, surrounded by his clergy, and in process of time by the cathedral chapter, he directed the diocesan concerns. It is in the cathedral (within the material walls of the mother-church) that the Bishop's throne—as the symbol of his solely spiritual rule—is set up; just as the thrones of the Holy Apostles are set in heaven for the spiritual rule and judgment of the faithful all over the world. It is the cathedral chapter which ought to be at the Bishop's hand, ready with their counsel, aid, and their devoted obedience, to assist him in the difficulties of his charge: and, in the case of a communion situated as ours is, prepared to go forth—as did the early Evangelists of Scotland—who also formed societies of priests collected round their missionary Bishop)—through the length and breadth of the diocese, as the missionaries of their diocesan, to assist curates in their remote charges, and to found missions amongst the separatists by whom we are surrounded, and who, whether they admit it or not, are placed by the Almighty under your lordship's spiritual care.'

After pointing out that the services and usages of such a cathedral should follow strictly the ancient Scottish model, the writer thus proceeds with the more practical portion of his subject:—

'I feel confident, my lord, that I shall secure your lordship's assent to what precedes, and in this persuasion I venture to address you, although personally unknown to you, as well as to the greater part of my fellow-Churchmen in Aberdeenshire, in order to urge strongly your lordship's favourable reception and promotion of the proposal I take the liberty of making—that steps should be taken in order to add to and develop the plans for the new church of S. Mary—for which a sufficient freehold site has been secured,—so as that it should become an edifice adequate for the cathedral of the diocese, instead of merely a parish church.

'Should I be fortunate enough to obtain your lordship's adhesion to such a plan, I would further take the liberty of suggesting the following points on which to base the project, and the preliminaries for carrying it into effect.

'1. I venture to recommend, that the Scottish Office be decreed to be exclusively the use of the cathedral of Aberdeen, and that the Scottish Confirmation Service be invariably maintained there.

'2. I would propose, that a local committee and a London committee be formed, and that subscriptions for the cathedral be at once commenced.

'3. I suggest that an appeal should be made to the United States of America for aid in the work, in recognition of the gratitude professed by the "Episcopalian" Church there for the Episcopate which they received from Scotland, and specially from our own diocese, and in commemoration of the Act of Faith in the Upper Chamber in Aberdeen in 1784, which has since then fructified in those States to the extent of furnishing now, I believe, 150,000 communicants. Recollecting your lordship's previous connexion with the American Continent, and your present office, I would hope that your lordship would undertake to lay the plan and invitation to subscription before the Anglican Church in America.'

Now, whatever may be the immediate issue of this proposal—and we see no reason why, if ordinary energy be displayed by the various Episcopalian families of the diocese, it should not be successful—it is, at all events, worthy of record as a very practical step towards acknowledging the wisdom of the ancient Church, by seeking to use her well-tried machinery for present

needs. It may be said that the attempt has already been made at Perth, and that the result is not such as might have been expected: a fact which cannot be denied. But, as is easily perceived, from a consideration of recent ecclesiastical occurrences, one important requirement in the success of any cathedral is the cordial co-operation of the Bishop whose throne is set up within its walls. Now, without raking up old grievances, it may be fairly questioned whether any one has more considerably contributed to its failure than the English-born prelate who at present fills the see of S. Andrew's. The new constitution which he himself proposed in lieu of the original statutes, he has been the first to set aside. Yea, the very special rules and requirements which are peculiar to this new constitution are amongst those which, as Bishop of the diocese, Dr. Wordsworth was specially bound to carry out; but which, nevertheless, lie as dead letters in the practical work of the cathedral. At present there is a provost, one canon (who is likewise precentor) and one prebendary; but the other offices have been vacant for some years, and appear likely to remain so.

What, then, is needed, not only to ensure that peace which has been lost, and to bind in a bond of earnest co-operation the members of the Church in Scotland, but to maintain a sound and certain progress in the future? In the first instance, a bold and open rectification by those in authority of recent mistakes. What is true of royal authority, and what is implied by the technical phrase, 'the Queen can do no wrong,' may be said to be in its degree true of ecclesiastical judges likewise. They cannot be expected deliberately to recall their own acts or declarations. But first let the disposition exist to possess that peace which is no longer enjoyed; and with it that desire for the preservation of the truth—for without the truth there can be no true peace—which all parties, no doubt, have so greatly at heart; and then we may look for a change for the better. But there must be some sort of concession on both sides, and this can easily be afforded by all, if only the desire for charity first exists. Let the personal bitterness of the past be forgotten. Much has been learnt during the past four years; and the wise may gain wisdom both from reverses as well as from success. The sooner such wisdom is gained and acted upon, the more speedily will the day of success dawn.

Nor must that crying evil—the need of an increasing body of national clergy, equal, if not superior, to the ministers of the sects around in general education and energetic labour—be forgotten. The upper classes of Scotland, with literally one or two exceptions, have not as yet exercised that practical faith in

the mission and character of their ancient Church, as unreservedly and with self-sacrifice to give their sons to the ministry of the altar and the service of God. They have left the service of the sanctuary to be supplied often by strangers, and often by those of a lower social grade. Hence obviously arise evils of a character to which it is unnecessary more particularly to refer,—evils which become increased in effect when it is remembered how much of social influence was lost at the period of the Church's dis-establishment. If, therefore, any such rectification be attempted as appears to be required by the partial failure of Trinity College, Glenalmond, as a training institution for candidates for the priesthood, it must be effected upon ancient and well-tried principles, and in the ancient way.

Again, the missionary spirit must be duly cultivated. It is not the clergy only whose manifest duty it is to seek for this, it is the special part of the laity likewise. 'Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.' All classes must see the need of putting forth, both in theory and practice, the distinctive teaching of the Church of God, that so those who are anxiously seeking for the narrow way, may find it, and in finding it, possess the peace they desire. Scattered over the rugged passes of the North, in the quiet glen, and on the hillside, or overlooking the broad Atlantic, are the silent remains of kirk and chapel, where the ancient faith once lived and energized, and wrought its deeds of love, and where now only the broken cross remains to tell of those who lived and laboured. There was a day of pride and greatness, for their works were mighty, and their saints not a few. They are passed away with the passing centuries, and others are there with the old framework, but on the canvas there is but a mere sketch: the picture is not yet filled in, and the beauties are unformed and unpictured.

Shall there then be no future of success? is there nothing of hope to console and comfort the most hopeful? Far otherwise. The work of restoration has commenced. The walls of the temple are being repaired, while the workmen labour with the reverses and trials of bygone years ever in remembrance. They mark, for example, the leading cause which tended to render the democratic religious revolution of three centuries ago a success; and it becomes to them at once a beacon for warning in the present, and a promise of successful action in the future. Then the parochial tie between priest and people was weak or wanting, for the great majority of the churches in Scotland before the Reformation were served by religious from the many monastic institutions. Now it is far otherwise; and however inferior may be the present machinery

for work to that, consecrated by the use of centuries, which was tried and failed before ; yet, with faith, and zeal, and energy, it may bring forth wonders, and that change be experienced which so many long to see effected. No such opportunity is before any other religious community, and if the above graces were exercised, the day of triumph would come. 'Lift up thine eyes round about, and behold ; all these gather themselves together and come to thee. . . . Thy waste and thy desolate places, and the land of thy destruction shall even now be too narrow by reason of the inhabitants, and they that swallowed thee up shall be far away.' 'For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but with great mercies will I gather thee. In a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment ; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer.'

- ART. II.—1. *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church.* By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D. Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street; J. H. & J. Parker, Oxford.
2. *History of the Christian Church to the Pontificate of Gregory the Great, A.D. 590.* By J. C. ROBERTSON, M.A. Vicar of Bekesbourne, in the Diocese of Canterbury. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street.
3. *A History of the Church from the Edict of Milan, A.D. 313, to the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451.* By WILLIAM BRIGHT, M.A. Fellow of University College, Oxford, late Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Scottish Church. Oxford and London: J. H. & J. Parker.
4. *A Compendium of Ecclesiastical History.* By Dr. JOHN C. L. GIESELER. Translated from the German by SAMUEL DAVIDSON, LL.D. Professor of Biblical Literature and Ecclesiastical History in the Lancashire College. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
5. *Compendium of the History of Doctrines.* By J. R. HAGENBACH. Translated by CARL W. BACH. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

ONE of the theological charlatans whom it has been our fate at different times to meet, once broached the opinion, that lectures given to ecclesiastical students should never take in less than four or five centuries each: the idea of giving anything like a picture of the times under view, or a description of the questions agitated, being of course to be eschewed. Had Mr. Bright, for one, acted on this erudite plan—to say nothing of the ruinous effects that must have ensued to the minds of the pupils, to whom his book was originally in substance delivered—we should have lost a very useful, though compendious, work.

In sober sadness—but that the abuse of a thing is no good argument against its use—we could almost wish that none of our modern Church histories, or other manuals, had ever been written; but that we had been left, like our forefathers, to work out our information from the original sources, each for ourselves.

For one of the pernicious results of the cloud of theological manuals, histories, commentaries, compendia, and cram-books of every kind, which overshadow the schools, has been to call into

being a vast array of half-divines—pretenders to a knowledge which they do not possess. These sciolists go just as deep as their authorities happen to be able to take them, and no deeper. When they have used up the sources from which they have got what little they know, they do not continue to add to their knowledge, but rest content. Their quotations are trite and second-hand. They possess no knowledge of antiquity, and therefore they have no true value for it or for its teaching. Their opinions, if they can be really said to have any, are such as are likely to be gleaned from works which are composed with the object of pleasing the greatest number possible. They are content with passing for men of learning with the world at large, and are quite unaware of the fact that, when thrown with men who have laboured to acquire from first sources what they have trusted to their cram-books for, they are sure to be seen in their true light, and set down at their real value.

As far as they foster such a race, Church histories, we repeat it, and other short cuts to knowledge, are rather a bane than a benefit. But to the diligent and earnest student, who has higher aims than that of being a mere manualist divine, and who would use his history as it may and ought to be used (not as if the writer were himself the final authority, but simply the accidental narrator of events, and the indicator of questions which have to be studied in their fulness at the fountain head), it will undoubtedly prove a great help in the attainment of that knowledge which, if he be a Christian layman, can never be out of place; and if he be a clergyman, it is his plain duty to do his best to acquire.

Mr. Bright's history was, as we have said, given substantially in the shape of lectures to his pupils at Trinity College, Glenalmond; and we put him forward because our following remarks will be chiefly addressed to those of the same class, who are looking about for a good Church history to take as their guide in their future studies.

Setting aside as unworthy of serious notice the impracticable nonsense mentioned above, which would be acted on by no one whose mind held any acquaintance with the facts and doctrines of ecclesiastical history as contained in their original records; or who had any idea as to what Church history in its fulness is; and who did not wish simply to injure the minds of his pupils by pouring into them diffuseness of thought, moral laxity of tone and inexactness; nor was content to substitute the bare and superficial facts of manuals, cram-books, and secondhand aids of all descriptions, for the fulness and richness of the pages of those who lived amongst the events they described: we will venture to say a few words, not unfounded on experience, as to

the principle on which theological lectures should be constructed, and of what they should consist.

The object of such lectures is not to make the student a finished divine. That is evidently out of the question: want of time alone would render such a result impossible. No young man remains a student longer than two or three years, and it is but little that the most diligent can do in that time towards the perfect mastery of his subject. The lectures are to form and train the perhaps hitherto undisciplined mind to accuracy of thought and diligence of investigation; not doing his work *for* the student, but showing him how he may best do it for himself; not attempting to make him at the time, but putting him in the way of making himself thereafter, a theological scholar. Their object is to point out to the student to what he should especially give attention, and what are the best authorities in each phase and branch of the subject; and not least, through respect due to the presence of his lecturer, to whom as his senior and superior he is bound to look up, to raise his moral tone, and inspire him with feelings of awe and reverence for his subject. Should the lectures fail in any one of these respects, it may be safely asserted that they will do no good at all, but much mischief.

Ecclesiastical history may, in some degree, be compared to anatomy. As it is necessary that a perfect surgeon should possess a knowledge of every nerve, vein, and muscle, and nothing can be too minute or too unimportant for examination, but rather, the more minute any portion of the subject may be, the more it is likely to repay the trouble of careful and elaborate study and analysis—so it is with ecclesiastical history; the instructor ought to have mastered every principle which has been in discussion, and to know, and as far as his mental powers allow, to retain and be able to apply every fact, and educe from it its historical consequences or its moral results. Perfect knowledge of ecclesiastical history contains the knowledge of the Divine dealings with men as far as they have hitherto been developed and can be discerned; and surely none of these can be of too little importance to be worth our consideration. If, as is likely to be the case, time does not allow the teacher to extend his instruction over any very considerable period, we conceive that he can do nothing so likely to profit the minds of his pupils as to confine himself to some one great period of history, and thoroughly master it in all its details; that, for instance, from the first to the fourth general council, or even a part of it, say, as perhaps the most important period of the whole history of the Church, the sixty years between the first and second general councils.

Thus the student would have an opportunity of learning the importance of dogmatic theology. He would acquire some in-

sight into the first principles of that faith which is founded on the incarnation, passion, and resurrection of God the Son, and the different truths which this or that heresy offends against and would destroy. He would learn the necessity, and the profound importance of definitions, and be taught to construct them for himself. He would watch the gradual development of ecclesiastical offices and power. He would be taught what was the construction and the moral weight of councils, diocesan, provincial, and œcumenical. He would contemplate the virtues and graces, the patience, fortitude, and submission so wonderfully displayed by the greater of the names of the Church of the period he chooses to study, the exercise of which is by no means confined to days of controversy and persecution, but which every member of God's priesthood is to this day in some degree, more or less, called on to practise; and, most important of all, he would by concomitant study, which the teacher should never forget, of the commentaries on Holy Scripture, written by the Fathers of the age he is studying, have his eyes, in some degree, opened to the wonderful depths and varied treasures of the Holy Scriptures themselves, and learn how those Fathers applied them to the establishing of the particular truth which required building up, or to the overthrow of the heresies which called for confutation, in their day. A course of instruction like this would be found to furnish no bad test of the fitness of those who were candidates for future ordination. The careless, the idle, the sensual, the incompetent, in a word, the unworthy, might rebel against such a course of undoubted labour; but the diligent and the earnest-minded, those who really desired to make themselves efficient members of the priesthood, would, we may fearlessly say, find in it a life-long advantage. Such men would thus gain an impetus to theological study, which could hardly fail to bring forth fruit in their after lives. Devoutness of mind, deeper appreciation of the Christian scheme, humility, love, zeal for truth, if even for themselves, and in their own minds alone, would be among their rich rewards: to say nothing of the lesser acquirements of exactness of mind and thought; terseness of expression in their sermons, pastoral and other addresses; accuracy of scholarship for purposes of criticism; and, with these, increased powers of teaching and wider influence, in other respects, for good.

The question immediately before us is, what have the works placed at the head of our article done to forward so good an end? How far have they succeeded, and if they have in any degree failed, are there any, or what histories, so far, or in such respects, to be preferred to them? or is any class of works to be studied with them to supply their deficiencies in any particular line?

To answer this question will take us into a not, we trust, unprofitable discussion as to the merits and defects of some of the most important of the Church histories.

Those which on the whole are likely to have the most extensive use, are, we suppose, among Romanist authors, Baronius and Pagi, Fleury, Tillemont, Alexander Natalis: the Magdeburgh Centuriators, Spanheim, Basnage, Neander, and Mosheim, in his *De Rebus* and *Dissertationes*: of the opposite class, the Bollandists, Mabillon, Cave, Dupin, the Benedictine Editors, Butler, and the Martyrologists as Biographers: of our own Church, Burton, Bright, and Robertson; and lastly, we fear, Gieseler, Hagenbach, and writers of their stamp.

Of all the Church histories that are, or perhaps ever will be written, Fleury is probably the most popular and the most widely read. Not that he gives a truer, fuller, or more profound view than others of the principles, actions, or characters which he discusses and describes. Far otherwise, he pretends to no extraordinary discernment in or art of describing character; he does not show himself a profound divine; he has no great powers of description; he is no dialectician or master of pathos. His whole work contains nothing that can be compared in its way with the description of S. Anselm's life and trials by our own Collier, or with the death of Bishop Fisher in Fuller. Still, wherever there is anything of a theological library, Fleury is sure to be found, to be consulted on all matters of doubt, and perhaps to be regularly and seriously studied.

One, but not the only reason of this (or it would apply with equal force to the work of Tillemont), probably is, that French is more familiar to the great bulk of readers than the Latin of Baronius, Pagi, Natalis, and others, who have chosen that as the language of their works. But the chief reason of the place which Fleury holds amongst historiographers is to be found, in our opinion, in his pleasant and airy narrative style. Analysed with strictness, his history will mostly be found to be little more at bottom than a statement of bare facts, as they might be acquired by no very profound or varied study of the originals; but its real poverty is so artfully concealed by a flowing narrative—there are such pleasant and enticing digressions in the shape of anecdotes and remarkable passages in the lives of the Saints—the chief writings of the Doctors are so takingly, though superficially, analysed, that, like a general who extends his line to mask his want of strength, he gives the ordinary reader an idea that his learning is much greater and his thought and observation much more profound and extensive than they really are.

And, although a Roman Catholic, he does not, like Baronius, strain every nerve and do all but pervert actual historical

documents to prove that the Pope always possessed those powers and that place in the Church which he has of late years claimed. On the contrary, as a Gallican of the seventeenth century, he, by implication, if not directly, lowers rather than exaggerates the papal demands. His deficiency consists in relating the facts, whether of general history or of private life, without order or method, or attempt at philosophical system. He errs in this extreme as much as Neander does in the opposite one. He gives us no adequate idea of the councils; he contents himself with giving a bare narrative of their acts. He instils no life into their debates: their actors seem shadows, and not men. We gain from him no information as to canon law. He leaves chronology pretty much to take care of itself. Still the ease of his style and the pleasant manner in which he keeps the reader's attention alive, and makes even a dull period interesting, are without equal among ecclesiastical historians, and are worthy of all praise. Hence we recommend our younger readers to lose no opportunity of acquainting themselves with his pages. He will do as well as any other to break up the ground for them, and will preserve them from carrying away the idea, as they might do for instance from Cave or Mosheim, that no history of the early Church can have in it anything of heart or life.

Tillemont's work is, in some respects, a far greater one than Fleury's. His learning was much more accurate and extensive. He has nothing whatever of that superficial method of handling a subject which is vulgarly but emphatically called 'touch and go,' and which appears too often in the pages of Fleury. He knows that to have mastered thoroughly some one period of Church history is far more beneficial to the student than to have skimmed over the whole of it; and, in consequence, he does his work so thoroughly as he goes on, that a learner can strike in anywhere and take him as his guide for any period he pleases, sure of finding a truthful narrator, and (what is no small advantage to the beginner) of being made acquainted with the best general authorities, and not seldom of being introduced to a particular work which it is well worth while to study on its own account. It is impossible to consult his pages for any name or event in history, however trivial, without learning as much of them as can be known. He overlooks positively nothing. If he has a fault, it is that he is too minute, and, at times, too little discriminating of what is and what is not worthy of laborious narration. The gift at least of honesty cannot be denied him. So careful is he not to appear to give his own opinion for historic truth, that his plan is, to relate the events of each age in the *ipsissima verba* of the writers of the time, which he ingeniously dovetails

together, adopting the use of brackets wherever he adds anything of his own. To his text he subjoins notes, which seldom fail to contain valuable and original information. Among these, his chronological disquisitions, in which he follows, for the most part and as far as they serve him, a greater name than his own, Bishop Pearson, will be found most accurate and important. But the life and animation of a history must always proceed from the author's powers of placing before his mind's eye and realizing for himself the events he describes; and the plan of Tillemont's work renders it simply impossible for him to endue his pages with much of life-likeness. He does not vivify, or attempt to vivify, the characters he introduces, but passes them before our view as figures are passed over the field of a magic lantern, or as puppets are moved on the stage, of whose actions the showman, and not themselves, must be the interpreter. His characters are lay-figures, and not living men, *ὁμοιοπαθεῖς* with ourselves. As a putter together of facts he is perfectly unrivalled; but beyond the praise due to a compiler he has little claim. If, for instance, we compare his account of Arianism with Dr. Newman's, we see at once the difference between the mere collector of names, dates, and facts, and the thoughtful and philosophical historian. As a Gallican, his views are much the same as those of Fleury, perhaps in a slight degree more papal. As a whole, his work is one of so great value that we cannot consider a list of ecclesiastical historians at all perfect which, numerous as they are, does not include his volumes.

A more original mind than his is seen to be at work in the ponderous folios of Baronius. For thirty years he laboured indefatigably at this colossal undertaking, and he is said in the course of that long period to have gone over the history of the Church no less than seven times. It is divided, not like that of the Magdeburgh Centuriators into centuries, but according to the more easy and obvious arrangement of years; each year having assigned to it its own events, its date, and the names of the pope and emperor or emperors at the time. It is a history of the Universal Church, and not of the Greek or Latin Church alone; and it is no slight praise that one of the great scholars of the last century used to say of it, that although he had nothing more to learn, he could never open the pages of Baronius without finding in them some fresh food for thought. One of the most remarkable features in his history is his having brought to light, from the Vatican and other sources, a multiplicity of documents which before his time were utterly unknown. Had they all indeed been genuine, their importance would have been very great, but many are evidently forgeries, and he had not the critical *skill necessary* to enable him to detect imposture, and decide

between the genuine and the spurious. Moreover, his almost entire ignorance of the language of the Greeks compelling him to rely on the Latin versions of their works, renders his citations from them of little value. Indeed, he seldom tries his hand at that language, and when he does, is apt to make most remarkable and ridiculous mistakes. The weak point of his work is the ecclesiastical opinions maintained in it. The author adopts, as is known to all, the most extreme view of the papal power and prerogatives. To support them against the Centuriators formed, by his own confession, the great object of his work. Hence it is rather an apology for Ultramontaniam, than an exponent of the principles on which the Church is based, and by which it is governed. And the author is no lukewarm or wavering champion of these views. They appear in almost every line, and to support them, theories are often invented, facts all but perverted, and the plain testimony of antiquity overruled, ignored, or escaped from without hesitation, and just as the particular case requires. We do not think, indeed, that to the Anglican reader his arguments will carry much conviction. For they will see the lamentable shifts to which he is often reduced, to account on his own principles for the events he is describing. Thus in his account of the First Œcumenical Council, finding that Eustathius of Antioch, Bishop only of the Third See, had the first place at the right hand of the bishops, before the Metropolitan of Alexandria and even the legates of Rome, which would be well-nigh fatal to his previous theory of the Pope as universal bishop and *μόναρχος* of the whole Church, having caused Constantine to assemble the council, (a discovery which it was certainly left to Baronius to make,) he is much perplexed to account for so anomalous and extraordinary an arrangement. First he suggests that it cannot have been because he was *præses* of the council, for Eustathius himself confesses that he had not taken the trouble to acquire much information about the bishops who were present, which the president must have done.¹ Secondly, Baronius admits that it cannot have been because he sang the hymn before the emperor at the opening of the council;² or because he made an oration to Constantine;³ for Eusebius of Cæsarea also appears to have done the same. He has therefore to seek for a reason further a-field; and the kind of facts which he presses into his service, and the reasoning he constructs from them, strike us as being extremely original and characteristic. He finds that at the Council of Chalcedon the legates of the Roman see sat on the left, the Bishop of Constantinople next, and then the Bishop of

¹ Theodoret. Hist. I. vii. (8).
NO. CXV.—N.S.

² Eusebius, Vit. Cons. III. xi.
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³ Ibid.

Antioch, who, however, was his superior in rank, whilst the Bishop of Alexandria, the highest of all, took the first place on the right. This last fact is decisive of the question with him. For as the Bishop of Alexandria was at this time under accusation of heresy, Baronius considers it settled that at councils the place of honour was on the left. The reason of this arrangement may, he suggests, have been derived either from the left hand having been the more honourable in the ancient heathen sacrifices, or from Jacob having laid his left hand on the head of Manasseh, who received the higher blessing, and his right on that of Ephraim, who had the lesser.

And in confirmation of this view, he adduces the facts that the Bishop of Jerusalem, in the Second Nicene Council, stated that he had seen a picture of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the left, and John the Baptist on the right: that in the Western Church the men occupied the left side, and the women the right; and in the sacred pictures S. Paul was placed on the right, and S. Peter on the left. Instances innumerable of the like manner of arguing are to be found in his pages: this is but one of many. Of course with these cases in point, it is proved that the papal representatives did, as such, take the first place in council; that the powers of the Pope at that time were therefore all that he now asserts them to be; and that he was, in consequence, the one chief bishop of the whole of Christendom: that all spiritual power, and, indeed, all temporal too (it is a small matter), are, or ought to be in subjection to him, and he ought to rule the entire Church and all crowned heads as he pleases, *nutu suo*. Baronius' instances, when urged to their conclusion, prove either this or nothing; it is for our readers to say which. In fact, his championship of the Ultramontane cause is such as to damage rather than to advance it; for it will be at once concluded, that if so learned and zealous an advocate can say so little for it; if it has no better proof than his conjectures, and is supported to so great a degree by documents either evidently forged, or of no known value, it has but little claim to be accepted. Wherever it be found, it is not in history. Indeed there is, to our minds, no more complete indirect disproof of the Petrine claims anywhere to be found, than in the pages of this their most strenuous advocate. Had there been anything whatever to be said for them, the diligence and research of Baronius must have found it out.

But despite the defects inseparable from every production which is the result of mere partisanship, we place in the very first rank—for some things first of all—among ecclesiastical histories that of Baronius. No other that we know of approaches it in varied information. Its author does not, like

Tilleimont, tie himself down to a mere repetition of the words of the writer of the times he is describing, and when he has dovetailed them into one another consider his task done. He infuses into his narrative much of the vigour of his own mind, and makes his dramatis personæ not dead puppets, but living, thinking, acting beings.

Baronius too, we should remember, wrote under great disadvantages. With the exception of the Centuriators, none of the Church histories which now meet us at every turn had then any existence. He was almost the first to sink a shaft in that mine, which since his time has been so abundantly, if not so profitably, worked.

But Baronius should not be studied alone. It is impossible that a leader on a road so extended and hitherto so little travelled should not sometimes err; and to afford corrections here and there as needed, Pagi, of the order of the Franciscans or Friars Minors, composed his elaborate work. In this he exactly follows the order of Baronius, so that the two works can be studied year by year and page by page. Pagi is a kind of reviewer of Baronius on a large scale; and as such he corrects what appears to him erroneous and supplies what he thinks deficient in his author. The chronology of Baronius is the chief thing he discusses; and certainly one result of his strictures is to show how accurate in the main Baronius was in his calculations. But Pagi is not the only critic of Baronius among the writers of his own communion. The Church of Rome takes this author as its chief historical text-book; and all who have laboured in the same great field since his day—Tillemont, Fleury, N. Alexander—do not hesitate directly or by implication to protest against the exaggerated claims set up by him for the Papacy, and to set him right on other points on which he seems to them to go astray. In addition to these, such of our younger readers as may wish to study Baronius critically in his account of the earlier part of the first century, would do well to compare him with the work of Isaac Casaubon, which was written with the avowed intention of confuting Baronius, but was carried by its author no further than the year 34. We will dismiss our brief notice of this father of Roman Catholic historians, by recalling to the minds of our readers the advice of Selden, that ‘we should study Baronius ‘on one side of the question, and the Magdeburgh Centuriators ‘on the other, and judge for ourselves as to where between them ‘the truth lay.’

But among the historians of a larger scale we confess that we value very highly the learned and often profound dissertations of N. Alexander. In two folio volumes he discusses the history

and theology of the older covenant, and seven others he dedicates to the history of the Christian Church, her doctrines and customs, down to and inclusive of the Council of Trent. But although so voluminous and extensive, his work is much less oppressive to the student's purse than many histories that do not possess a tithe of its value. He follows the plan of the Centuriators in dividing his work according to centuries, instead of years like Baronius; but he does not, like other historians, content himself with simply giving a narrative of events according to their order. With him history is subsidiary to doctrine. And—which gives him his peculiar place as a historian—whilst he has a synopsis of the history of each century, he adds to it numerous and very valuable dissertations on the chief matters of importance, the doctrines, customs, antiquities and powers of the Church, the schisms, the different disputes, and doubtful questions of fact, criticism, and the like. These dissertations are mostly very full and satisfactory, and show their author to have been possessed not only of great learning, but also of a mind of much keenness and penetration. It is seldom that anything in his historical synopsis can be corrected, or that much can be added to his dissertations; and although he presupposes in his readers considerable acquaintance with history and theology, and writes rather for the theologian who already understands the subject, and who can therefore appreciate his speculations, than the beginner who has yet to make acquaintance with those first facts and first principles, the knowledge of which he takes for granted; yet, the study of these dissertations even by a learner will not be without the great advantage of teaching him how to arrange his facts in his mind so as to have them well connected, harmonized, and ready for use, and how to construct his definitions. His *Panoplia* also, or dissertations on the subject of the different heresies of each century, is very carefully drawn out, and is not beyond the depth of any who will take ordinary pains to master a branch of the subject which is not perhaps easy or pleasant in itself, but a knowledge of which is essential to the theologian.

It will not, we suppose, tend to our author's discredit with our readers to be told that he is one of those great Gallican Doctors who, from time to time, raised their voices against the exorbitance of some of the papal claims. In this he agrees with Launoy, Richer in his work on the Councils, which though condemned to be burnt was never answered, Peter Marc, Dupin, and others.

But we should warn our readers that Alexander Natalis, whilst he is in all questions of the papal power and supremacy a strong opponent to Ultramontaniam, does in some questions

of doctrine certainly take that line which, being supportable only by papal dicta as opposed to the voice of the Church at large in the writings of her Fathers and in the decrees of her Councils, necessarily tends to the result which on other grounds and shown in other subject-matter he strongly opposes. For instance, he has dedicated some pages of his synopsis of the history of the fourteenth century, to the defence of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary against John de Montesinos. On the other hand he as staunchly affirms all bishops to be possessed of the same intrinsic spiritual powers as the Pope, who, he maintains, differs from his brother prelates only in his pre-eminence and primacy as the successor of S. Peter, the bishop of the chief see, and the centre of ecclesiastical unity. In a thesis on this subject he says:—

‘Jus (ligandi et solvendi) in Apostolos reliquos et in omnes Ecclesiæ principes, id est Episcopos, ab eodem fonte derivatum esse. Falsa itaque, temeraria, verbo Dei contraria, propositio est quæ ab hoc privilegio excludit Episcopos et Concilia, in quibus manet Petri privilegium cum ex ipsius æquitate ferunt judicium. Hæc propositio; “Ad solam sedem Apostolicam divino immutabili privilegio spectat de controversiis fidei judicare,” episcopos et concilia excludit. Hac ergo ratione falsa est, erronea, verbo Dei contraria’—and he concludes emphatically—‘Propositio igitur quæ hanc potestatem soli sedi apostolicæ attribuit, absolute et per se falsa et erronea est.’¹

We think on the whole that if we were confined to a single ecclesiastical historian, we should prefer N. Alexander; for whilst his historical narrative is quite sufficient, and is for the most part exceedingly correct (though we admit that in this part of his work he does require to be watched and occasionally checked), his doctrinal dissertations are at once more full, more profound, and more lucidly expressed than anything of the kind to be met with in the historians with whom we have any acquaintance. In fact, treating it as he has done, he may be truly said to have made this branch of his subject his own. It seems strange indeed that in a Church boasting of such unity of opinions in her pale, there should be historians varying as widely from each other on one of their own first principles as Fleury, Tillemont, and Alexander Natalis on the one hand, and Baronius, Pagi, &c. on the other. To solve this difficulty however, is clearly not our business.

We now pass on to works with which our readers are, perhaps, more likely to be acquainted. We will take them in the order of the chronology of their subjects. No better guides to accurate knowledge of the history of the first and second centuries can, in our opinion, be had than the dissertations of Bishop Pearson, contained in his ‘Opuscula’ and

¹ *Sæc. xiv. Dissert. xii.*

'Cyprianicæ Dissertationes' prefixed to Bishop Fell's edition of that Father. His '*Annales Paulini*' forms one of the most carefully compiled and accurate commentaries, as to chronology, on the Book of Acts that we possess, combined with which is a short analytic account of the life and acts of S. Paul; whilst the '*Lectiones in Acta Apostolorum*,' concluding with Saul's departure, after his conversion, into Arabia, contains much valuable information that we should with difficulty find elsewhere, illustrative of the general foundation and early progress of the Christian Church. Succeeding to these come the two full and most elaborate dissertations, '*De Serie et Successione Primorum Romæ Episcoporum*;' and it is not too much to say, that when the reader has mastered these, there is nothing more to be learnt on the period of which they treat.

And we advise those who really desire to make themselves acquainted with the history of the Church in the first three centuries, by no means to neglect the Lectures on Ecclesiastical History, which they may read with or without his Bampton Lectures, of Dr. Burton. We think that justice has hardly been done to this work as a repertory of facts. The author seems to have ransacked almost every known source from which to compile a history, and it contains in consequence an amount of information which we seek in vain in works of far greater pretence. It is, indeed, scarcely possible to consult its pages on any point at all connected with the main subject without receiving full satisfaction. A somewhat extensive experience of its value on this account induces us to give it a higher place among ecclesiastical historians than would, perhaps, be accorded to it by the majority of our readers. We think that in this respect it bears the palm from the less complete, but pleasantly written, we might say fascinating production on the same subject by the late Professor Blunt. It possesses, too, that great advantage which more pretending works are too often without, copious and useful indices. Yet it must be admitted, that the book labours under serious faults. It is uninteresting in style, and, as we think, partially inaccurate in its chronology, at least in its account of the life of S. Paul; and the characters described in it, from lack of anything like vivid conception or freshness of description, are scarcely more to the reader than automata; they are sadly wanting in the realities of men of flesh and blood.

Neander is more likely to find favour with general readers than Burton, especially with those of a metaphysical turn of mind. We shall not attempt to present our readers with graphic descriptions of himself, or the accidents of his history, like the one lately drawn by the Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in

Oxford; for our business is to pass on to simple matters of fact: to state what we think the place among histories of the work of the great German, and what it has proved itself to us after some years of acquaintance with it. We should advise a beginner not to give much time to this author. He will, it is true, at first be greatly fascinated by his speculations; but his feelings will soon change. He will find himself perplexed by discussions which to him for a time can have little or no meaning. But when he has mastered the details of his work, and broken up his ground, then he will find it profitable to read Neander *with* other historians. His work, in truth, is not history, but his own deductions from, theories of, and refinements upon, history. Much of it is merely the result of the workings of his own mind alone. He does not give a statement of facts, or a description of events or of characters, but of what he supposes, or assumes, to have been the principles or the motives of the personages of his history. He substitutes philosophy, or rather, philosophising, for statements of facts; and in many of his refinements his correctness as to fact is a question. Not seldom, too, he is tempted to make a display of originality, where our own great divines had anticipated him; but, as might be expected, without his parade. The fault of his history is its unsubstantiality. Everything in it is seen as it were through a mist or haze. He must start an abstract idea, or originate some theory about almost every character of antiquity that he introduces on the actual stage. The personages of history who (to return to our former comparison) in the hands of Baronius are often like the bizarre figures of a dream, or a magic lantern, and in the pages of Cave or Burton are stone statues, rigid, lifeless, and immovable, become in his hands shadowy and unsubstantial figures, who exist not in themselves, but only in his theories as to their actions; ærial, transparent beings, through whom, by the light of his philosophising, we appear to see. Let Neander, we say, by all means be read, and be read carefully. He will teach the student of history to think, and suggest ideas the truthfulness of which it is wholesome and useful exercise to test. But by no means let him be read alone, or taken as the sole guide in the paths of ecclesiastical history. To attempt to attain to a knowledge of ecclesiastical history by his guidance alone would be like trying to hold water in the hand.

The Centuriators, and Basnage against Baronius, are each worthy of notice. They are both to be classed in the ranks of extreme Protestant writers. We should think the sum expended by a private person in purchasing the ponderous folios of the former, though not of any great amount, simply thrown away. The zeal of the Centuriators cannot be

doubted, but their learning was quite insufficient for the task they undertook—far inferior to that of our own great seventeenth-century divines; and in consequence they not seldom perplex the student, and mislead him into the mistake of imagining questions to be open which are not so, and of supposing that nothing more is known about particular points than they themselves know. If used at all, they should be checked, corrected, and filled up by the works of our own divines.

Basnage appears to us far more worthy of study. Indeed some profit is always to be obtained from him, which is not the case with the Centuriators. But he, also, writes in extremes, and in consequence more than one of the Romish divines have, from time to time, attacked and exposed his assertions. Anything said by him should be carefully verified, and therefore he cannot be considered, if taken singly and alone, a safe and reliable guide. Yet read with Baronius, whose work he has it mainly in view to correct, he will often be found very useful. The more so, as he arranges his history year by year, just as Baronius did, in order to afford the more easy reference to the work of the great cardinal. In fact, these two together, as far as Basnage goes, *i.e.* nearly to the end of the sixth century, would form by no means a bad Church history.

Another author of the same general class is Spanheim. His work, in the three folio volumes, may often be picked up for a few shillings. Each volume contains a different class of subjects. The first is dedicated to Ecclesiastical History, Chronology, and Geography, and its possession may save a student, to whom the cost would be a serious consideration, the necessity of procuring Charles à Paul, or any more modern geographer; for the maps, although rude and old-fashioned, with their contemplative lions, and human-faced serpents in the corners, will be found sufficiently useful and accurate for the purpose of attaining an ordinary knowledge of the geography of the early Church. The history is so far more complete than Basnage's, that he intersperses it with discussions on the doctrines and antiquities of the early Church. Some of the dissertations, indeed, in the second volume show a great amount of learning, and are of considerable value. That, for instance, in which he discusses, against the papal claims, the force of the Sixth Canon of Nice, may be said to exhaust the subject, and is alone worth the cost of the whole work. Spanheim has in one respect attempted to do that to which none of our more modern historians have thought needful, it seems, to turn their attention. He has in his second volume a diatribe on certain Liturgical ceremonies of the early Church; and though he views the subject quite in the spirit of a non-

conformist, and would have the cross in baptism, and kneeling at the Holy Communion abolished, or left, at least, to the discretion of each particular worshipper: yet the praise is due to him of having broken ground on a portion of the history of the Church which other historians have passed over in contented silence. Again, the elaborate and learned dissertation on the authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews, contained in his second volume, is well worth careful study, by all who wish to see how greatly preponderating an evidence there is in favour of ascribing it to S. Paul, and how the modern shallow and flippant argument against his authorship, drawn from the variation in this epistle from his usual style (as if S. Paul, like any other writer, could not vary his style whenever he saw occasion for doing so), is dealt with by a man of real learning. And we would recommend those who possess this history, and are curious about S. Paul's meaning as to the baptism for the dead (1 Cor. xv. 29), to consult Spanheim's dissertation on the subject. Although we do not suppose that any one will easily be induced to adopt his view of the passage, which is that τῶν νεκρῶν should be read (by enallage) τοῦ νέκρου and should refer to Christ, and so the meaning simply is, what shall they do who are baptized into Christ, or received Christian baptism; yet we know no modern author by whom the subject has been treated so methodically, or who has brought to bear upon it such a vast number of authorities both ancient and modern.

From the giants of the seventeenth century to the men of our own age and times, the descent is great. Foremost among the latter in some respects stands Mosheim, especially in the works which embrace particular periods only, his '*De Rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum*,' and his '*Institutiones*.' His history has been so well and in the main so truly described by the late Hugh Rose, that any words of ours would be superfluous:—

'Let any one take up Mosheim—and I mention his name without any disrespect, for he has done whatever could be done in his way, by actually wedging and driving in one fact after another into his pages, till they bristle with facts, and the heart and the imagination are alike beaten down and crushed to pieces—and see, when one has read his careful and laborious conglomeration of facts, what more we know of Christianity, as a rule of life intended to influence both individuals and nations, gradually to operate upon laws and customs, and institutions and manners, and gradually to cheer and bless all the sons of men.'

'We toil through his pages with a reluctant and weary spirit, without ever going beneath the surface, or beyond dry details, without one movement of the heart for the cause which he is recording, and with lively pleasure only when we can lay the book out of our hands.'

'In a word, in Mosheim there is no love of the cause, or, if the man had a heart, the writer thought it his duty to overlay his feelings with dry details of

barren facts, without the record of a single moral lesson to which they can lead, or a feeling which they can inspire.

If anything is stated at all too strongly in this extract, it is, we think, in the last paragraph. It appears to us that the faults he ascribes to Mosheim himself were the result rather of the nature or, to speak more correctly, of the scale of his work. He had to compress into a space much too small, the history of nearly eighteen centuries, and what could be expected as the result but that which we actually have? A narrative overloaded with facts, which makes the work, indeed, of value as one of reference merely, but destroys all hopes of its utility as a history. But in his *De Rebus* and *Institutiones*, where he worked on a better scale, we see that after all the author had a heart and a love for his cause; neither of them were, perhaps, very warm, and the mere literary antiquary preponderates too much over the man and the theologian even in them; but they have their value, such, and of such a nature as it is. We do not know where again to find a more full discussion of many of the points treated of in these works. By one man's weakness another may be made strong; and there is no need because a given historian presents his work in a dry and lifeless form, and reduces what should be living and breathing men to mere blocks of stone, that therefore the reader should not bestow some life from himself upon the inanimate creations of his author. Indeed, unless he has in some degree the faculty of doing this, he will soon cease to study Church history.

Of the work of Milner it is unnecessary to say much. His readers are, in all probability, few, and real students of his pages are, we suppose, fewer still. His learning is notoriously insufficient, and his principles too narrow, and they differ too much from those of the early Church, to make him any guide at all as a historian of her views and actions. The shifts to which he is put to conceal the narrowness of his reading, have been so thoroughly exposed as to have made his name anything but happy among Church historians. Indeed, his work is not in any true sense of the term, a history at all. The narration of a few leading facts is made the vehicle for thrusting on his reader at every turn, and however little applicable to the subject in hand, his own opinions, which are made the test and touchstone, in one manner or another, sooner or later, of almost every character he introduces. His narrative is too flimsy to be called a history or to merit any place among historians, and considerably the larger portion of the work consists of doctrinal discussions and reflections of a cast peculiar to a zealous and thorough-going Calvinist.

Hagenbach's 'History of Doctrines' is a work very likely to fall in the way of our readers. It is translated by a member of the Lancashire Independent College, under the superintendence of Dr. Davidson; and with Gieseler's, which comes from the same source, is to be classed as a text-book, rather than as a history. This account of their publication will form at once a barrier to their reception by most of our readers; and there is little in their contents to redeem this objection. They both take that low view of the higher doctrines of the Christian faith which might be expected; but in particulars they differ from each other. Hagenbach divides his work into periods. The first two, which is all with which we are at present concerned, extend respectively to the death of Origen and to the Pelagian controversy, and the statements are exactly such as might be expected from a German neologist, endorsed by a Protestant Dissenter. The one tendency of the book is simply to Socinianism. We would not wrong the well-meaning and 'orthodox' among the Dissenters by supposing for a moment, that if they knew the contents and bearing of this most pernicious and heretical work, they would allow their sons to be brought up under its teaching and influence. The idea of the Sacraments as held by the Church is, of course, out of the question; but whilst our Lord is formally, and in some vague sense, acknowledged in the text to have had 'a higher nature,' such notes as the following from Lücke, to say nothing of deductions from the text by the author and translator, show what is really meant:—

'The more I endeavour to realize the manner of thinking and speaking current in the New Testament, the more I feel myself called upon to give it as my decided opinion, that the historical Son of God, as such, cannot be called God, without completely destroying the monotheistical system of the Apostles.'

One such note as this, cited without protest, and therefore of course as what is true, is to us, and will be, we think, to our readers, enough at once to speak the utter condemnation of the whole work, and certainly to show the theological bearing of Dr. Davidson, and all concerned in its publication. We say, too, (and those concerned in its publication must make the best they can of it,) that the book is thoroughly dishonest, and with a dishonesty of the meanest and most cowardly nature. The author does not venture to say at once as a man of courage would: 'The Church or early Fathers held such and such opinions; the fact cannot be denied, but they were wrong;' in which case he would at least gain a hearing for himself; but he states indirectly, by *suppressio veri*, by implication—in short, by every indirect manner possible, that they held what they did not

hold, and does not state what they did hold. Frequently, too, we have found citations which are asserted to carry, or are made to carry quite different ideas to those contained in the full text of the original authors. Monstrous assumptions are laid down as plain and incontestable truths, and if a given fact or statement cannot be denied in its historical phase, it is immediately explained away. If the early Fathers held what is here laid to their charge, they would have been as far from holding the principles of the Apostles, as is the author of the book himself. Thus it is of course known to all who are in any degree versed in the works of S. Clement of Alexandria, that both from his position as a teacher in the school of Alexandria, from the nature of his subject, and from his own personal feeling, he is more full and explicit on the subject of the Logos, than any other ante-Nicene Father. Yet, whilst giving a long and well-digested note on this subject, and following it up by another, in proof that the 'Logos' of S. Clement is the 'Son of God' of Origen, Hagenbach seeks to undo his own compulsory admissions, first, by the illogically expressed assertion that 'the subordination of the Son to the Father was the necessary consequence of a rigid adherence to the idea of a hypostasis' (§ 43); and secondly, by the utterly false and unsustainable assumption that S. Clement was only induced by his speculative tendency to call the Logos Himself 'the creator of the world' (§ 47), an assertion found in all the Fathers of the Church, and which follows of course, and as a necessary consequence, from the doctrine of His Godhead. It is notable, too, that even semi-Arian writers, such as Eusebius of Cæsarea, in his higher phase of doctrine, admit the same fact. Let our readers take courage: if they have by any evil chance for a moment become entangled by the sophistries and false assertions of this writer, let them diligently and with patience study the great work of Bishop Bull—the '*Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*.' Here they will find all the questions which perplex the narrow powers of Hagenbach and his followers, fairly, honestly, and broadly stated, and as far as human faculties will allow, answered and explained. They will see that the points, not urged, but insinuated and implied as objections to the Christian scheme by these writers, are many of them verities intrinsically necessary and self-consistent, having also the outward testimony of ages; and that the real cause of the perplexity and errors of these moderns is simply their inability to cope with the subjects of which they have taken on themselves to be exponents. Thus will the honest inquirer learn how to answer such shallow sophistries as are contained in the work before us, and will obtain much of both sound and useful knowledge besides.

As we have bracketed this work with Mr. Robertson's and

Mr. Bright's, and intend to institute a comparison of an ecclesiastical history written by members of the Church, with one adopted by a Dissenter, we leave Hagenbach for the present, only adding further our conviction, that any competent unprejudiced person whatever who should undertake to compare the two, would at once confess that in truthfulness of statement, doctrinal soundness, moral tone and scholarship, the works of the Churchmen are immeasurably superior to the Dissenter's.

Gieseler may be classed generally with Hagenbach, although the difference between them as to doctrines is great enough to render it matter of wonder how the same person could have been instrumental in publishing both, and to make more inexplicable than it was before, what kind of thing a Dissenter's conscience, as to the doctrines of dogmatic theology, can be. There is one thing urged by Dr. Davidson in favour of Gieseler, which we think very significant. He tells us that, looking about for a text-book which he could put into the hands of his students, as the substratum of lectures on ecclesiastical history, he could find none so suitable to his purpose as the present. We are glad to know that no English Church history was found suitable to be used as a 'substratum for lectures on ecclesiastical history' by an Independent in his college, though we should have thought that Milner might have served his turn for want of a worse. The fitness of the German consists, we suppose, in his total ignorance, or ignoring of everything which we, as Churchmen, possess and value—the simple, clear, unwavering note of the trumpet that proclaims the doctrines of our Lord and Saviour in His Natures and Person, the Apostolic and Primitive Doctrine of Sacraments, and the truth, doctrinal and practical, of a Church—any of which, the last especially, might make Dr. Davidson's pupils sit uneasily under his teaching, and haply cause some of them to desert their seats altogether.

We heartily congratulate Mr. Bright on the fact that his work has no chance of ever being made a text-book in the Lancashire Independent College. If it had, we at least should not fail to denounce it wherever our voice is heard, but he need not be alarmed that we shall have to condole with him on attaining to the martyrdom of a promotion such as this—of being coupled with a Hagenbach and Gieseler, commented on and familiarly used by Dr. Davidson, and helping to form the opinion of those who in due time are to go forth to the good task of sowing dissensions, and hindering the work of the Church wherever they can get a chance.

Mr. Robertson has given us a work which goes carefully over the ground from the Apostles' age to the pontificate of S. Gregory the Great. Its fault is, that it is compiled almost exclu-

sively from secondhand and modern sources. The references to original authorities are both few and meagre, and when we should be introduced to the great names of the period treated of, we are too frequently put off with those of Mosheim, Fleury, Tillemont, Neander, Gieseler, and the like.¹ He has given a narration of events rather than a history. His work would be the better for being rolled out. It has been written in too great a haste to press on; there is no repose about it, no breathing space allowed, no time for rest or reflection; but the reader is hurried on from one great question to another. Whilst a master of ecclesiastical history will find in it nothing that he did not know before, and now and then things that he will be inclined to dispute, the student who would be contented with it alone, would carry away, we should fear, little distinctness of impression from pages which state the great doctrinal questions too briefly, and with too much compression, and are frequently overloaded with a great mass of bare facts.

Mr. Robertson's is not a history of the Church, and he does not aspire to its being considered one. It is, what he himself terms it in its preface, a readable introduction to the subject; and praise is undoubtedly due to him for having produced a volume which cannot indeed supersede the necessity of the use of others, much less can stand in the place of original authorities; but which is an accurate and useful manual, and may be made, to a certain extent, a text-book on the outlines of Church history, to be filled up gradually, and at length, by subsequent study. The student who comes to it uninformed, may learn from it accurately and satisfactorily in what age each great Father or notorious heretic lived; what were their acts and distinctive teaching; what the definitions, with their meaning and object, maintained by the great doctors of the Church—S. Athanasius, S. Cyril, S. Augustine, &c.; what the tendency and result of each particular heresy. With this information to commence from, he may go on to build up a superstructure of real historical and doctrinal learning. We must, however, take the liberty of reminding Mr. Robertson that his almost exclusive fondness for moderns, especially those of the German school, will

¹ For instance, in his account of the heresy of Nestorius, and the acts of S. Cyril, Mr. Robertson has cited no one ancient authority whatever; the only approach to such being a reference to S. Cyril's anathemas, in Routh's *Opuscula*. In consequence, he has given no adequate idea of S. Cyril's writings on the question, their genius or tendency, or what they did for the truth. He concludes his account of the anathemas with reference as authorities—to whom? Fleury, Tillemont, Schröck, Neander, Gieseler, and Guericke! It is the fault of the time to build upon and refer to authors, whose *opinions* indeed are very valuable, but whose *testimony* to the facts for which they are cited cannot possibly be anything. Dr. Stanley in this respect stands out in strong and happy contrast to Mr. Robertson, and some other compilers and editors of the time.

tell not only to his own disadvantage as a historian, but also to that of the student who may take the work as his text-book, and who will be driven to other sources for that information about, and views of, the early writers which is here denied him.

A few of the works, then, most worthy of mention, which treat only of particular periods of Ecclesiastical History, are, Bp. Pearson's treatises in his *Opuscula*, Ittigius on the first two centuries, Dr. Burton's and Professor Blunt's works on the Ante-Nicene Church, Isaac Casaubon against Baronius, to A.D. 34; Mosheim's *De Rebus* and *Dissertationes*; Dr. Stanley's volume, which contains a good and interesting account of the first Council of Nice, but one not, in our judgment at least, to be compared with Tillemont's; and a very interesting epitome of the Russo-Greek Church, derived from the translation of Mouravieff, by Mr. Blackmore, and other sources. Mr. Neale's History of the Eastern Church is most valuable for its dissertations. His plan of treating the patriarchates separately is the great fault of his work, in that an adequate idea of the unity of the Eastern Church is thus lost. Jansenius is the great historical exponent of Pelagianism; and, on the whole, perhaps the best idea that can be obtained of the history of the final separation of the East from the West is to be gained from the pages of Leo Allatius.

There is another class of writers who, in a treatise however imperfect on ecclesiastical historians, must not be passed over—the Biographers. Dr. Stanley has said that the lives of good men 'are the salt not only of the world but of the Church.' And in words with which, however, we cannot at all agree, he adds that 'in the lives of the saints, we see close at hand, what on the 'public stage of history we see through every kind of distorted 'medium and deceptive refraction.' But if Ecclesiastical Biography has its advantages, it has also the contrary. No history of the Church could ever be evolved from the lives of individuals. Their biographers are too apt to make their actions out of scale and keeping. They can scarcely avoid giving distorted views of facts. His true place in the Church evidently cannot be assigned to the subject of a biography, or his character drawn in true proportion when he is the only figure on the canvas: everything seems subsidiary to the particular individual, and he often appears to be, as it were, the Church itself of his time, whilst he is perhaps in truth a comparatively subordinate and unimportant member of it. There is apt to be no background to the picture, nor proper grouping. Biography, though it should most assuredly be studied *with* history, should never be substituted for it. Those who have most successfully grappled with the difficulties of their subject are the Benedictine Editors, whose

lives, for instance, of S. Athanasius and S. Basil the Great, form, by the power of their, we may say, wonderful grouping, no mean or imperfect histories of the fourth century. After these come Mabillon, Dupin, and Cave, in his 'Lives of the Fathers and Apostles,' and his 'Historia Litteraria,' of the latter of which the continuation is greatly to be desired. We say nothing of the volumes of the Bollandists, because the object of our remarks is simply the practical one of assisting younger men in the study of Church history, and it is not probable that the purses of many will endure the tax, or their shelves afford the room for the ponderous folios of these endless compilers.

We should recommend our younger readers not to pass by an opportunity of procuring a copy (which may be done for very moderate terms) of the second or best edition of Cave's 'Historia Litteraria.' It has this great advantage over the longer and more elaborate work of Dupin, that, often by comparison of one life with another, in a shorter narrative, important facts of agreement or opposition, of time, place, birth, or education, between two or more characters are observed, which in a long history would probably be passed over. But the work of Dupin is much the more valuable of the two in giving a good account of the writings both as a whole, and in each separate piece, of the subject of each biography. He dwells also at much greater length on the Councils. Cave has, however, acted on the happy idea of dividing his work into periods, accordingly as a heresy or some great name gave it notoriety. It is much to have continually before the eye a reminder of the great movements which were going on from time to time within or outside the pale of the Church. His 'Lives of the Apostles,' and 'Lives of the Fathers of the First four Centuries,' are, on the one hand, works very accurate and easily procurable. On the other hand, there attaches to both the serious drawback, and perhaps worse than drawback, of their being written in a style to which for dryness and want of interest it would be well-nigh impossible to find an equal. It may be said that this is a style which prejudices nothing, and to which an enemy cannot object that it savours of partisanship. But it is a matter of grave doubt to us whether an author, who is an undoubted master of his subject, and has unquestioned powers to direct the minds and form the opinions of others, can, under any circumstances, be justified in refraining from the exercise of those powers; from showing plainly where his sympathies lie; saying boldly what he thinks right and true, and why he thinks so; and endeavouring all he can to bring into, or confirm in his position (which *is* his, of course, because he thinks it true and right) those who take him as their instructor. As it is, the Gallios of Church history not seldom receive positive

support and confirmation in their indifference and lukewarmness from those very persons whose duty it is to rouse and warn them; and they are apt to conclude that the subject is as dry, uninteresting, and incapable of sustaining the weight of a decided conclusion in itself, as it appears in the pages of the author. What a model in this respect is Bishop Bull's *Defensio*! What earnestness and intensity of mind and purpose are seen in every page! What a variety of weapons are used in the combat with his enemies! Grave argument, profound learning, cutting irony, biting and playful satire, contemptuous exposure, stern denunciation, all are had recourse to in terms as the cause requires, or the adversary is deemed worthy. You cannot approach such a spirit and think that it is very little matter which side you take; that there is hardly perhaps any right or wrong at all in the question; that as much may be said in historic truth and moral honesty (though in a historian these are one) for one opinion as the other; that if other good qualities are present to a man, it cannot matter much what he thinks of a dogmatic doctrine; that there is not evidence enough, it may be, for forming a decided opinion.

This, then, is our objection to Cave's *Lives*, to say nothing of the want of animation exhibited throughout, which may be an artistic fault, beyond the cure of the author. The whole work gives no idea, or almost none, that he approaches his subject in any other spirit than that of a mere literary antiquarian, or that he had any deep feelings about the labours and the writings of those whose acts and sufferings he relates, or does not think one opinion and its converse, though the one be perhaps a vital truth, and the other a damnable heresy, pretty much the same thing at last; or, that the one is to be held, and the other reprobated, *ad salvationem*; but that the scales must remain nearly balanced, the decision be what will amount in fact, with most readers, to an open verdict. 'Give me a good hater,' said Dr. Johnson. We say, Give us as our guide in Ecclesiastical History, one who *has* a heart as well as a head; who has feelings, principles, opinions, a bias, if you will; and who does not hesitate to declare them. We would rather give our time and labour to the pages of Baronius, even when he is dedicating his heart and powers to the effort of making out a case for Ultramontaniam, because there is in him intense zeal for his cause, rotten as that cause is, than plod wearily through the pages of a historian, where everything is orthodox indeed and tenable, but utterly, hopelessly lifeless.

Mabillon has contributed two great historical works, properly so called, to Ecclesiastical History—the '*Acta Sanctorum*,' and '*Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*.' Of the former we must leave

those to speak who have any acquaintance with it. The latter, in six noble folio volumes, is in no respect difficult of attainment, and will certainly be found on the shelves of the real student of Church history. It commences with the year 480—that of the birth of S. Benedict—and goes down to 1121. It contains an account of S. Benedict, discusses his rules, and everything in any way pertaining to the order. The work also, in fact, includes a sufficient history of the crowned heads and other secular magnates of Europe, and in addition contains a minute account of the doctrines, the ceremonies, the controversies of the Church, age by age, with a statement of the writings of each individual whose life is depicted. The chief value of the work, perhaps, to an English student, is the account given of those members of the Benedictine order, who were from time to time concerned in the history of the Church in this country. It should be studied with Collier or whatever author the student makes his text-book of English Church history; and, as it is (to every English reader at least) capable of considerable compression, he would thus come to make a kind of practical epitome of it. But he who is yet a stranger to the work must be cautioned that, when using it with other historians, he must look for events in the life of any particular personage, not in a consecutive order of narration, but in the year in which it took place. Thus events which happened close together are often separated by an interval of several pages. This is, no doubt, a great drawback to the convenient use of the work, but it is a fault unavoidable by its nature and original plan; and it is remedied in a very great degree, we are bound to say, by a copious index at the end of each volume, by which any particular event can be found without trouble.

Another fault of the work is, that whilst it describes with the utmost minuteness whatever occurs within the Benedictine Order, all that happens without its pale, or that does not touch it at some point, is either passed over in silence, or is treated too briefly. In this respect, we confess, we prefer the work of Dupin; but on the subject of his order, Mabillon is, of course, the most full, and works on a far more extensive scale. We are bound to say that the great questions (doctrinal and others), which arose from time to time in the middle ages; *e.g.* Lanfranc's controversy with Beranger on the Eucharist, the acts and writings of Peter Abelard and others, meet with very careful attention, and are treated of fully, and with all possible fairness. In short, if the work is not in itself a great history, it is at least a source from which such an one might in some part be constructed.

The history of the Church is one great interpreter of Scripture.

The attempt of Arius and Macedonius to deny the Divinity of our Lord, and of the Holy Spirit, are, with the aid of the writings which that attempt called forth, our best exponents of those passages of Scripture which teach the essential co-equality of the Persons of the Holy Trinity. The heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches; the schemes which they constructed, and the arguments by which they sought to support them, with the confutations they received from individual doctors—S. Cyril and S. Leo, and from the Church in Council—teach us better than any formal commentary of the Unity of the Person and the Divinity of the Natures. Pelagius, by the manner in which he sought to set aside Divine grace, and substitute for it the powers of nature, and the writings on the need of the former, which he was the cause of calling forth from S. Augustine, has illustrated more strongly than is or can be done by any later commentator, the utter dependence of man upon God for all his gifts, and the especial need and weight of Christian truth, and of the Christian scheme on the point assailed. And thus the *corpus dogmaticum* of each age becomes the best guide we can have to the understanding and realising of the multifarious lines of Scripture.

And with the formal history and polemical writings of the Fathers of each age should be always united the study of their exegetical works; for they are evidently the best exponents of those doctrines and principles which during their time were attacked, and in the maintenance of which they passed their lives. It is the necessary want of this vitality,—the absence of the annotator speaking as of himself and his own doings,—that to us makes all the formal commentaries of writers who lived long after the questions they describe, comparatively lifeless and without value, flat and secondhand, and almost reduces even the best of them to that order of productions which is technically called 'scissors and paste.'

Nor, whilst making himself acquainted with arguments of the early writers, should the student by any means neglect their laws and decisions as left to us in the Councils. Some knowledge of the latter, indeed, though passed over in total silence by writers of the Gieseler and Hagenbach stamp, is absolutely necessary for one who aspires to be in the least degree a master of Church history. They show much of the practical everyday life of the Church. In them he will see with what enemies the Church had to contend; what legacies of depraved morality, and what a perverted sense of first moral principles, wherein evil is called good, and good evil—heathenness left behind it; and what strenuous and long-continued efforts it cost the Church to gain the victory. The practices prohibited by many national

councils before the first general council, show that the world at the time was, as a whole, little better than a vast Sodom, and prove, beyond question, that the Church was indeed its regenerator. Modern times may sin in grievous ways against the faith, and pay almost no heed to the Unity of the Mystical Body of Christ; and (not as of old those who suffer with Him, but) those who buffet and pierce Him may call themselves, and be considered by others His Saints and Doctors; but it is at least a comfort that those foul, unnatural sins of the flesh, which seem to have been for the first four centuries the ordinary deeds of many even of those who called themselves Christians, are to Englishmen unknown; and that practices which the Church had to struggle with all her vigour for centuries to put down, the civil magistrate would speedily take order for in this country, and at this day. Witness the revolting case of Leontius of Antioch, and the indignant but fruitless protests of S. Cyprian, S. Basil, and S. Chrysostom against *subintroductæ*. The Church had for centuries to put up, even in her clergy, with deeds of infamy such as would not in these times be tolerated for a moment.¹ Witness the order of crimes that received their brand in the ante-Nicene Councils,² for the commission of which amongst us the criminal is judged unfit to live, certainly unfit ever again to mix in the society of honourable and well-conducted men. Amongst all that those ages produced of self-devotion and saintliness, fearful unblushing depravity also stalked openly through the earth, and there was no power immediately adequate to control it.

There is a passage of Dr. Stanley's, in his volume on the Eastern Church, which, although not free from that diffuseness of style which, in a measure, mars the beauty and usefulness of his whole work, and scarcely capable perhaps in all its assertions as they at present stand of bearing the test of strict criticism, yet contains in itself a great truth. It is so applicable to our present subject, that we venture to extract it for the reflection and gratification of our readers.

'Take the general councils of the Church;' he says, 'they are the pitched battles of Ecclesiastical History. Ask yourselves the same questions as you would about the battles of military history. Ask when, and where, and why they were fought. Put before your minds all the influences of the age which then were confronted and concentrated from different quarters into one common focus. See why they were summoned to Nicæa, to Constance, to Trent. The locality often contains here, as in actual battles, the key of the position, and easily connects the Ecclesiastical History of the age, with its general history

¹ S. Cyprian, Letter IV. p. 173, Fell and Dodwell's note. S. Basil to Pargolius, vol. iii. p. 149. Fol. Bened. S. Chrysostom's Two Treatises on the *Subintroductæ*. Council of Elvira (A.D. 313), Can. 27; Ancyra (314), Can. 19; Nice, Can. 3. Eusebius in re Pauli Samosat., book vii. chap. xxx.

² See Council of Ancyra, Cans. 16, 21; Elvira, Cans. 63, 68, 71.

and geography. Look at the long procession as it enters the scene of assembly. See who was present, and who was absent.'—

Study, we would add, very carefully the geography of the question at issue, as laid down in the sees, the bishops of which were present, and which are named with their signatures at the end or in the body of the council. One often, from this source, gets a hint as to the limits within which, as a whole, a given heresy was confined. And this frequently contains peculiar and valuable information that is well worth being worked out, and perhaps may even sound the key-note of the after history of a particular Church or country. But to continue our extract:—

‘Let us make ourselves acquainted with the several characters there brought together, so that we recognise them as old friends if we meet them again elsewhere. Study their decrees as expositions of the prevailing sentiments of the times.¹ Study them as Mr. Froude has advised us to study the statutes of our own ancient Parliaments. See what evils are most condemned, and what evils are left uncondemned. Observe how far their injunctions are still obeyed and how far set at nought, and ask in each case the reason why. Read them as I have just now noticed, with the knowledge given us by our own experience of all synods of all kinds. Read them with the knowledge which each gives of every other. Do this for any one council, and you will have made a deep hole into Ecclesiastical History.’—P. 1.

On this account, then,—the revelations that the canons of councils make, as to the practical work of the Church in different countries:—the student of Church history should allot himself a certain period of time, amongst other subjects, to be given up to the quiet and gradual mastery of the acts and canons of the councils. Routh’s *Reliquiæ* and *Opuscula* will furnish him with the text and a commentary on the canons of the Œcumenical and some of the earlier Councils; and to these he would do well to add the *Pandect* of Beveridge, a work for which there is simply no substitute; and, say, Richer; Berardus, if he can afford it, and Cabassutius. Richer shows the fallacy of the Ultramontane doctrine of the Pope as the final authority over councils; and Cabassutius gives the other side of the picture. Even these are, after all, but manuals to the councils, and therefore it would be advisable, wherever possible, to procure the full text of the councils themselves, and all that is commonly made to appertain to them; and, as it is never real economy or true wisdom to buy a worthless book,

¹ We scarcely know the exact meaning of Dr. Stanley in this expression. The canons of the Œcumenical Councils are binding on all Christendom. As regards matters of practice, indeed, some of their decrees have been fulfilled by obedience, and others are rendered null by the non-existence of the circumstances which they were framed to meet; but on questions of faith they are still in full force, and must so remain even to the end of time. In neither case can they be considered merely as ‘expositions of sentiments.’

or a bad edition of a good one, Hardouin, or if possible, Labbe and Cossart, should be the work selected.

And let not the student, when he has his books around him and sees how numerous they are, give way to despair, and abandon his work as too great for him. Undoubtedly in the Fathers and Councils he has a great deal which he can never master, and indeed never need labour at; but the gist of all theology lies comparatively in a small space, and is grouped round a few great names; and though an individual will make but little impression on the mass by the labour of to-day or to-morrow, or even of a month, or a year, yet *laborare est orare*; he is answerable to God for his time as well as his other gifts. Let him only persevere, and as year glides away after year, and the snows of age begin at length to whiten his head, let him compare what a course of diligent and continued study has made him, with what he would have been had he suffered his life to dribble away in idleness, and we do not think that he will complain of time wasted or of labour thrown away.

And, as we have been speaking on the subject of Church histories in general, our younger readers will perhaps allow us, before we quit this part of our subject, to give them a few hints on one branch of it, which, though not, we confess, immediately connected with our present subject, may not be wholly without profit to them. We allude to the study of the history of our own Anglican Church. The best work by far, in our judgment, to be made a text-book is Collier. Fuller goes over nearly the same ground, and slightly preceded him in time; but there is too much in his work, great as it is, that has gained for him the name of the jester. He was one of the company of wits, and if he did not participate in, at least delighted to chronicle the wit-combats of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson at the Falcon or the Mermaid; and in consequence he seems to think it incumbent on him, on all occasions, to keep up the reputation of a man of wit. Thus, when you look to him for a grave opinion or discussion, he is apt to put you off with a jest or a quibble. There is, however, as no one can deny, much in his work which is of the highest value. His narrative of the martyrdom of Bishop Fisher is almost a master-piece of description; and his Essay on the Monasteries, their revenues, government, and internal economy, is of great worth. In the extent of half an octavo, Fuller has compressed nearly as much information about these ancient institutions as is contained in the ponderous quarto of Fosbroke. This portion of his history gives a peculiar and unique value to the whole work as a history of the English Church.

The student would also do well to add to his text-book a few works on subjects which can be treated only in a superficial

manner by a professed historian. Gibson's Codex will give him an insight into ecclesiastical law. From Archbishop Wake on Convocation, with its Answer by Bishop Atterbury, he may derive much information on a subject on which, not only for its intrinsic worth, but because it is so likely, before a long period has elapsed, to be brought forward in the country, he should have a definite and clear opinion. Dr. Pusey on the Councils will also be of value, as indirectly bearing on the same point.

And, with an English text-book, we should recommend, as far as possible, the use of contemporary historians. The Saxon Chronicle and Bede are the great authorities before the Conquest, and Matthew Paris will form a good and useful guide as far as he goes: *i. e.* to the end of the reign of Henry III. There is much in a historian, who was contemporary with the events which he describes, that cannot be found, at least with the same weight, in any other. Matthew Paris teaches us, what indeed the whole lives of Lanfranc, Anselm, and even Beckett confirm, that the papal claims were always, in this country, regarded as an usurpation, of which the nation long wanted only an opportunity of ridding themselves. The 'Beckett Papers,' a collection of letters by Beckett himself, his friend, John of Salisbury, afterwards Bishop of Chartres, and others, published by the late Mr. Froude, throw more light than perhaps anything else we have on the history of the times, and the personal characters of the Archbishop and his opponents. Of the councils of the English Church a sufficient account is given by Collier; and his statements are worthy of study, as showing from age to age to what vices our ancestors were most obstinately given, and what the Church had most resolutely to struggle against. Prominent among these, we are sorry to say, is ever found simony. Those who wish for a fuller and more original account on the subject, and to whom the great and costly work of Wilkins is as a mere *non ens*, will find satisfaction, as far as it goes, in the folio of Spelman. True, he gives an account of the councils only to the Norman Invasion; but this, as to the history of the councils of the English Church, is by no means the least important period.

After mentioning the above historical works, some of them standing in the very first place, our readers will perhaps think us unjustifiably fastidious if we confess that, in our judgment, the history which shall be the best of all has yet to be written. Not that we suppose for a moment, or even wish (far otherwise) that such works as those of Tillemont, Fleury, Baronius, and Natalis, should ever be superseded. Such a result is as little to be desired as it is possible: but the existing histories contain, to our mind, certain deficiencies which we should be glad to

see supplied. As it is, some subjects which rightly belong to Church history are lost sight of altogether, and others are made to constitute a class of literature by themselves. Thus, how important it is that a teacher should know—not, decidedly, for the sake of directly treating of the subject, but that he may be able to form his definitions of the truth—what were the ideas contained in the great ancient heresies; whither they tended; what would have been their ultimate result could they possibly have succeeded in gaining a footing in the Church; and how they were met by the Catholic Doctors. Yet how small is the number of those who have any but superficial ideas on the subject! How few make (as they ought to do) their study of the heresies keep pace, *pari passu*, with that of the great Christian verities; and one reason of this is, that they are scattered about in so many different sources, that few can possibly make any acquaintance with the matter. How great a boon, then, would a historian confer on the Church who should supply this want! Let him write his history, not for the sake of merely giving another narrative of the *ordo rerum*, but relying *in minutis* on those already written—Fleury's, if he will, or Tillemont's, or any sufficient one; let him rather lay stress on those questions which are by them overlooked, or kept out of sight, or described on a scale too narrow. Let him dwell more especially on the doctrinal questions. Let him first give a history—it *can* be done, at least in many cases—of the heresy (Arianism, Apollinarianism, Nestorianism, Monophysitism, Monothelitism) as it had existed in germ centuries before the particular heresiarch gave it his name. Let him trace its progress, century by century, until, from a small and unimportant beginning, held by men of no ecclesiastical status, and confined within narrow geographical limits, it spread well-nigh, perhaps, into all countries and became an opponent which the rulers of the Church must spend life and limb to destroy. Let him, in his history of Arianism, not rely solely on his own statements and definitions, nor be content merely with a narration of facts, but let him give the theology of the movement as it existed to the actors in the scene; let him attach to his history enough of the writings of S. Athanasius, S. Basil of Cæsarea, the SS. Gregories Nazianzen and Nyssen, and Theodoret, the chief Fathers by whom the heresy was eventually confuted, to show, not only by what arguments it was overthrown, but (which is the first point) by what the truth was established. Let him, when Apollinarianism is the subject, give sufficient of the two books of S. Athanasius, and his letters to Epictetus and Adelphius, and the treatises of S. Gregory Nazianzen, S. Basil, S. Ambrose, in the West, and Theodoret, to show what was their circle of doctrine and teaching, and

manner of application of Holy Scripture, on the humanity of our Lord, for it was in relation to this doctrine that that controversy was brought out. Let him, when relating the not less deadly, though apparently less important and prominent heresy of Nestorius, not content himself with a meagre page or two of his own views, constructed, perhaps, from the works of living men; but let him give a full view of the question from the writings of the times. Let him evolve gradually and with patience the two opposite views of the natures upheld by Nestorius and S. Cyril respectively, from their own works, and the then champion of the former, Theodoret, in his answer to the anathemas of S. Cyril; comparing the tenets of Nestorius with those of Paul of Samosata, and other heretics who had preceded him; and giving the idea of S. Cyril's points of doctrine, both from his anathemas, his *De Sta. Trinitate*, and *De Incarnatione*, his treatise, *Quod unus sit Christus*, his letter, vol. v., part 2, to Nestorius, and his books against the heresiarch, against Theodoret, and the heretical Bishops of the Oriens. He will also, by careful perusal of the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, the letters written by and to Nestorius and S. Cyril before the council sat, the Synodical letter of S. Cyril and other documents of the council, be able to impart much peculiar and valuable information on the subject. So with the Tome of S. Leo; it should surely be drawn upon more largely than is commonly done in a history of the heresy of Eutyches. As to the length to which such a history would extend, our readers need not be afraid. All that we have recommended may be contained in much smaller space than would appear possible at first sight, without the addition to the work certainly of more, at most, than another octavo volume.

Again, we will remind our readers that there is as yet no sufficient history, in our own language, of the separation of the East and West: the causes, doctrinal and practical, that led to it, and fomented and kept alive the strife until it terminated in the formal state of division. In other words, we have no full record; no such history as we might have and ought to have, of the Greek Church from the time of Photius in the middle of the ninth century, to that of Michael Cerularius in the eleventh. The works of Leo Allatius on the subject have never been thoroughly tested and made available as they ought to have been, but much of them that is evidently very valuable metal is allowed to remain in the ore.

Lastly, why in the histories of the Church are the Liturgies, and all those questions which are connected with Liturgies, systematically passed over, as if they bore no relation to Church history at all? Of course, the Liturgical branch of the great

subject of Church history is an obscure and difficult one, but this, as it strikes us, is a reason why it should receive the more attention. It is a branch of Church history after all.

A historian, we submit, should dedicate some portion of his work to this subject. He should begin, we venture to suggest, with giving the text of the four great primitive Liturgies which form the basis of the service of our own, and of every other branch of the Church, showing their points of difference from each other, and the *propria*, such as the prayer for the rising of the Nile in the Alexandrian, which render each applicable to its own sphere and to no other. He should affix their titles to each of the several component parts, and should give notes explanatory of whatever required elucidation. He should show the historical antiquity and authorship, and the geographical limits within which each was used: the Liturgy of S. James prevailing throughout the whole of the Oriens, Judæa, Mesopotamia, Syria, and the Southern parts of Asia Minor; the Liturgy of S. Mark being used in the Churches of Alexandria and its dependencies: that of S. John in Ephesus; and S. Peter's as used in Rome, Africa, and most of Europe.

Then he would show the alterations of these Liturgies made as time went on by some of the greatest of the Fathers of the Church, and introduced by them into their respective dioceses. These changes are not merely matters of interest; they form part of, and therefore illustrate, the direct history of the Church. The historian will show how S. Chrysostom adapted the Liturgy of S. James to Constantinople; and how S. Basil framed a Liturgy on the base of the same for Cæsarea, and the Churches dependent on that see.

And for modern times he should give us on the one hand a picture of the Orthodox Greek Church, as now celebrating her worship; and on the other, he should point out how and where the many heresies which find their habitat in the East have each altered and perverted, after their own doctrine, the original Liturgies: how, for instance, as Renaudot tells us, the Nestorians have altered the true doctrine, by the insertion in one of their eucharistic benedictions of the words, 'Similitudinem servi accepit, hominem perfectum ex anima rationali, intelligente, et immortalis, et corpore mortali hominum, et conjunxit illum sibi, univitque secum *in gloria, potestate et honore*;' ¹ and show their animus by the anathemas which, we learn from the same authority, they were accustomed to heap in their service on S. Cyril, and the praises they give to Nestorius.

Such alterations go a great way towards defining the position

¹ Renaudot, vol. ii. p. 577.

of these bodies towards the Church, and explaining and illustrating their tenets and tendencies; and lastly, they make clearer to us what is our duty towards them.

And when he comes to the Latin Church, the historian will not forget to show what gradual additions were introduced into the Western Liturgy (to use the word in its widest sense) between the time of S. Gregory the Great and the Council of Trent. He will not fail to mark the points at once of agreement and difference between the Canon of the Mass, and the primitive Liturgies; and to show how the former was constructed from the latter, or perhaps *with* them.¹ He will tell us (if indeed it be known or can be traced) how the Sacramentaries of S. Leo (really or so called), and of Gelasius and Gregory, were developed into the Breviary; and when and by what Popes or Councils it was done. He will give the history more fully than we yet have it, of the substitution by Charlemagne of the Roman for the Gallican Liturgy (or Ephesine as it has been thought to be, and as it appears to have been originally) in France; and that of the removal of the Mozarabic from Spain. He will show carefully and at length, wherein those Liturgies were cognate with each other, and differed from the Petrine or Roman; and will rescue them from being, as they are now, a dead letter, as it were, of the Church. He will trace the Roman Liturgy in its adaptation throughout the greater part of Europe and the dependent Churches in Africa.

The origin of the two Liturgies as appears in our own land, those used north and south of the Humber at S. Augustin's landing, should next receive attention. The subject might, we feel sure, by due investigation, be cleared of much of the difficulty which at present envelopes it, and the existence of which causes, even among scholars, an amount of uncertainty, we are not afraid to say even of ignorance, which need not exist, and which we think, with a good history of the Church that should supply this wanting page, would exist no longer.

And when the subject of Liturgies proper is exhausted, that of the other services will take its place. Goar will afford much valuable information on those of the Greek Church; Muratori and Martini of the Latin. It is a most important subject, although Church historians have so entirely ignored it. The Sacramentary which goes by the name of S. Leo, and is known to be the most ancient of all the Sacramentaries and their foundation, may very probably be what Muratori conjectured, the compilation of some one after Leo's time, who united in one

¹ Brett on the Liturgies.

book whatever he found of Leo's or his predecessors'. The MS. edited by Blanchini dates from about 700, or a little later.¹ Next in antiquity are the Sacramentaries of S. Gelasius and S. Gregory: the MS. of the former is little less ancient than S. Leo's; and that of the latter—published by Muratori, and with so much justice, as we think, preferred by him to Menard's—is as old as the beginning of the ninth century. On these was based the Roman Breviary; the Sarum Use of Bishop Osmund; and on this again, the Service-books or Uses before the Reformation, therefore of course our own Prayer-Book. We can conceive few subjects of more interest, or that come more strictly within the province of the ecclesiastical historian, than the tracing out this descent of the modern books from these ancient ones: showing how, when, and why, and by what Popes and Councils the Breviary took its present form from the Sacramentaries, and bringing to light for ordinary familiar knowledge—that it may be no longer locked up in works difficult to be procured and requiring years for their mastery—the originals word by word of our prayers, benedictions, and collects. We are sure that such a course of investigation would tend to raise the estimation of our Prayer-Book. Whilst the Breviary, if stripped of the additions made since the time of S. Gregory, would be found to differ but little from our own book, a comparison of the Pontificale of S. Egbert and that of Rome with our own Ordinal would show how, on particular points, the English Church has always been at unity with herself, and held doctrines different from those of Rome.

And now, if these hints, or any of them, are judged of the least value, as indicating the requirements of a good history of the Church, the question is, how far have the works which we have brought before the notice of our readers fulfilled them? To compose a history which should be really worthy of a first-rate place among histories, would evidently require a long and intimate acquaintance with Councils, Fathers, Liturgies, and liturgical works; and would require, what Baronius for one, as far as he has supplied the want, gave to it, the work of a lifetime.

Mr. Bright neither has given, nor claims to have given us, such a book as this. What he has done is to produce an accurate and readable narrative of events from the Edict of Milan to the Council of Chalcedon; and in doing this he has very properly followed out no new idea, taken no new line, and has contented himself with conveying to students old knowledge in an exact manner and in a good narration. On all accounts we can

¹ Muratorius, de Rebus Liturgicis, p. 14.

certainly recommend his work as carefully executed, accurate, scholarly, and comprised in a moderate compass; and it possesses this great advantage over Mr. Robertson's, at least, that he goes at once to the fountain-head of authorities, and does not content himself with the voice of the moderns. The chief subjects of his work are Arianism, and its consequences, doctrinal and practical; Pelagianism; Nestorianism; and Eutychianism.

How great a difference is there in the outset between the definitions of an English Churchman like Mr. Bright, and a German like Hagenbach, or an English Dissenter like his translator. After describing Arius' Sorites,—

'The Father is a Father, the Son is a Son. Therefore the Father must have existed before the Son. Therefore *once the Son was not*. Therefore He was *made*, like all creatures, *of a substance that had not previously existed*,'—

Mr. Bright adds, in words which show that he has a clear mental idea of the real gist of the question, and is entitled to speak on it,—

'This was the essence of Arius' teaching. Trained in the schools of disputatious logic at Antioch, and by temperament devoid of reverence, he had accustomed himself to think nothing too majestic for the grasp of a syllogistic formula. He took his stand on the assumption that such a formula could comprehend the Infinite; that he could argue irresistibly from human sonship to Divine. And yet his argument to thoughtful minds is self-destructive; for it began by insisting on the truth of our Lord's Sonship, and ended by making Him wholly alien from the essence of the Father.'—P. 11.

The doctrine, on the other hand, of Alexander and the Church, which insists on an Eternal Father and a Co-Eternal Son, who is such by essence, and neither by adoption, nor by promotion, involves, as Mr. Bright says, 'no Sabellianism, no Ditheism, no partition of the Divine Essence, no denial of the Father's prerogative as the Unbegotten.'—P. 17. And he produces a quotation from S. Ambrose, *De Fide*, which well includes the matter in a dilemma for the heretical party:—'If they think the Son foreign to the Father, why do they adore Him? . . . Or if they do not adore Him, let them say so, and there is an end of it.'

Let us now see how the German and the English Dissenter speak of such subjects. The dissertation of Hagenbach on Arianism, Nestorianism, and their kindred heresies, is very brief; and we must, therefore, examine his doctrines on the general subject in the earlier part of his work. And, first, we think that some of our own historians, Mr. Robertson especially, have surrendered to the German the great advantage of appearing to have the ancient authorities on his side. Mr. Robertson has written a book perfectly sound in all respects, yet the

paucity of his references to early authors would make it seem to a young reader of German works, such as those of Gieseler and Hagenbach, arguing logically, as if his system of belief were of the date and growth merely of his modern authorities. Hagenbach broaches doctrines and opinions in no way resembling those of the early Fathers, yet, by the intimate acquaintance with their writings which he shows himself to possess, and the superabundant copiousness of his citations from, and references to, their pages, however little bearing out his assertions, he would easily impose on the unsuspecting student the idea that he must be their faithful representative. It is true that Hagenbach seems nearly to repeat the Fathers, and to base almost everything he says on their words. Yet it is equally certain, not only that to the greater number of his opinions and conclusions, none of them would for a moment agree, but that from most of them they would recoil with horror.

The original sin of Hagenbach's work is the tone assumed throughout towards Holy Scripture. He seems to have no idea but that it is lawful to handle it quite as we please, and to do just what we like with it; to understand it in any sense we judge expedient; to condemn it here, and to applaud it there; to accept it, or to reject it, as we think right. That anything like reverence, or even unusual respect, is due to it, is an idea which seems never once to have occurred to him. In a word, it possesses to him no claim to be considered inspired. It is nothing whatever of a rule of faith. It is, in its historical phase, to be dealt with as he would deal with the statements of Herodotus or Livy—to be commented on, in its doctrinal or moral, just as he would comment on Aristotle's Ethics.

Hence we find at every turn such expressions as the following:—

'Our Saviour, indeed, adopted many notions already in existence, especially the Mosaic doctrine of *one* God, and perhaps, to some extent, the prevailing opinions and expectations of the age, concerning the doctrine of angels, the kingdom of God, &c.'—P. 33.

'James . . . who gives an undue prominence to practical Christianity, and scarcely once refers to the doctrine of Christ, though he occasionally evinces a profound acquaintance with the nature of faith, and the Divine economy.'—P. 35.

'The idea which the earlier Fathers were accustomed to attach to the term "Logos," was more or less indefinite; some understood by it a real personality (the pre-existence of Christ), others took it in an abstract sense (idea, reason, word, revelation, wisdom, Divine life, &c.)'—P. 115.

¹ The author reminds us of his compatriot, to whom it was objected, in a common room at Oxford, that S. Paul, on some subject, was against him. His *naïf* reply was,—'Powl, Powl? Oh yes, I know dis Powl. He was a ver clayver man. I have read his boke, and I don't agree wid it.'

To prove what is here at least implied, that any of the early Fathers took the term exclusively in its abstract sense, and denied it in the concrete, are brought forward two or three citations which are, as we need not say, wholly irrelevant:—

‘Origen follows Hermas in classifying the demons according to the vices which they represent, and thus prepares the way for more sober and rational views, gradually to convert the concrete idea of devils into abstract notions.’¹—P. 136.

‘On the supposition that the devil did seduce our first parents, it is necessary to assign an earlier date to his apostasy than the fall of man.’—P. 138.

Such assertions, and such a manner of dealing with Scripture, are found almost in every page of the work, and they have unhappily been endorsed; more, they have been published (as far as he was able) to the whole world, by an Englishman; an Englishman, happily indeed not a Churchman, but an Independent. The Church, we are confident, would not for a moment have endured the idea of any one of her clergy being instrumental in the spreading abroad of such profanities without immediate censure, most probably, deprivation of his place in her ranks. Great indeed is the contrast, if only in religious tone, between the text-books of Dr. Davidson and the histories of Mr. Robertson, Mr. Bright, or any English Churchman who has given us a work on the same subject.

On the heresy of Arius (which we have under discussion), Hagenbach shows himself simply ignorant of the doctrine of those of whom he takes on himself to be the exponent. In the first place, he seems to confound the idea expressed by the term *ὁμοούσιος* (not distinguishing it from *ταυτοούσιος*), with that of Sabellianism, for he says that the semi-Arians endeavoured to abstain from its use—not because *they* thought it dangerous, but absolutely—‘lest they should fall into the Sabellian error,’ p. 252; and he cannot comprehend that the Church taught (against Arius) an equality of essence and (against Sabellianism) a diversity (and therefore of necessity a subordination) of persons; but he persists in referring the latter to the essence.

¹ We feel serious argument, in dealing with such an assertion, made as it is, beneath us.

‘Ridiculum acri
Fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res.’

We will remind our readers of Rowland Hill’s reply to one who had asserted that ‘angels were not actual beings, but only local figures of speech.’ ‘In that case,’ said the humorist, ‘I do not wonder at the conduct of Balaam’s ass; for an eastern metaphor, with a drawn sword in its hand, is enough to frighten any animal of the kind.’

*In maintaining the sameness of essence, they had to hold fast the distinction of persons; in asserting the latter, they had to avoid the doctrine of subordination.'—P. 252.

We should recommend the readers of Hagenbach to study the 4th section of Bishop Bull's *Defensio*, where they will find the true doctrine of the *Subordinatio Filii* treated with all the lucidness of statement and depth of learning for which its great author is celebrated. It is needless to say that Mr. Bright's history of Arianism does not aim at this. Indeed, the only point which we note in it, as calling for discussion, is his account of the Council of Antioch, held in 341. Had he consulted Pagi, and the quarto of Schlestrate, he might have seen reason to think that there were possibly two Councils held in the city at that time—a Catholic and a semi-Arian. We say this, *pace* Mr. Robertson; for his argument that the Council was received through the efforts of the late Nicenes, S. Basil and the two Gregories, who had originally been connected with the semi-Arian party, seems to us insufficient; for the Council was received from the first (A.D. 341), and consequently before they came on the scene.¹

We venture to point out what appear to us two desiderata in this part of the works both of Mr. Robertson and Mr. Bright, which, if supplied, would both make them easier of reference, and, as we think, impart to them additional interest. We wish that they had given two or three chapters relating separately and distinctly the history of the heretical and semi-heretical schools; *e.g.* that, like Dr. Newman, in his work on the Arians, they had given a succinct view of the different classes of semi-Arians. To this might be added an account, with a comparison of their doctrines, of Aëtius and Eunomius, Photinus, Acacius of Cæsarea, and such members of the lower schools of heresy. The same plan might have been followed with advantage in the case of the semi-Pelagians. And secondly, we wish that they had given, in a brief appendix to their works, a statement of the succession of Bishops to each of the great sees in East and West, during the time embraced by their histories.

On Pelagianism, Messrs. Robertson and Bright have both done what they could in their time, and with their space. The history of this great heresy by the former is much the better of the two. Mr. Robertson has evidently the deeper and more extensive knowledge of the question at issue. At the same time, to write a perfect history of Pelagianism would take more

¹ S. Gregory Nazianzen was born about the time of the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325; S. Basil about 329 (Bened. Life, § II.). S. Gregory Nyssen was his younger brother.

years of reading than our historians have, as it appears, yet had to live. It was not done perfectly even by Jansen, though making it his life's work, and after reading through S. Augustine's entire works on the subject no less than thirty times; and perhaps it never will or can be done.

The question is a subjective one; and the historical element should therefore have been made subordinate to the doctrinal. Two personages alone should fill the foreground: S. Augustine and Pelagius. On them is the interest concentrated; and the doings of all the others, Popes or Bishops, are of quite secondary moment. But Mr. Bright has brought S. Augustine's contemporaries too prominently forward; by raising their consequence in the question he lowers that of S. Augustine himself. In fact, we can only say that a subjective question is related by him objectively; and consequently we can form from his pages little idea of the depth and wonderful power and richness of S. Augustine's works on the subject.

The heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches, as being of a very different nature, and lying in a smaller compass, are more easily described. We prefer Mr. Bright's account of Nestorianism, on the whole, to that of Mr. Robertson. It is more fresh and life-like, being derived from original sources, which Mr. Robertson's is not. They both know better than to commit Hagenbach's mistake: 1st, That the question arose from the mere use of the term *Θεοτόκος*; and 2dly, that this expression had been brought into use 'by the increasing honour paid to the Virgin' (p. 273). They are aware that it had been used by Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, against Arius, upwards of a century before Nestorius, and, as a great authority enables us to add, by S. Dionysius of Alexandria, against Paul of Samosata, just sixty-eight years earlier still.¹

Mr. Bright's description of the Latrocinium is the most graphic and picturesque part of his book; and his account of the Council of Chalcedon is also well and carefully done, though he would, in our opinion at least, have done as much or more for the great question therein debated, had he produced either in the original, or if so it must be, in a translation, the tome of S. Leo. But the doctrinal part (which is the permanent one) is made by him, as others have done before him, to give way to the merely historical (which was only the part of the day and hour), and for this treatment of the subject we see no adequate reason.

The tendencies of the histories of the Englishmen and of the Germans are as different as light to darkness. In those of our own countrymen reverence to authority, Divine and

¹ Suicer in verb.

human: humility and submission of the mere intellect and its feeble powers to the higher principle of faith, are seen in every page, and pervade their whole works. With the Germans, because we do not know what is not revealed, we have no certainty about what is. In consequence, to anything which they assert which happens to be out of the sphere of our own knowledge, we necessarily listen with the utmost distrust. We must carefully test everything we find in their pages, of which we do not at the moment know the absolute truth or falsehood. We cannot receive it because they say it: far otherwise, their assertions are too often rather a guarantee that what they say is not to be admitted.

They are a warning of what men come to, who make the doctrines of the Christian faith a matter of mere and exclusive intellectual exercise. In this respect, also, the works of our English Churchmen form a happy contrast. If the latter are sometimes rather dry, and if they lack the graphic powers of Dr. Stanley, they are at least productions of men of reverential and believing minds, who see that there is room for far more in Christianity than mere exertions of the intellect; and thus their readers gain the benefit (wholly unattainable from the Germans) of being at once taught the true faith of Christ and His Church, and of having their minds formed to study ecclesiastical history, as it always ought to be studied, in a spirit of humility and devotion; in the spirit of the truly wise, who 'soar but never roam;' in the spirit, not merely of learning what this Father held or that Council ruled, but of improving themselves in knowledge, and helping themselves to grow in grace, and thereby increasing their ability, according to their position, of doing God's work in their day.

ART. III.—1. *Le Père Félix, Etude et Biographie.* Par ARMAND DE PONTMARTIN. Paris: C. Dillet, Libraire-Editeur. 1861.

2. *Le Progrès par le Christianisme: Conférences de Notre-Dame de Paris.* Par le R. P. FÉLIX, de la Compagnie de Jésus. Paris: Librairie Adrien Le Clère et Cie. 1856—1860.

A CERTAIN M. Charles-Hippolyte Castille, a well-known French *littérateur* in general, of the peculiar democratic-socialist-revolutionary-absolutist school inaugurated by Napoleon III., and romancer, historian, and biographer in particular, and whose histories and biographies, let us add, are frequently about as truthful and lively as his romances, has, during the last five or six years—finding, doubtless, that such things answered better than the *Histoire de la seconde République française* and similar works (in which our facile and imaginative author endeavours to prove that absolutism and revolution are natural and inseparable allies)—devoted himself to the publication of what he calls *Portraits Historiques* of some of the most eminent French and foreign literary, political, and ecclesiastical characters of the time. These so-called *portraits historiques*, such of them, at least, as we have seen, are replete with exaggeration and distortion, and often with pure and undiluted scandal, frequently mere *portraits de fantaisie*, caricatures, in short, which the unfortunate subjects of them would scarcely recognise for themselves. This has not, however, prevented their meeting with an extensive circulation in France; nay, possibly their very defects have contributed to their wide popularity. One of M. Hippolyte Castille's last sketches is one of the Père Félix, the celebrated preacher at Notre-Dame. Of this *portrait* M. de Pontmartin says, without much ceremony, that 'tout, depuis les traits du visage jusqu'aux bases de l'argumentation, est défini, guré, noyé, estompé, vulgarisé, de façon à ne plus rien garder de ce qui explique le succès du prédicateur et l'autorité de l'homme.'—(*Le Père Félix*, p. 9.) To neutralise, therefore, the effect of M. Castille's caricature, the Jesuit Father's friends have determined to publish an authentic account of his life and labours, and they have entrusted the task to the pen of the accomplished M. de Pontmartin, who himself tells us, in a short introduction to his own portrait of the Père Félix, that it differs from that of M. Castille in these three by no means unim-

portant particulars :—‘ Le portrait est ressemblant : nous n’avancerons que des faits dont nous sommes sûrs ; et nous tâcherons d’écrire en français : c’est déjà une triple supériorité que nous possédons sur nos adversaires.’—(*Le Père Félix*, p. 14.)

Under M. de Pontmartin’s guidance, we proceed to give a short account of the life and works of the eminent preacher, adding a few facts which have reached us from a distinguished Parisian friend, or of which we happen to have a personal knowledge. Since Ravignan’s death, and Lacordaire’s compulsory retirement from the pulpit of Notre-Dame, the Père Félix passes for the most eloquent preacher in the French capital. The *élite* of Parisian society repairs to Notre-Dame to hear him every Lent. The old cathedral is full of students and literary men of all classes and opinions. Nay, we believe that M. Cousin himself has been seen more than once ‘to sit under’ the distinguished Jesuit preacher! A short sketch of him, with a summary of his *Conférences*, and a few extracts from them, may therefore, perhaps, prove not altogether uninteresting to English readers.

Célestin-Joseph Félix was born at Neuville-sur-Escaut, a small village in the *canton* of Bouchain, and *arrondissement* of Valenciennes, on the 29th of June, 1810, and was the youngest of eight children. M. de Pontmartin informs us that he belongs to an honourable family. His parentage is, however, very humble, his father being a simple *ouvrier*. Young Félix received his first education at the College and at the small seminary of Cambrai. Being intended for the priesthood, he removed at the age of twenty to the great seminary, where he remained two years. In 1833, he was appointed by the Archbishop of Cambrai Professor of Rhetoric in the little seminary of that town. He occupied this chair four years, at the end of which he decided upon becoming a member of the Society of Jesus. He passed his noviciate first at Tronchiennes, near Ghent, then at the celebrated College of Saint-Acheul, near Amiens, and finally at Brugelette in Belgium, where he habitually resided for several years. Here he devoted himself to the study of philosophy, of the moral sciences, and of literature generally. He then spent three years at Louvain, and one at Laval, in the study of dogmatic and moral theology. After passing the usual examinations, he returned to Brugelette, where he taught, from 1844 to 1847, rhetoric and philosophy.

‘Si nous accumulons toutes ces dates,’ says his biographer, ‘dans une sèche nomenclature, ce n’est pas pour nous donner le facile mérite de paraître bien informé ; c’est pour montrer par quelle série de préparations et de travaux le P. Félix est arrivé au pied de cette chaire d’où sa voix et son nom ont retenti dans tout le monde catholique : c’est pour que l’on sache mieux comment ont été remplies ces années dont l’obscurité et le silence ont si fort étonné et inquiété certain biographe [M. Hippolyte Castille] ; c’est afin de rappeler, par un

exemple entre mille, ce qu'il faut de temps, de persévérance, d'étude patiente et infatigable pour tremper et compléter l'armure d'un de ces défenseurs de la foi, dont nos modernes penseurs parlent avec un dédain si superbe : c'est pour avoir le droit de leur demander par quel prodige d'intuition ou d'audace ils se posent en antagonistes vis-à-vis de l'orateur chrétien, et réfutent tout ce qu'il sait par tout ce qu'ils ignorent.'—*Le Père Félix*, pp. 18, 19.

The application and energy with which Father Félix devoted himself to the duties of his professorship proved well-nigh fatal to his future eminence as a great pulpit orator. The excessive use of the voice had brought on, in 1847, a sore throat, which seemed at first likely to be attended with the most serious consequences. Overwork had produced such complete exhaustion in the throat, that it was at one time feared he would be totally deprived of the use of his voice. The malady, however, at length yielded to judicious medical treatment, which he undertook a journey to Paris to receive; after which, with a view to effect a thorough cure, as well as to terminate the last year of probation, which the Jesuits call *le troisième an*, he retired to the convent of Notre-Dame d'Ay, situated a few leagues from Annonay, in the midst of the mountains of the Ardèche.

The following years he delivered, for the first time, a series of sermons during Lent, which seem to have been attended with good results. This was the year of the *journées de Février*, when revolutionary madness was at its height; when socialism and red-republicanism were not only widely spread among the masses, but enthroned in high places; when the most demoralizing political, moral, and social theories, and insane speculations—too often secretly winked at by some of the French clergy, when not openly countenanced—were afloat, and when Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity were the order of the day. The town of Rive-de-Gier, in the department of the Loire, partook of the great social commotion which then agitated most French cities, and its population, composed principally of workmen, struck—the better, M. de Pontmartin sarcastically adds, *pour constater leur droit au travail!* Matters assumed a most serious aspect in that flourishing manufacturing town, while the clergy and civil authorities found themselves powerless to restore peace. *En désespoir de cause*, the Père Félix was sent for to address the people. He preached with such vigour and effect that in a short time the workmen of Rive-de-Gier resumed their work, and order was perfectly re-established. He appears to have left behind him the most agreeable recollections among the population; and recently, having had occasion to revisit the town and preach in its church, large crowds flocked to hear him. In 1850, he delivered a series of lectures on literature to the novices of the College of Saint-Acheul, and, the year after, taught rhetoric in the

recently erected College of La Providence, at Amiens. He also, in 1850 and 1851, preached during Advent and Lent in the cathedral of that town. But he was now called to a more important sphere. His sermons at Amiens were so remarkable that the preacher's fame extended to Paris, and thither he was summoned in September, 1851. He was now in his forty-first year, and was about to reap the fruit of his many years' continuous study and application, and careful and systematic training.

'Sauf quelques rares circonstances,' says his biographer, 'quelques prédications aux élèves des collèges où il professait, et un modeste début en province, le P. Félix n'avait été encore que l'un de ces obscurs soldats auxquels la Compagnie de Jésus assigne le poste où ils doivent vivre et mourir. Sage et féconde lenteur, si on la compare à notre hâte de produire tout ce que nous avons appris hier, tout ce que nous oublierons demain! Les Conférences de Notre-Dame, cet ensemble de discours si ingénieux, si sagement ordonnés et ornés, d'une trame si solide, si purs de contour et de forme, ce corps de doctrines si substantielles et si sûres, sont le produit et comme l'essence d'un quart de siècle consumé dans la méditation, l'étude et le travail, façonné à de rudes apprentissages, livré à cette tâche ingrate du professorat où les hommes les mieux doués sont obligés d'éteindre peu à peu leur imagination comme une lampe inutile. Voilà comment s'est utilisé ce temps de préparation et d'épreuve dont on s'est plaint de ne pas connaître l'emploi! Voilà comment a préludé à sa vie militante et publique cet homme que l'on a accusé de ne s'être laissé voir et connaître qu'au moment où un rayon de soleil, glissant à travers les vitraux de Notre-Dame, nous l'a montré, debout dans sa chaire, l'œil fixé sur la croix, le front levé au ciel.'—*Le Père Félix*, pp. 23, 24.

Most worthy of imitation, in one notable respect at least, is the system of theological and pulpit training existing in the French Church. It stands in melancholy and humiliating contrast with the course usually adopted in our own. Amongst us theology is seldom studied as a science, frequently it is not studied at all. It has been recently remarked by a thoughtful and able theologian, in a most opportune volume, that our candidates for orders 'require to be educated in Divinity,' and that this want 'is the fontal source of all the mischief of our own day.' He draws the following portraiture of the sort of theological education supplied in his own University—and what applies to that University is true also of its sister—and the portraiture is not overcharged.

'We in Oxford,' says Mr. Burgon, 'give no systematic training to our candidates for Holy Orders. We do not even attempt it. Nay, incredible to relate, we do not give them any training at all. And the fatal consequences of this omission are to be seen on every side. A youth no sooner gets through "the Schools," and graduates in Arts, than he inquires for a Curacy. During the three months, perhaps six, of interval, he makes himself sufficiently acquainted with the Alphabet of Divinity to enable him to satisfy the very modest requirements of the Bishop's examination; after which he finds himself at once actively engaged in the bishopric of souls and the profession of

Theology. It is probable that the realities of the ministerial calling, and the eminently practical nature of such an one's daily life, will keep *this* man from error. Not so his—more, shall I say, or less?—fortunate fellow-student; who, by hard self-relying labour, having obtained distinction in the Schools, finds himself in the enjoyment of a fellowship, and straightway engages in the work of tuition. This man, whose fellowship is his “title” for orders, studies Divinity, or neglects it, at pleasure: and if he studies it, he studies it in his own way. He has read a little of heathen Ethics with great care; or he has trained himself to the exactness of mathematical inference. With the purest idiom of ancient Greece he has also made himself very familiar. He is, besides, a Master of Arts. What need to add that such an one is not therefore a Master of *Divinity*? possesses no qualification which authorizes him to dogmatize about any one department of Theological Science?¹

True, these sad deficiencies and anomalies in our theological educational system are to some extent being rectified by the establishment of theological colleges in certain dioceses; but these colleges are still few and far between; and until the whole of our present painfully inadequate, vague, and shallow system of preparation for the ministry of the Word and Sacraments is remodelled and placed on a more definite and comprehensive basis; until the Church herself takes up the work, and provides and prescribes a systematic course of theological training for all candidates for Orders, we fear that she will be deprived of a most substantial element of strength and influence, and that we shall continue to labour under innumerable evils.

In another respect does this portion of the life of Father Félix teach us a valuable lesson. When once we do possess—in spite of the shadowy and unsatisfactory system prevalent amongst us—in spite of the absence of all scientific training of candidates for the priesthood—an able and eloquent preacher, what use do we make of him? How is he too frequently treated? Is he placed in such an appropriate sphere of duty as is likely to afford full and unfettered scope to his powers for good, for teaching, reclaiming, influencing the masses, and presenting to them the momentous truths of religion with all the adjuncts and charms of a perspicuous and forcible style, and of a ready delivery and effective address? No! it may happen that he seldom has the opportunity of preaching at all; and if he has, he may possibly be prevented from doing so by other duties of an absorbing nature. Instead of regularly, or, at least, at stated periods, occupying our cathedral or metropolitan pulpits, where, under God, he might be the means of influencing thousands for their eternal good, he may be vegetating, unhonoured and unknown, on some paltry curacy in a remote village, or be relegated to the headship of a school, or the vice-principalship of a hall, with but scanty opportunities of

¹ *Inspiration and Interpretation*, pp. xix. xx. Oxford: J. H. and J. Parker.

exercising his distinguishing and peculiar talents, and even then, possibly, only in a very limited and contracted sphere. Far differently and far better are these things managed in France and other countries, as is evidenced in the life of every continental preacher of eminence; and it seems to us we might derive a useful lesson from the system pursued in sister Churches in that respect. As soon as a superior or a bishop perceives that a candidate for the priesthood has the stuff of a good preacher, and exhibits oratorical power, his training for the holy office of preacher is carefully attended to, full scope is afforded him for the exercise and development of his peculiar gifts, his oratorical abilities are sedulously cultivated and his efforts encouraged, and, when he has proved himself an able preacher, he is eventually placed in the particular sphere in which he is likely to effect the greatest amount of good. This was the case with Father Félix, and with every great French pulpit orator with whom we are acquainted. He showed, from the first, in spite of certain physical and constitutional defects, a talent for preaching; this talent, by patient study, constant practice, and steady perseverance, was cultivated and improved, and he now ranks in the very first class of living French preachers. With us the aptitude and energies of such a man would probably have been allowed to remain uncultivated and dormant; and if, in spite of the system now in vogue, or rather, in spite of the want of system, he had succeeded in proving himself an accomplished preacher, it is as likely as not that instead of being placed, like Father Félix, in his own legitimate sphere of duty, and commending the Divine message to thousands of willing and captivated hearers, he would be passing his time, neglected and all but unknown, as curate in some remote Cornish district, or in the midst of the Welsh mountains, or as under-master in a grammar-school!

Immediately after his arrival in Paris, Father Félix was engaged in the laborious duties of preaching. He delivered a series of sermons during the Advent of 1851, at the church of Saint-Thomas d'Aquin, another series, during Lent in 1852, at the church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and another in the Advent of the same year at Saint-Sulpice. In 1853, he preached his first Conferences at Notre-Dame.

These Conferences were instituted, we believe, soon after the Revolution of 1830, by Mgr. de Quelen, late Archbishop of Paris, for a particular purpose, for a special auditory, and the peculiar treatment of questions, more or less connected with the truths of religion and the intellectual, moral, and social condition of France, which could not always be touched at all in sermons of the ordinary type; and, identified as these

Conferences are with the brilliant successes of Ravignan and Lacordaire, they have acquired a world-wide fame. Of these Conferences M. Castille thus speaks—with some amount of truth this time—in his account of the Père Félix:—

‘Partout ailleurs le prédicateur s’adresse à une foule qui est censée pénétrée, convaincue des vérités chrétiennes, et avec laquelle on ne discute pas, à laquelle on n’explique pas, mais à laquelle on impose la parole de l’Eglise. Dans ces Conférences, au contraire, on s’adresse à l’auditoire, comme s’il était étranger ou presque étranger aux vérités chrétiennes, pour le convaincre et lui démontrer. Voilà pourquoi la chaire de Notre-Dame est réservée aux orateurs chrétiens les plus illustres, pourquoi elle a tant d’éclat, et pourquoi fidèles, indifférents et même adversaires s’y portent enthousiastes ou curieux.’¹
—*Le Père Félix, par Hippolyte Castille*, p. 14.

These Conferences are well adapted to the present religious and social condition of France, and the peculiar character of its people; and there can be no doubt they have produced incalculable good. They range over all sorts of subjects—sacred history, religion, natural and revealed, the Church, philosophy, commerce, virtue and vice, rationalism, infidelity. Thus it is that, in his Conferences, Lacordaire has treated of the constitution of the Church, the pope’s supreme headship, Scripture, faith, reason, catholic doctrine and practice, the fall and restoration of man, the being of a God, liberty, patriotism, railways, and the Emperor Napoleon; while Félix, after him, has discussed, or adverted to, Christianity as the true source of all real progress, society, marriage, Christian liberty, equality, and fraternity, the Reformation, the Revolution of 1789, the infidel literature of the day, the pope’s supremacy, materialism, socialism, theatres, crinoline, spirit-rapping and table-turning, and lashed with commendable spirit and energy the prevalent habits, fashions, foibles, and vices of his countrymen. These Conferences, ever since their establishment, have been very

¹ One who has acquired immortal renown by his own Conferences, thus speaks of their nature and object:—‘On a demandé quel était le but pratique de ces Conférences? Quel est, a-t-on dit, le but de cette parole singulière, moitié religieuse, moitié philosophique, qui affirme et qui débat, et qui semble se jouer sur les confins du ciel et de la terre? Son but, son but unique, quoique souvent elle ait atteint par delà, c’est de préparer les âmes à la foi, parce que la foi est le principe de l’espérance, de la charité et du salut, et que ce principe, affaibli en France par soixante ans d’une littérature corruptrice, aspire à y renaître, et ne demande que l’ébranlement d’une parole amie, d’une parole qui supplie plus qu’elle ne commande, qui épargne plus qu’elle ne frappe, qui entrouvre l’horizon plus qu’elle ne le déchire, qui traite enfin avec l’intelligence, et lui ménage la lumière comme on ménage la vie à un être malade et tendrement aimé. Si ce but n’est pas pratique, qu’est-ce qui le sera sur la terre? Pour nous, qui avons connu la douleur et le charme de l’inérédulité, quand nous avons versé une seule goutte de foi dans une âme tourmentée de la magie de son absence, nous remercions et bénissons Dieu, et ne l’eussions-nous fait qu’une seule fois en notre vie, au prix et à la sueur de cent discours, nous remercierions et nous bénirions encore.’—*Œuvres de Lacordaire*, tom. ii. pp. 5, 6. Paris, 1858.

popular, and attended by large crowds of literary men, lawyers, professors, and others, who would scarce go to ordinary sermons, and some of whom doubtless repair to Notre-Dame as they would to a rich intellectual treat.

In 1853, as well as in the two following years, Father Félix delivered Conferences at Notre-Dame. We are not informed what their particular subject was; but they bore upon socialism, and some of the great moral and religious problems of the day. They do not appear to have attracted any very extraordinary attention, and we do not think they have been published. At length, in 1856, were commenced those now before us, entitled *Le Progrès par le Christianisme*.

M. de Pontmartin's biography contains some very forcible and apposite remarks on the special characteristics of the *enseignement* successively put forth by Lacordaire, Ravignan, and Félix, and its adaptedness to the wants of the particular epoch. We will give the passage in full. It is not only remarkable for the general correctness, and the discriminating appreciation it contains of the distinguishing merits of the three great preachers, but it also affords a good specimen of M. de Pontmartin's power of expression and elegance of style, as well as of the estimation in which he holds the Imperial Government. Some of the details are, perhaps, overwrought and somewhat fanciful, but the general features of the picture he draws of the state of French society are essentially life-like, and the great distinctive characteristics of each preacher's subject and mode of treatment admirably portrayed.

'Sans remonter plus haut,' says he, 'que la révolution de 1830, signalons trois phases différentes, pour ou contre lesquelles la Providence a ménagé trois enseignements différents, représentés par trois hommes également appropriés, au moment où ils paraissent, au combat qu'ils livrent, à l'auditoire qu'ils subjuguent. L'avènement du P. Lacordaire dans cette illustre chaire des Conférences coïncida, on s'en souvient, avec un temps où l'esprit nouveau était encore dans toute sa fièvre de liberté et de conquêtes, où les voix du passé n'avaient plus d'échos, où il était impossible d'amortir, mais essentiel de diriger cette fougue juvénile, mêlée de généreux enthousiasmes et de dangereux entraînements. Le P. Lacordaire se plaça hardiment au milieu, au cœur même de cette génération dont il avait compris, partagé peut-être tous les rêves, de cette jeunesse qu'une double révolution politique et littéraire poussait aux aventures et aux extrêmes. Il n'essaya pas de la décourager ou [?] ni de la refroidir; il lui dit: "Tu as soif d'idéal; ta liberté t'enivre; l'infini t'attire et te tourmente: heureuse soif! noble ivresse! attrait et tourment dont tu dois être fière! Ton but est digne de toi; mais il n'est pas où tu le cherches; cet infini auquel tu aspiras, tu ne le trouveras pas sur la terre, dans l'assouvissement de passions bornées et misérables qui ne te laisseront que lassitude et dégoût, dans la poursuite de sophismes menteurs, chargés d'affaires du doute, déguisés en courtisans de la vérité. Dieu seul peut t'expliquer ce secret de grandeur et de misère qui est ton honneur et ton supplice: dans le Ciel seul, auquel tendra sans cesse et malgré toi la portion divine de ton être, tu ressaisiras cet idéal de liberté et d'amour, de vérité et de beauté, dont le monde

ne t'offre que de décevantes images. Comme toi, je suis un enfant du siècle : j'ai rêvé, souffert, espéré, erré comme toi ; je ne viens pas du fond de ces sanctuaires inconnus où l'on t'a dit que des gardiens ombrageux veillaient sur des dogmes immobiles : Suis-moi ! Ne nous séparons pas ; faisons ensemble le pèlerinage ; remontons ensemble aux sources éternelles ! La liberté est le plus précieux, mais le plus fragile de nos biens. Toutes ces passions terrestres, toutes ces révoltes humaines qui militent en son nom conspirent à la briser : trempons-la dans les eaux vives de la foi et de l'amour ; elle en sortira transformée en un acier impérissable."—En un mot, c'est dans le monde, au milieu des hommes, que se posa le P. Lacordaire, pour les entraîner avec lui vers Dieu : il leur montra que ces aspirations ardentes, dont il ne leur demandait pas le sacrifice, ne pouvaient avoir qu'une issue, le Ciel ; qu'une réponse, l'Évangile.

Quelques années s'écoulèrent ; l'aspect de la société changea : les grands programmes avaient avorté en de petites œuvres ; les grandes causes s'étaient perdues en de petits effets. Un vague sentiment de fatigue et de regret s'empara de cette génération superbe, que la science trahissait déjà, que la liberté allait trahir, qui chaque jour voyait une idée se détacher de son chemin et tomber avec un bruit lugubre, comme ces pierres qui se cassent sous le pied du voyageur et dont les débris roulent au fond du gouffre. En même temps, l'on s'aperçut que ce passé, répudié en masse, avait du bon ; qu'il était difficile d'écarter sans péril ou de remplacer sans désavantage tout ce qu'il apportait de garanties d'ordre et d'autorité dans le monde moral, dans l'organisation sociale ; qu'en politique peut-être, en religion très-probablement, d'immenses injustices avaient été commises ; qu'il était temps de s'arrêter sur cette pente, si l'on voulait sauver du naufrage ce qui pouvait encore être sauvé. Le P. de Ravignan répondit admirablement à cette période de désabusement et de lassitude, à ces lendemains d'ivresse intellectuelle, à ces velléités de retour vers tout ce que l'on avait calomnié et démoli. Il n'avait rien accepté de son siècle que cette robe de jésuite, destinée, semblait-il, à tous les outrages : il arrivait d'un camp opposé à celui des vainqueurs, et il se trouvait que ceux-ci, embarrassés ou effrayés de leur triomphe, étaient près de s'humilier devant ce vaincu. A cet auditoire qu'avaient tour à tour travaillé le sophisme et le doute, il disait avec un accent de pieuse certitude : "Nous, messieurs, nous croyons." Et ces simples mots marquaient à la fois le point de départ et le but, la séparation passée et le rapprochement possible entre le prédicateur et l'assemblée. Il se tenait à l'ombre de la croix et, pour ainsi dire, à côté de son Dieu, nous adjurant d'aller vers lui, non plus au nom de nos songes et de nos conquêtes, mais de nos déceptions et de nos chutes. Le P. de Ravignan fut le médiateur de cette réparation suprême, à laquelle avaient droit bien des choses humaines ou sacrées qui trouvèrent en lui leur expression la plus parfaite. L'onction majestueuse de sa figure et de sa parole, la beauté de son langage, l'ardeur de sa foi, la sainteté de sa vie, son action incessante sur les âmes, acclimatant de nouveau le passé dans le présent, firent profiter la religion de tous les préjugés, de tous les souvenirs et de tous les prétextes dont on s'était armé contre elle.

"Mais le siècle fait encore un pas : il ne s'agit plus d'enthousiasme, ni même, hélas ! de regret ou de lassitude. A l'esprit de conquête et d'aventure, aux tristesses du mécompte, a succédé la satisfaction égoïste de l'être matériel, prêt à remplacer le chimérique par le positif, le rêve par le chiffre, à se consoler, dans le monde des affaires, des défaillances du monde moral et des déceptions de l'intelligence. On ne prétend plus créer des poétiques nouvelles, ni de nouvelles philosophies. On fait bon marché de tout ce qui s'offrait ou se dérobait naguère au génie ou à l'orgueil moderne. Désormais, c'est à ses alliances victorieuses avec la matière, c'est au progrès de l'industrie, de la science, de la vapeur, de la machine, du bien être, que l'homme demande ses brevets de

grandeur et d'omnipotence. Favorisé par des événements qui humilient la sagesse humaine, surexcité par des institutions qui ôtent à la pensée intelligente et libre sa responsabilité et son initiative, ce progrès d'un nouveau genre devient le mot d'ordre, le symbole, le *credo* d'une époque qui ne veut plus subir ni l'humiliation de croire ni le chagrin de douter. Il monte dans toutes les chaires, il s'affiche sur tous les murs, il s'affirme dans tous les livres; il recrute des armées de savants, de travailleurs, d'artistes, d'ingénieurs, de charlatans et de dupes; il démolit les villes pour les rebâtir, donne la fièvre au capital pour doubler sa force, ajoute des rayons neufs à l'antique roue de la fortune, fait tourbillonner dans une ronde du sabbat les millions fantastiques. Il s'insinue à la fois dans la société officielle, heureuse de déplacer ainsi les éléments de l'activité ou de l'agitation publique, et dans cette société souterraine qui poursuit sous ses airs affairés son travail clandestin et destructeur. Semblable au loup devenu berger, il n'est qu'un des mille déguisements ou une des mille transformations du socialisme; de ce socialisme qui épouvante lorsqu'il tient à la main une torche, un pavé ou un journal maculé par des mains d'ouvriers, et qui rassure lorsqu'il se présente en habit brodé, un carton sous le bras, correctement fidèle aux formalités bureaucratiques. Le Progrès!

Le progrès réalisant des merveilles, le progrès accompli par l'homme seul, assez fort pour se passer de Dieu, voilà l'idole dont le culte allait succéder aux religions tombées: qu'importaient les chutes et les faux pas dans les âpres sentiers de la métaphysique, sur les cimes de l'idéal? Sur ce chemin déblayé, nettoyé, sablé, bordé d'arbustes aux fruits d'or, sans autre horizon que les richesses et les plaisirs de la terre, l'humanité devait marquer chacune de ses haltes par une découverte, chacun de ses pas par un prodige.'—*Le Père Félix*, pp. 26—32.

It seems that the plan of these Conferences had been for some time in the mind of Father Félix. If we are to credit M. Hippolyte Castille, the cause, which finally decided him to take up the subject of *Le Progrès par le Christianisme*, was the Universal Exhibition of Art and Industry, which took place in Paris in 1855. 'A la vue,' says he, in his peculiar style, 'du pèlerinage des hommes du siècle vers ce temple de la matière, en comparant la foule qui assiégea pendant plusieurs mois le palais des Champs-Élysées, à la foule moins pressée qui venait aux églises, le Père Félix se sentit pris de tristesse et de colère.' He proposed the subject to Mgr. Sibour, who, however, afforded him no great encouragement at first. In the meanwhile, he discussed it with several intimate friends, and among them with Donoso Cortès, who thoroughly entered into the plan of his projected Conferences, and offered him many valuable hints and suggestions as to its treatment. When the general principle and scope of these sermons had been methodically and elaborately drawn out, Father Félix once more submitted the matter to the Archbishop of Paris, who, struck with the *actualité* of the subject proposed, and with the preacher's strength of conviction as to the successful realization of his object, warmly approved of it, and gave his blessing both to the preacher and to his undertaking: 'Allez, je vous bénis, vous et votre sujet.' Six months afterwards, in Lent,

1856, commenced the celebrated *Conférences sur le Progrès par le Christianisme*.

We have not space to enter into an elaborate analysis of these five volumes, each of which contains six Conferences, but we will give a summary of their contents and a few passages from them, in illustration of the preacher's treatment of his subject and of his style. In the three first Conferences of the first volume, the subject of Progress is proposed, and its *point de départ* and *terme final* discussed. The value of material progress, and the danger of its exaggeration, are examined in the fourth; *Le Progrès matériel devant le Christianisme*, and *La nécessité du Progrès moral par rapport à la science, à l'art et à la société*, form the subject of the fifth and sixth. We will give the exordium of the first, parts of which are somewhat involved:—

‘Lorsque des mots résumant dans un siècle des tendances générales et des aspirations profondes, viennent à retentir avec éclat dans les sociétés, et à se faire sur les âmes un empire universel, telle est leur puissance, qu'ils apportent avec eux des prospérités ou des désastres, selon qu'ils ont pour interprète la vérité ou l'erreur, et rendent le sens de Dieu ou le sens de l'homme. Les nations, en entendant passer ces voix qui font tressaillir de tressaillements inconnus les générations nouvelles, sont dans l'attente; elles espèrent ou elles tremblent, et se promettent la vie ou la mort, selon le sens qui est donné à ces mots, qui semblent porter en eux la destinée du monde.

‘C'est alors que l'apostolat catholique, toujours ému des besoins et des dangers de cette humanité qu'il a mission de sauver, se préoccupe, lui aussi, de ces mots, devenus pour les peuples qui les écoutent des signes d'espérance ou des menaces de ruines. Montrant aux générations vivantes le côté de sa doctrine qui répond à l'heure où Dieu l'envoie, il dit le sens divin des paroles qui remuent les hommes, pour en faire sortir avec l'oracle de la vérité le salut de la société; et une fois de plus, arrachée aux dangers dont la menaçaient des bruits pleins de tempêtes, l'humanité applaudit à ce Verbe libérateur qui depuis bientôt deux mille ans la sauve, par la puissance de la doctrine, du redoutable empire des mots.

‘Or, parmi les mots fameux qui se font dans l'humanité un ascendant efficace, et lui promettent des prospérités ou des ruines, il en est un qui a conquis au milieu de nous un prestige plus éclatant et un empire plus absolu que tous les autres: mot célèbre s'il en fut jamais, que répètent de nos jours toutes les voix de l'humanité et tous les échos du monde. Ce mot, déjà vous l'avez prononcé: le *Progrès*!’—Vol. i. pp. 3—5.

In the fifth Conference, entitled *Le Progrès matériel devant le Christianisme*, we meet with the following estimate of the legitimate province of matter, and how it must be made subservient to higher interests. It is a splendid passage, and we are told it was greatly admired at the time of its delivery. After passing a short eulogy on the founder of his Order, the preacher continues:—

‘Spiritualisme le plus pur, le plus austère et le plus divinement modéré qu'on ait jamais enseigné aux hommes, le christianisme, d'accord avec le bon sens des peuples, vous crie par toute sa doctrine et par toute sa morale: “O rois de la création, ô souverains de la matière, reconnaissez avec la dignité que je vous

fais le devoir que je vous impose. La matière est une esclave, elle ne doit que vous obéir. Si vous renversez par la folie de vos pensées l'ordre que Dieu a fondé sur la sagesse de ses décrets; si vous mettez la servante à la place de la souveraine; si, abdiquant volontairement la royauté que vous tenez de Dieu, vous jetez aux orgies de la matière le sceptre de l'esprit, je vous déclare déchus de votre rang et de votre souveraineté; si, à force d'agrandir au milieu de vous la fonction de la matière, vous arrivez à lui faire une domination qui vous dégrade, au nom de Dieu je vous condamne; et si c'était là le dernier mot de ce que vous nommez le Progrès matériel, fidèle aux traditions de mon Calvaire et à mon enseignement de dix-huit siècles, moi le christianisme, tel aujourd'hui que je fus en tout temps, je vous crierais, en regardant le ciel et l'éternité: Anathème au Progrès matériel! Je n'accepte pas plus dans la société la souveraineté de la matière, que je n'accepte dans l'homme la souveraineté du corps. Je suis la sainteté, je condamne, je flétris, je repousse la débauche sociale, comme je repousse, je condamne et je flétris la débauche individuelle. Or, dans les sociétés comme dans les hommes, la débauche, la suprême débauche, ne l'oubliez jamais, c'est le règne de la matière sur l'esprit, c'est le despotisme de vos corps imposé à la majesté de vos âmes! Donc, rois et vassaux tout ensemble, rois devant la matière, et vassaux devant Dieu, gardez à la fois votre servage et votre royauté; obéissez à Dieu en commandant à la terre; contraignez la matière de servir vos besoins; mais ne permettez jamais qu'outrepasant ses droits et exagérant sa puissance, la matière se fasse au milieu de vous un empire usurpé qui détrône dans l'humanité la royauté de l'esprit."

'Ainsi parle le christianisme descendu du ciel et parti du Calvaire. Relevant à leurs légitimes hauteurs les aspirations sans bornes que vous laissez trop facilement retomber sur la matière, il vous crie depuis dix-huit siècles, par la voix de son Fondateur: "Cherchez d'abord le royaume de Dieu et sa justice, et tous ces autres biens vous seront donnés par surcroît." Parole la plus sociale qui ait jamais été dite, et que les peuples n'oublieront jamais sans rouler vers des catastrophes qui montreront dans une clarté funèbre ce que c'est que de chercher le bonheur dans le désordre, et la prospérité loin de Dieu et de sa justice.

'Voilà, Messieurs, sur le rôle de la matière dans la destinée humaine, la grande et immortelle philosophie du christianisme. Voilà, devant le développement matériel, son approbation et sa réprobation, ses sympathies et ses répulsions, ses suffrages et ses anathèmes. Ce qu'il approuve et ce qu'il applaudit, c'est la matière moyen, la matière instrument, la matière esclave, la matière au dernier rang. Ce qu'il condamne et ce qu'il repousse, c'est la matière devenue une fin, une souveraine et une ambition principale de la vie. Est-ce clair, Messieurs, est-ce assez clair? Je ne puis vous faire que des discours, je voudrais vous faire des livres, tant j'ai peur qu'après avoir entendu, vous n'ayez pas encore assez compris sur ce point fondamental la vraie pensée du christianisme.'—Vol. i. pp. 236—239.

The first Conference for the year 1857 treats of the necessity of moral Progress, in which the preacher shows that material Progress, and even intellectual Progress, which he defines as *la marche dans le vrai*, must be subordinated to moral Progress, which he describes as *la marche dans le bien*, and that 'le perfectionnement de la matière sans le perfectionnement des hommes aboutit à la décadence et à la ruine.' The next five discuss the following subjects—*La concupiscence, le sensualisme, la cupidité, l'orgueil, le luxe*, which are regarded as obstacles to all true Progress. The treatment of these subjects gives

occasion to the orator to distinguish between true and fictitious civilisation, to depict the moral degradation into which the arts and sciences have fallen in France, to dilate upon and reprobate the sensualism manifested in novels, in painting, and in theatrical pieces, the restless spirit of speculation and gambling which so extensively prevails among all classes, the luxurious habits, and love of show and pomp, which possess so many of his countrymen, and which are exhibited in their houses, their furniture, their equipages, and their dress. He also adverts in this volume to table-turning and the Bourse, gas and civilisation, spirit-rapping and the electric telegraph, theatres and steamers, polkas and capital, and has a passing hit at Luther and the German Reformation, at Michelet and Louis Blanc, at Rousseau and his *Emile*, at Cabet and his *Icaria*, at Fourier and *Fouriérisme*, at Comte and his *Positivisme*, and at Voltaire, with a dash of personality here and there. In these Conferences in particular, the libertinism and scepticism of his countrymen are delineated with a masterly hand, and, at the same time, castigated with a vigour and a *sans-façon* which are really quite delectable. This volume has obtained a 'great success.' It is the only one that has reached a fourth edition, and is just the sort of work likely to be extensively read. Some of the sketches of men and things are exceedingly spirited, racy, and life-like, and must have been greatly relished by the congregation of Notre-Dame. Through several of them there runs a vein of quiet satire and delicate irony, combined with a righteous indignation, which must have been peculiarly effective in the delivery. In the first of these we meet with the following description of the character and conditions of true civilisation, as well as of the dangers which encompass French society:—

'Ah ! nous avons souvent et avec éclat prononcé ce mot de nos jours devenu trop fameux : *Civilisation*. Ces deux mots : Progrès et Civilisation, sont les deux échos de la voix qui remplit aujourd'hui la terre. Mais où réside, pensez-vous, l'essence de la vraie civilisation ? A entendre certains hommes, fascinés par les splendeurs du Progrès matériel, on serait tenté de croire que le peuple le plus civilisé est celui qui a, plus et mieux que tous les autres peuples, des chemins de fer, des bateaux à vapeur, de l'éclairage au gaz, des télégraphes, des palais de l'industrie ; le peuple qui a la bourse la plus célèbre, la banque la plus riche, le numéraire le plus pesant, le capital le plus élevé, le commerce le plus actif, les spéculations les plus hardies ; le peuple qui peut déployer un luxe de vêtements, de festins, d'ameublements et d'habitations, ignoré de tous les autres peuples.

'Rien n'est plus faux. Certes, nous ne blâmons, ni ne réprouvons, même au sein de la vraie civilisation, ces progrès de la matière ; tout cela peut être un ornement, une décoration, une parure de la civilisation, ce n'est pas la civilisation même. La civilisation d'un peuple c'est son éducation ; or, l'éducation légitime et vraiment civilisatrice, c'est avant tout et par-dessus tout le développement du cœur et la culture de l'âme. Essayez de tout

développer et de tout agrandir dans un enfant, tout, excepté ces deux choses, l'âme et le cœur; vous en ferez un petit barbare. Il en est de même d'un peuple. Développez en lui toutes les énergies du corps, tous les instincts de la chair, tout enfin, excepté l'âme et le cœur; que tous dans ce peuple aient le bien-être, tous l'aisance, tous la richesse, tous le plaisir; que l'Icarie devienne la réalité; l'Icarie ne sera qu'une barbarie, barbarie en robe de soie et en carrosse doré, barbarie ayant des palais au lieu de chaumières; mais barbarie toujours. Qu'importe que l'homme ait un vêtement plus soyeux, une nourriture plus délicate, des meubles mieux polis, une demeure plus splendide, s'il n'est lui-même, par l'âme et le cœur, plus poli, plus doux, plus délicat, plus cultivé, plus moral enfin? *Civilisé* au dehors, il demeure *barbare* au dedans. Lorsque ces deux phénomènes viennent à se rencontrer dans un même peuple, au même point de l'espace et de la durée, le Progrès matériel et la décadence morale; alors deux choses se font l'une à l'autre au sein de la société ce contraste saisissant: au dehors des surfaces d'un poli qui ravit les regards, au dedans des âpretés qui épouvantent les âmes; au dehors des magnificences qui étonnent, au dedans des fureurs qui consternent.

'Aussi lorsque j'entends les bruits qui retentissent à la surface du monde social, et que j'écoute attentif les murmures qui grondent dans son fond, je ne puis me défendre d'une frayeur secrète; et je me demande avec effroi si la société ne touche pas peut-être à l'un de ces moments terribles où le fantôme d'une civilisation menteuse menace de s'évanouir en quelques jours au sein d'une barbarie réelle. J'entends vos lèvres qui disent: "Nos mœurs deviennent chaque jour d'une incomparable douceur; la fraternité se développe, la civilisation marche;" et j'entends les âmes qui murmurent: "Nos jours sont chargés de menaces inconnues: des projets affreux se remuent au fond des cœurs; la barbarie n'est plus à la frontière, elle est au fond des âmes; elle attend qu'un souffle passe et lui dise: *Voici l'heure!*"'—Vol. ii. pp. 22—25.

These are beautiful and true words, and never truer than when applied to the present state of French society. Equally graphic and truthful is the following description of a youthful sensualist. It is not unworthy the pen of Bossuet:—

'Voyez le jeune homme, même bien élevé, même religieux, mais livré corps et âme à cet empire énervant du sensualisme: que fera-t-il un jour, là-bas, dans ce vieux château qui a abrité sous son toit tant d'ancêtres fameux et tant d'hommes héroïques? Il vivra, je devrais plutôt dire il végétera dans une atmosphère sensuelle qu'il aspirera du sein des grandes cités pour en envelopper sa demeure. Artiste ou littérateur, il fera de l'art ou de la littérature sensuelle. Etranger aux lettres et aux arts, que fera-t-il pour tuer l'ennui de ses longues journées? Ah! vous le demandez? Il poursuivra de château en château les soirées sensuelles, les bals sensuels, les intrigues et les liaisons sensuelles. Que fera-t-il pour l'abnégation? Rien. Pour le sacrifice? Rien. Pour l'héroïsme? Rien. Que fera-t-il pour la joie de sa mère? Rien. Pour l'honneur de sa famille? Rien. Pour la gloire de son nom? Rien. Que fera-t-il enfin pour se vaincre lui-même, devenir un homme, se faire un caractère? Rien. Aussi, ce bien élevé n'aura pas de caractère, et ce descendant des héros ne sera pas un homme. Fils des croisés, je te salue! Héros de ces temps, j'admire tes exploits! Tes ancêtres s'illustraient sur le champ de bataille; ils refoulaient la barbarie et sauvaient la civilisation; ils étaient de leur temps, ils faisaient de l'héroïsme. Toi, tu t'illustres dans les intrigues, tu brilles dans les bals joyeux et les salons parfumés; poursuis ta noble carrière, va conquérir le plaisir, tu es de ton siècle, tu fais du sensualisme. Oui, le sensualisme, ô chevalier de ce temps, voilà le triomphe de ton courage! Et quel sera le triomphe de ton sensualisme? Un triomphe digne de lui et de

toi, la volupté, cette grande décadence humaine ! Or, si tel est le jeune homme qui a pour résister aux influences du sensualisme le sentiment de la noblesse et l'illustration de la race, que dire de celui qui, jeté dans le même courant, n'a pour résister à ces entraînements rien de ces traditions généreuses et de ces sentiments élevés qui sont l'héritage des grandes familles ? Et qu'attendre de l'un et de l'autre, si ce n'est la chute la plus profonde ?—Vol. ii. p. 116—118.

In the same Conference, we have a vivid portraiture of the nature of French novels, and of their most demoralizing influences upon the whole community. There is no literature so popular in France, and there is none of which the results have been more injurious and destructive.¹ The sketch is so good that we almost feel inclined to suppose that the preacher must have waded through George Sand [Madame Dudevant], the two Dumas, Paul de Kock, Eugène Sue, the two Mussets, Balzac, Soulié, Stendhal Henri [Beyle], Gozlan, Féval, Luchet, *et hoc genus omne*.² We regret that we have no space for an extract. We must, however, give what Félix says of theatres :—

‘J’entends dire que le théâtre est une école de mœurs. On l’a dit toujours. Quand cela s’est-il fait ? Je l’ignore. Quoiqu’il en soit du théâtre en général, j’affirme que si notre théâtre, tel que nous l’avons fait pour répondre aux aspirations de ce temps, est une école de mœurs, c’est avant tout une école de mœurs sensuelles. Laissons les scènes immondes et vraiment immorales que la génération nouvelle fut appelée souvent à contempler au théâtre ; représentations audacieusement lubriques, où l’acteur prépare et le spectateur vient chercher des émotions qui font pleurer les anges et pervertissent les hommes : spectacles hideusement ignobles, inventés par un génie impudique pour parvenir à émuover encore des cœurs blasés et des sens affadis par la grossièreté de l’émotion. Je passe sans m’y arrêter devant ces ignominies ; je ne considère que ce que vous acceptez généralement comme tolérable, si ce n’est comme entièrement honnête. Eh bien, je dis que là aussi, dans ce drame contemporain accepté par le siècle, le sensualisme vous envahit. Le théâtre contemporain, c’est le sensualisme dans la forme dramatique, et beaucoup plus encore le sensualisme dans le fond du drame.

‘Certes, Messieurs, le théâtre, alors même qu’il demeure dans les bornes de

¹ ‘The landlady of my hotel [at Mostaganem], apparently a widow-lady, who retained some traces of having once been handsome, was sitting in her *bureau*, listening to the civil speeches of a middle-aged officer, when I entered to obtain some information. There was also present her daughter, a girl of fifteen or sixteen, who sat busily engaged with a book. I had had occasion to call upon an official person of some rank, and my plans were put out of joint by the circumstance of not finding him at his office. “Ah ! il est probablement chez sa maîtresse,” was the straightforward explanation of my hostess, tendered without the least spice of sarcasm. “Qui est sa maîtresse ?” asked the young lady, raising her eyes from her book. I turned to her in some surprise, and then observed that the subject of her study was a volume of George Sand.”—*Blakesley’s Four Months in Algeria*, p. 222.

² See on this subject M. Menche de Loigne’s *Influence de la littérature française, de 1830 à 1850, sur l’esprit public et les mœurs*, Paris, 1852 ; and M. Eugène Poitou’s (one of the Judges of the Imperial Court at Angers) *Du Roman et du Théâtre contemporains et de leur influence sur les mœurs*, Paris, 1858. There is scarcely any imaginable vice or crime which is not dressed up in the most alluring garb, and patronised, defended, and justified by the novelists of the day.

la convenance sociale et de la vérité morale, a déjà bien assez de chances de développer à l'excès dans les hommes les tendances sensuelles. Qu'est-ce donc, lorsque tout dans la forme et le fond est inventé pour l'émotion et coordonné avec toute la puissance de l'art pour la satisfaction des sens? Or, que voyez-vous trop souvent au théâtre, tel que le siècle vous le fait? Je laisse les prestiges de la décoration, des costumes, des attitudes et des tableaux vivants; en un mot, le sensualisme de la forme. Que voyez-vous d'ordinaire au fond de ces drames créés pour vous donner des enseignements de vertus? Presque toujours la passion primant la conscience, le vice insultant la vertu, le corps triomphant de l'âme, la sensation de l'idée, et l'instinct du devoir. O chute de nos mœurs! ô triomphes du sensualisme! Là, vos dramaturges n'ont pas rougi de vous montrer ce qu'il y a de plus pur, de plus grand et de plus sacré dans l'homme après l'amour de Dieu, l'amour paternel, maternel et filial, ravalé jusqu'aux proportions de l'instinct. Là, un génie dégradant a mis sous vos regards, sans révolter vos âmes, des pères et des mères perdant avec la majesté du devoir l'auréole de leur paternité, aimant leurs enfants de passion et d'instinct, à peu près (j'ai honte de le dire) comme les animaux aiment leurs petits! Partout enfin la ressource facile de l'impression des sens substituée à l'entente des passions du cœur et des sentiments de l'âme.—Vol. ii. pp. 130—132.

The following passage speaks for itself, and is as just as it is eloquent. The preacher, it will be noticed, speaks of course from hearsay on the subject of some of the things he denounces; but had he known experimentally what the *vie mondaine* is, and attended a ball, he could not have described them better. After adverting to and condemning what is called *religion du sentiment*, he proceeds:—

‘Si le sensualisme nous vient de la religion, c'est-à-dire de ce qu'il y a de plus essentiellement spiritualiste, que pouvions-nous nous promettre des autres manifestations de nos mœurs contemporaines? que pouvions-nous attendre de vos soirées, de vos bals, de vos fêtes, de vos danses, et de tous ces plaisirs légers, brillants et folâtres, qu'on appelle la *vie mondaine*? . . . Ah! ce que nous pouvions attendre, c'est ce qu'ils nous ont donné: du sensualisme, mais du sensualisme sans mesure et sans pudeur; du sensualisme provocateur, immoral, attestant et précipitant tout à la fois la chute de nos mœurs et la dégradation de nos âmes!

On dit, Messieurs, que sous vos regards le despotisme du siècle consacre dans le costume de vos femmes et de vos filles des audaces qui eussent étonné la pudeur de vos pères. On dit que des nudités, encore plus réprouvées par la morale qu'elles ne sont autorisées par la mode, ne sont plus un embarras pour vos yeux devenus hardis! On dit que des pères et des mères se rencontrent, subjugués eux aussi par la puissance du préjugé, qui livrent leurs enfants, emportés dans des tourbillonnements sensuels et enivrants, à des attitudes, à des poses, à des rapprochements, à des contacts, j'allais dire, avec un prédicateur illustre, à des *entacements* qui réjouissent les vicieux et compromettent les innocents. Entendez-vous, Messieurs? qui réjouissent les vicieux et compromettent les innocents!

Je m'arrête! . . . La corruption du siècle enchaîne mon discours; c'est le caractère d'un siècle profondément vicieux de ne plus permettre qu'on fasse entendre aux oreilles ce qu'il ose partout étaler aux regards, et de trouver étrange que l'on ose bien dire ce qu'il ne craint pas de faire. Et cependant, quand le siècle ose tant pour la dépravation de nos mœurs et la décadence de la société, il faut bien que pour le Progrès de la société et

l'amélioration de nos mœurs, l'apostolat ose aussi quelque chose. Non, il ne se peut pas que devant des coutumes qui éteignent la pudeur, tuent le respect et dépravent les hommes, l'apostolat se taise comme une sentinelle muette. Non, Messieurs, non, telles ne sont pas nos traditions. Devant les grands désordres du siècle, Chrysostome a parlé, Ambroise a parlé, saint Bernard a parlé, Bourdaloue a parlé, Bossuet a parlé; et si petit, si infirme que nous soyons, sans rien avoir de l'autorité de ces noms, ni de la puissance de leur grande parole, nous nous sentons le même devoir; et Dieu aidant, devant le vice qui s'étale, nous nous sentons le même courage, et nous vous disons en finissant: Prenez garde! le sensualisme, c'est la décadence; et vos divertissements, vos jeux, vos spectacles, vos mœurs, enfin, c'est le sensualisme.— Vol. ii. pp. 136—139.

In the fourth Conference, the preacher lashes, with praiseworthy severity, the reckless gambling and speculating in the funds, which have recently become so frightfully common in France, and which seem to be encouraged and fostered by Government, and draws the following graphic picture of the immoral tendencies of the propensity, and of its frequently tragical consequences. We fear that this picture is not altogether an ideal one:—

‘Que voulez-vous, en effet, que soit l’homme, quand sa vie tout entière roule emportée à ces souffles cupides? Que peut-il devenir lorsque, tombé de Dieu jusque sur la matière, l’homme descend encore au-dessous pour s’en faire l’esclave, et prosterner aux pieds de ce fétiche toutes ses grandeurs humaines? N’oublions pas un principe que nous avons établi: l’homme descend ou s’élève avec les sentiments dont il remplit son âme et les émotions dont il remplit sa vie. Or, avez-vous étudié avec leurs tendances abrutissantes les émotions des hommes d’argent? avez-vous vu leurs impressions, leurs convulsions, leurs saisissements, leurs tressaillements, leurs spasmes, leurs ravissements? avez-vous vu leurs joies et leurs tristesses, leurs ivresses et leurs mélancolies, leurs exaltations et leurs abattements, leurs espérances et leurs désespoirs? Grand Dieu! quelle grossièreté, quelle barbarie, disons plus, quelle sauvagerie d’impressions! et au bout quelles tragédies misérables! quels désastres pleins d’opprobre et de bassesses! . . . Qu’un seul exemple nous tienne lieu de tous.

‘Regardez le joueur au sein de ses émotions. Le voilà sous le coup du sort, . . . pâle, haletant, silencieux, morne, il attend le mot de son destin. Le sort a parlé; il a dit: “Tu as gagné.” Voyez-vous comme ses yeux brillent, comme son front s’épanouit? Mais de quel éclat et de quelle joie!—Recommençons, dit-il.—Il gagne encore.—La fortune est à nous, doublons l’enjeu.—Encore gagné.—Triplons, décuplons, centuplons la richesse.—Encore gagné.—Et la joie s’amasse dans son cœur comme l’or sous sa main. A chaque coup, comme un flot qui grossit, l’or monte, il monte toujours. Cet homme ne se contient plus, il est hors de lui-même, sa joie n’est pas seulement une ivresse, un délire: vous diriez, avec un grand orateur, que c’est une extase. Qui peindra cette joie, qui n’est ni de l’ange, ni de l’animal, ni de l’homme?

‘Mais son bonheur a lassé la fortune; il perd.—Essayons de ressaisir la chance qui se dérobe.—Il perd.—Essayons de nouveau.—Il perd; il perd encore; il perd toujours! Et la joie fuit de son cœur comme l’or de ses mains. Quelles émotions l’envahissent tout à coup! La tristesse, la frayeur, l’épouvante, le désespoir montent à son cœur. Ses genoux se dérobent; la sueur coule à son visage et se glace comme dans la mort à son front palissant. Le voyez-vous d’ici, les yeux hagards, le visage effaré, la lèvre crispée, le geste convulsif, le cœur glacé? . . . le voilà sur l’abîme! Fuyons, dit-il.—Où va-t-il? et que va-t-il faire?—“J’ai tout perdu, plus d’espérance! Et pourtant c’est

demain ! demain, l'échéance ! demain, la prison ! demain, l'opprobre ! demain, le déshonneur de ma vie et la ruine de mes enfants ! . . . Non ! plus de demain ! mourons aujourd'hui ! " Un bruit affreux s'est fait entendre, les échos de la Bourse ont répondu : " Le joueur est mort ! "

" Vous direz : " Ce désastre est une exception. " Je l'accorde : c'est l'extrême aboutissement des choses. Je le veux bien, toutes les péripéties de la cupidité n'arriveront pas à ces tragiques dénouements : donc le joueur passionné ne se tuera pas, le spéculateur fiévreux ne se tuera pas, l'agioteur convulsif ne se tuera pas, l'improvisateur de millions ne se tuera pas ; en un mot, l'homme d'argent ne se tuera pas. A la bonne heure. Mais ce que devient cet homme, au point de vue de la grandeur morale, quand son amour suit ce penchant qui l'emporte au-dessous même de la matière, c'est ce que vous ne comprendrez jamais assez. Qui dira à quelle bassesse descend cette âme faite pour contempler le ciel et posséder l'infini ? Quel spectacle ! Un homme qui ne voit, ne connaît et ne comprend plus que ces trois choses, qui font autour de lui le triangle misérable où s'enferme toute sa vie : *le capital, la bourse, le chiffre* ; cet homme qui ne s'émeut qu'au contact de l'or, qui ne tressaille qu'aux tintements de l'or, qui ne connaît plus qu'une ambition, l'ambition de l'or, qu'une joie, la joie qui vient de l'or, qu'une adoration, l'adoration de l'or, qui vous dira à quelle barbarie il peut descendre, alors même que, par le dehors, il resplendit de tout l'éclat que la richesse fait briller autour de lui ? Ah ! Messieurs, il est trop vrai de le dire : cette passion brutale lui enlève toute la beauté, toute la suavité, toute la grandeur humaine ; elle le fait, comme le barbare, dur, étroit et rampant. A force de se passionner pour cet or qu'il touche, il se fait par le cœur mille fois plus dur que l'or qu'il a touché ! Plus il amasse autour de lui la possession qui l'étend par le dehors, plus il se retire sur lui-même et se rétrécit par le dedans. Plus sa richesse monte, plus sa grandeur descend. Plus son capital s'élève, plus son âme s'avilit ; comme pour mieux agrandir le contraste qui apparaît entre l'élévation de sa fortune et l'abaissement de sa vie. — Vol. ii. pp. 152—156.

Our next and last extract shall be the famous sketch of certain *mariages d'argent*, or, as they are more euphoniously and philosophically called sometimes, *mariages de raison* :—

" Pour constituer ce centre vivant de la famille, que fait le siècle aujourd'hui ? Messieurs, voici dans la constitution de la famille un désordre dont les conséquences sur l'abaissement de l'humanité sont incalculables. Ce que l'on met entre ces cœurs que l'on doit unir d'une indissoluble union, ce n'est pas ce qui unit, c'est ce qui divise ; ce n'est pas de l'amour, c'est de l'or. . . . Le mariage, union des âmes et des cœurs marquée du sceau de Dieu, est soumis à des calculs matériels où les cœurs et les âmes ne comptent plus : unions barbares, où l'on fait violence à la nature pour faire honneur à la famille ; unions dégradantes, où l'on abaisse les âmes pour élever la fortune, où l'on déprave le sang pour restaurer un nom ou agrandir un héritage ! Quoi ! pour cimenter cette alliance qui doit porter la famille sur son indissolubilité sacrée, c'est là ce que vous mettez un chiffre, rien qu'un chiffre ! Et de par la puissance de ce chiffre, vous dites à ces deux cœurs qui se repoussent l'un l'autre : " Soyez unis : la fortune répond à la fortune, l'or égale l'or, l'équation est parfaite, et vous n'avez rien à dire. " Comme si, dans ces contrats qui doivent fonder la famille, il s'agissait non d'unir les cœurs, mais de les vendre. Vendre les cœurs ! . . . Grand Dieu ! en disant ce mot horrible, n'ai-je pas trop dit la vérité ? Oui, pauvres cœurs de vingt ans, qui appelez l'affection, comme une fleur la rosée, le siècle vous vend au lieu de vous unir l'un à l'autre ; déjà trop égarés par les romans sensuels, vous rêviez un idéal : vous serez punis d'une erreur par une folie, le siècle le veut, vous épouserez un capital !

* Et voyez comme les désordres s'enchaînent aux désordres pour dégrader la famille, et avec la famille la race humaine. Un homme a quarante ans : à force de consommation et de sensualisme, il a épuisé sa fortune et jeté à tous les vents des voluptés la séve de sa vie. Voici venir l'heure de se ranger; tout va lui échapper, et déjà tout se dérobe. Pour sauvegarder la seconde moitié de sa vie, que fera-t-il? Il épousera une fortune. Vous lui parlez pour la première fois d'un ange terrestre qui lui apporte pour première dot l'or d'un cœur pur, l'or d'une âme innocente, l'or de toutes les vertus : il est distrait; vous le croyez ravi par la contemplation du tableau que vous lui montrez : point du tout; une seule chose le préoccupe; et savez-vous la question que pose ce vétéran de la débauche et de la consommation? La question capitale, décisive, et quelquefois la seule question est celle-ci : "Mais combien a-t-elle?—500,000 fr.—C'est bien, dit-il, c'est ce que j'avais rêvé." Ces hommes si positifs font aussi des rêves, et leurs rêves montent jusque-là.—Vol. ii. pp. 162—164.

No wonder that such sketches as these should delight Frenchmen and Frenchwomen, and attract a vast auditory!

After having shown that material Progress, when not founded upon, and interpenetrated by, religious principle, engenders a multitude of disorders, and leads to barbarism, and stigmatised, as they deserve, the follies and crimes of the day, Félix proceeds to demonstrate, in succeeding Conferences, the principle and means of all real progress, namely, Christianity, upon which the whole superstructure of the social system must be built, and which alone can confer happiness in this world and in the next. He shows how material Progress must be accompanied, chastened, and regulated by moral Progress; that moral Progress itself is dependent upon and identified with Christianity; and that society must again become leavened by Christianity, or perish. We had marked some passages to extract from these subsequent Conferences, but our limits preclude our giving them. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with briefly indicating the chief topics developed in them. In those of 1858, which are comprised in the third volume, the preacher labours to show how moral Progress is to be achieved by Christian holiness, Christian humility, Christian austerity, and Christian poverty; by the love of Christ, and the destruction of egotism. Those of 1859 discuss social Progress, which Christianity alone can develop, and the threefold basis of which is Christian liberty, equality, and fraternity, placed under the safeguard of authority, of which our Lord is the original principle, and which exhibits itself under a fourfold aspect—parental, sacerdotal, royal, and, according to the preacher, the highest of all, pontifical authority. After treating of society generally, in his Conferences of 1859, the preacher is logically brought to speak of the family in particular in those of 1860. The following are the heads of the six Conferences for that year:—*Le Progrès de la société par la famille.*—*Le Progrès de la famille par Jésus-Christ.*—*Décadence de la famille dans notre siècle.*—*Le*

Progrès de la famille par le mariage chrétien.—Le Progrès de la famille par la paternité chrétienne.—Le progrès de la famille par la maternité chrétienne. The subject for the Conferences of the present year, which have just appeared, is education. Thus, after having demolished the false human systems in vogue, the Father Félix builds upon the only real foundation of all true progress and happiness—Christianity.

As our readers have had an opportunity of judging for themselves, Félix's style is generally clear, polished, racy, forcible, elegant, and, though somewhat artificial and wanting in colour, eloquent. His sermons are evidently the result of much care and thought, and are probably equal to those of any contemporaneous French preacher. He appears to possess a keen insight into human nature generally, and that of his own countrymen specifically; and some of his delineations of character are admirable. He particularly excels in drawing striking and animated pictures. If not a very deep, he is at least a very solid thinker and acute reasoner; and it seems plain that he has studied and taught rhetoric to some purpose. If, also, he has not shown himself capable, like Massillon, and Bossuet, and Robert Hall, and Irving, and Samuel Wilberforce, and Lacordaire, of keeping his auditors in breathless silence, or kindling their enthusiasm to the highest pitch, of rousing the innermost feelings of their souls, and making them 'rise and lean forward over the front of their seats,' or even, as was the case with one of those above-named, leave their places, he, at any rate, excites the deep interest, and keeps up the earnest attention of all. He has been reproached with indulging too frequently in exclamations and apostrophes. Exclamation, apostrophe, and antithesis are certainly great favourites with Félix; but then all French preachers deal largely in them, and they form one of the staple ingredients of their compositions. To one expression constantly recurring in the sermons before us, and awfully common in conversation, we must, however, peremptorily object. It may be allowable at times in the pulpit, but it should be sparingly used, and then not as a mere expletive. At times the French preacher seems rather diffuse; some of his sentences are also occasionally involved, *ex. gr.* portions of the exordium we have given, and somewhat longer than his countrymen admire, though there is nothing in his Conferences at all approaching to Henley's 'periods of a mile,' or to the not much shorter ones of an illustrious living Bishop already mentioned. Some expressions, too, are sometimes far-fetched, and not very intelligible. For instance, what the precise meaning of the following may be, is, though doubtless very poetical and beautiful, by no means as clear to us as it is to M. Hippolyte Castille: 'Dieu,

‘ en effet, a touché le fond de l’âme humaine, il y a jeté avec son propre reflet un charme de lui-même.’

In a previous part of this article we have touched upon some of the radical and withering deficiencies in the education of candidates for the priesthood in the Church of England; but in no respect are the deficiencies of that education more strikingly exemplified than in the delivery of most of our preachers. It is well known with what ease, what naturalness, and frequently what perfect gracefulness, French preachers deliver their sermons. Indeed, their manner of delivery is often their greatest recommendation. We have occasionally heard French sermons which riveted our attention in their delivery, but which subsequently appeared very poor in the reading. There was a good deal of shrewdness and judgment in the answer made by Renaud to one who asked him to publish some sermons which had been very much admired: ‘Most willingly, if they will print the preacher also;’ and it would be no loss to pulpit literature, or to individuals, if his example were more frequently followed by his countrymen. That example might even be commended to the serious consideration of a certain popular London preacher. We have read carefully the whole of Bridaine’s¹ (or, at any rate, what passes for Bridaine) and Maccarthy’s sermons; they contain brilliant passages certainly, especially Maccarthy’s, but nothing to account for the extraordinary sensation they produced, or the unrivalled popularity of their authors. They were, however, admirably delivered. The very reverse is the case among ourselves. In spite of all that has been written on the matter, we believe that English sermons are not only equal to French, but—without going back to former times, and judging only from those which have been published in the two countries within the last few years—decidedly superior. We could at this moment point to particular passages, or whole sermons, from the volumes of the late Professor Archer Butler and Mr. Shergold Boone; from the Bishop of Oxford; from Canon Wordsworth; from Dr. Moberly; from Mr. Woodford, and others, which, in point of originality, solidity, depth, fervour of devotional feeling, knowledge of Scripture, and of the human heart, power of persuasiveness, practical usefulness, and true eloquence, are, at least, comparable

¹ As to the famous exordium of Bridaine’s sermon preached at S. Sulpice in 1751, before the assembled nobility and prelates, and in praise of which so much has been said and written, it is not Bridaine’s. It was first given as Bridaine’s by Maury, in his *Essai sur l’Eloquence de la Chaire*, whence it has been re-copied and attributed to the celebrated missionary, with the most edifying simplicity, by nearly every French and English author who has written on the art of preaching, but Bridaine never delivered it. It is known to be Maury’s own composition. See Poujoulat’s *Cardinal Maury, sa vie et ses œuvres*, Paris, 1859.

to the most brilliant efforts of Lacordaire, Ravignan, La Place, Courtier, Dupanloup, Pie, Félix, or other French preachers of the time. The delivery of our preachers, however, is, as a rule, wofully inferior. The reason of this is obvious. The elocutionary art is as sedulously and systematically studied and cultivated in France,¹ as it is sedulously and systematically ignored, and, to use the words of a very high authority, 'disgracefully neglected'² among ourselves; and we very much fear that even now an affirmative answer must be returned to Bishop Berkley's celebrated query, 'Whether half the learning and study of these 'kingdoms is not useless for want of a proper delivery being 'taught in our schools and colleges?' Mr. Daniel Moore, in his able 'Thoughts on Preaching,' has well observed, that 'in a 'practical ignoring of all the adjuncts of effective oral address, 'and in the almost contemptuous denial to elocution of any 'right to be considered an art at all, the Church of England 'stands almost alone;' and until this evil is remedied, and elocution occupies a prominent place in the preparation of candidates for Orders, some of our best sermons will not only not command general acceptance, but will too often become practically useless.

The taimeness, the monotony, the want of naturalness and reality, the undignified attitude, the listless, inexpressive countenance,³ the soul-withering coldness with which sermons are delivered in this country, strike foreigners particularly. If there be some exaggeration, there is at the same time much truth in the following passage from Coquerel's recently-published volume on preaching:—

'L'évêque ou le ministre Anglican, commodément accoudé sur un coussin de velours assez vaste pour recevoir son cahier, lisait avec la plus confiante placidité, sans risquer d'autre geste que le mouvement de tourner les pages, et à peine se permettait-il, de loin en loin, ce qu'on appelait *the waving of the hand*, c'est-à-dire l'effort de soulever la main pour la laisser retomber aussitôt sur le rebord de la chaire. C'était un démenti systématique et permanent donné au vieux principe que l'action est l'essence de l'art oratoire; ce principe si recommandé par Démosthènes, dont Cicéron, en l'appuyant à son tour dans les termes les plus forts, rappelle le mot fameux, que les trois premières qualités de l'orateur sont 1^o l'action, 2^o l'action, 3^o l'action.'⁴

¹ The number of works constantly issuing from the French press on *l'Art de la chaire* is something extraordinary. The *Dictionnaire des Prédicateurs* (Lyons, 1757) enumerates and analyses no less than seventy, which appeared between 1628 and 1745; but we think the proportion has been much greater lately. Scores have been published within the last ten or fifteen years.

² The Bishop of Exeter. See his Letter, and that of other Bishops, on the necessity of training theological students in public reading, in Mr. D'Orsey's excellent Lecture on *The Study of the English Language*. Bell & Daldy, 1861.

³ 'Ad summum dominatur maxime vultus: hoc supplices, hoc minaces, hoc blandi, hoc tristes, hoc hilares, hoc erecti, hoc submissi sumus. Hoc pendent homines, hunc intuentur, hunc spectant etiam antequam dicamus. Hoc quosdam amamus, hoc odimus, hoc plurima intelligimus.' Quintilian, lib. xi. cap. 3.

⁴ *Observations pratiques sur la Prédication*, pp. 258, 259.

Bouchard,¹ a writer most favourably disposed towards our Church and nation, as well as every French traveller who has attended our services, makes very similar remarks.²

As regards the delivery of Father Félix, it is earnest, natural, and impressive. He does not indulge in the violent gesticulation which is one of the characteristics of some of the most eminent French preachers, and he has certainly much less than Lacordaire, as he is also greatly Lacordaire's and Ravignan's inferior in energy and oratorical power generally, as well as in spontaneousness, and readiness of eloquence. M. Castille says that his voice is weak, *et d'une tonalité désagréable*. It is certainly not very remarkable for strength, melodiousness, and sonorousness, but it is fresh and penetrating; he has cultivated it with evident care, and manages it well, and he is heard distinctly in every part of Notre-Dame. He is thin, pale, somewhat under the middle height, and seems much younger than he is. His whole appearance and manner are by no means particularly attractive and prepossessing; but no sooner has he commenced speaking than interest is excited, and the electric power of eloquence felt; and, indeed, he can be no common preacher who, coming after Lacordaire and Ravignan, can attract and keep up the fixed attention of such audiences as collect together every Lent at Notre-Dame. In all the relations of private life, he is, we believe, a most estimable man; and it should be added, to his honour, that, whenever he visits his native place, he thinks it his duty to stay with his poor relatives, instead of accepting the proffered hospitality of the great and noble. Here we conclude our hasty sketch. Father Félix proposes again to preach at Notre-Dame next Lent. Should any of our readers happen to be visiting Paris at that period, we cannot do better than recommend them to go and hear him, and judge of his preaching for themselves.

[This article was already in type when the news of the death of Lacordaire reached this country. We may possibly, in an early number, give some account of the life and works of this gifted preacher, thus snatched away in the prime of life.]

¹ *Un Mois à Londres*, pp. 78, 79, 181.

² Mr. Gresley also aptly remarks:—'The first point to which a preacher must attend when he gets into the pulpit is, *that he may be heard*;—that the sound of his voice may be heard distinctly in every part of the church. I should not have thought it necessary to notice so obvious a truth, but for the very common neglect or forgetfulness among preachers in this most essential point. How constant a complaint is it with a congregation that they cannot hear their minister; with all their attention they cannot catch more than half his meaning!'—*Treatise on Preaching*, p. 336.

- ART. IV.—1. *Minute of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, establishing a Revised Code of Regulations.*
2. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of Popular Education in England and Wales: with Reports of Assistant Commissioners, &c.*
3. *Speech of the Right Hon. Robert Lowe, M.P., on moving the Education Estimate in the Committee of Supply.* J. Ridgway.
4. *Letter to Earl Granville, on the Report of the Education Commission.* By Sir J. K. SHUTTLEWORTH, Bart. Parliamentary Paper, No. 231.
5. *Letter to Earl Granville on the Revised Code.* By Sir J. KAY SHUTTLEWORTH, Bart. Smith, Elder, and Co.
6. *Suggestions on Popular Education.* By NASSAU W. SENIOR. John Murray.
7. *Thoughts suggested by the Suspension of the Revised Educational Code.* By JOHN MARTIN. Seeleys.
8. *A Letter to Managers of Schools on the Character and Tendencies of the Revised Code of Minutes.* By a YORKSHIRE CLERGYMAN. Bell and Daldy.
9. *The Revised Code dispassionately considered.* By C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D., Vicar of Doncaster.

WHATEVER differences of opinion may exist with respect to the questions which the publication of the Revised Code has raised, their deep importance will be acknowledged by all. The support of our elementary schools for the poorer classes, and the character of the education to be given in them, the position of the teachers, the system of apprenticeship, the work of the training colleges, the method of inspection—in fact, all that is included in the work of educating the children of the independent poor, will be affected in greater or less degree by the legislation of the coming session. It is, therefore, of the utmost consequence that the question should be fully and calmly considered in all its more important bearings.

We venture to think that the present time is especially favourable for such an attempt. The details of the Revised Code have been fully discussed, the objections to it have been weighed, memorials founded on these discussions have been presented, and its chief features are tolerably familiar to all of us. The Commissioners' Report has been extensively read, and much quoted, and the public in general has the means of knowing much more than it ever knew before of the working of what is popularly known as the Government system. But the subject being vast and complicated, it seems worth while to attempt a comprehensive sketch of what has been done, and of what it is

proposed to do. We cannot hope to say anything which is new to the great majority of our readers; we shall be well satisfied if we are able so to arrange what is already known as to enable any one to arrive more readily at sound conclusions on the educational difficulties of the day.

We must say, by way of preface, that we propose to confine our remarks entirely to the training schools, and to the elementary schools for the independent poor under Government inspection, and in receipt of annual grants from the Committee of Council. But though our limits prevent us from alluding to the work of those whose schools are not under inspection, we trust that it will not be supposed that we desire to slight or ignore what they have done. It would be impossible to speak of more than one branch of educational work within any reasonable limits, and we therefore omit all reference not only to schools unassisted by annual grants, but also to pauper, ragged, industrial, reformatory, military, and naval schools. Our present inquiry relates exclusively to the system based upon the minutes of 1846, with especial reference to schools belonging to the Church of England.¹

We propose:—

I. To state as fairly and concisely as possible the conclusions at which the Royal Commissioners arrived with respect to the merits and defects of the present system, quoting also some passages from the Reports of the Assistant Commissioners.

II. To inquire how far these conclusions with respect to the alleged defects may be qualified by the statements of the Commissioners' Report, and by other evidence.

III. To consider the provisions and probable working of the Revised Code.

IV. To make some general observations on the whole question, with special reference to the course which seems to be pointed out for the future.

Before we proceed to quote from the Commissioners' Report, we desire to express our sense of the value of the evidence collected, and of the Report, which forms the first of the six volumes which contain the results of their labours. We think that there can be no doubt that the Commissioners conducted the inquiry in the fairest and most impartial spirit, that they carefully weighed the evidence placed before them, and were specially anxious to dismiss from their minds any opinions previously formed which might unduly influence their judgment. The high character of the Commissioners might seem to make

¹ We should have been glad to examine the recommendations of the Commissioners, if our space had allowed us to do so, and also to compare them with the provisions of the Revised Code.

any such testimony superfluous, but we are the more desirous to render it, because in some quarters we think that their labours have not been duly acknowledged. There can be no doubt of the value of the oral evidence of the witnesses examined, of the Assistant Commissioners' Reports, and of the written answers to inquiries. Still less can there be any doubt of the remarkable ability with which the Report has been drawn up, and we give it high praise when we say that it is a most interesting and readable Blue-book. We are quite sure that the very large majority of practical persons acknowledge its value, so far as the evidence collected is concerned, and that they will be the more anxious to do so, because they differ so widely from the Commissioners in many of the conclusions of the Report, and in nearly all its recommendations.

The Commission was appointed on the 30th of June, 1858, and was to make a Report in two years. This period being found insufficient, the duration of the Commission was extended to the 30th of June, 1861.

The inquiry was carried out in the following manner:—

Ten Assistant Commissioners were appointed, to each of whom was assigned a district selected as a specimen:—

¹ The districts of the Assistant Commissioners were chosen so as to comprise two agricultural, two manufacturing, two mining, two maritime, and two metropolitan groups of population.²

They were directed to obtain information from every available source, and personally to examine the schools in their respective districts. They were engaged in this work for about six months, viz. from October, 1858, to April, 1859, and they sent in their Reports in the course of the following summer.

While this inquiry was proceeding, the Commissioners circulated a paper of questions, bearing on the different branches of the subject, among persons of both sexes, and of all shades of opinion, who were interested in popular education. These answers were carefully considered, and a selection from them forms the fifth volume of the series. They also examined witnesses *vis à voce*, and this oral evidence is printed in the sixth and last volume. Side by side with this general inquiry the Commissioners carried on an elaborate statistical inquiry, consisting of two main branches. The conclusions founded upon this inquiry are based—(1) upon the returns made by different religious societies and public departments, and (2) upon the returns procured by the Assistant Commissioners. They also examined carefully the whole of the Reports of Her Majesty's inspectors of schools, to which they attach the

¹ Report, p. 8.

highest value, observing of the inspectors themselves, that 'upon some points their authority is so high as to be almost conclusive.' The Commissioners also inquired into the state of education in Germany, France, Switzerland, and Holland, by means of Commissioners, and a full Report was received of the school system of Upper Canada from Dr. Ryerson.

Thus it will be seen that the Commissioners took into consideration the Reports of their Assistants, the Reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors, the oral evidence of witnesses, the written answers to questions prepared by themselves, and the statistical returns. Upon the evidence thus obtained their conclusions are based.

The Report is divided into six parts. We shall refer almost exclusively to the first.

The course which was taken when the Commissioners differed on any subject is stated in the following extract from Mr. Nassau Senior's preface:—

'The Commission appointed to inquire into the state of popular education in England was intentionally composed of persons of widely different opinions. They had two courses open to them. One was to confine their report to the matters on which they all agreed. The other was to adopt, as to every statement, inference, argument, and recommendation, the opinion of the majority.

'On one single subject, that is to say, on the proposal that the inspectors of Church of England schools should be relieved from the duty of reporting on the religious education in those schools, the second course was deviated from. On that subject, the opinions of the majority and of the minority were stated, and no recommendation was made. But on every other subject the second course was followed.

'This fact was communicated in the following passage: "In a subject involving so many statements, so many inferences, so many general principles, and so many executive details, universal concurrence was not to be expected, and has not, in fact, been obtained."

'The consequence is that no statement, no inference, no argument, nor any recommendation contained in the Report is to be considered as *necessarily* expressing the unanimous opinion of the Commissioners.'—*Suggestions*, p. v.

And now let us turn to the conclusions of the Commissioners, with respect to the principal features of the present system, and see what, in their judgment, are its merits and defects.

1. *The number of children under instruction.*—

'Looking at mere numbers as indicating the state of popular education in England and Wales, the proportion of children receiving instruction to the whole population is in our opinion nearly as high as can be reasonably expected. In Prussia, where it is compulsory, it is 1 in 6·27; in England and Wales it is 1 in 7·7; in Holland it is 1 in 8·11; in France it is 1 in 9·0. The proportion was, "in 1833, 1 in 11·25; in 1851, 1 in 8·36."—*Report*, pp. 293, 294.

2. *The Training Colleges.*—The Commissioners carefully inquired into the moral and intellectual condition of the training institutions, and the results of the inquiry may be thus briefly stated in the Commissioners' own words:—

'The syllabus is divided into two portions, one intended to develope the general intelligence of the students, the other to give them practical skill in teaching. To the first portion of the syllabus we have given a general approbation, subject to an expression of regret that political economy is totally omitted from the male syllabus.

'The second part of the syllabus we have also approved fully, as respects the syllabus for young women; and as to that for young men, with a qualification that the same knowledge of domestic economy and physiology ought to be required from both.'—P. 167.

The Commissioners proceed to speak of some matters of detail, relating to the Christmas examination, and conclude the paragraph thus :—'The moral condition of the colleges, especially 'the female colleges, appears to be satisfactory.'¹

In fact, the Commissioners report very favourably indeed of the training colleges, recommending only that the attention of the Committee of Council be drawn to the possibility of shortening the hours of study, that all schoolmistresses should go through a course of infant teaching, and that more attention should be given to political economy, and other subjects of practical utility.²

3. *The Trained Teachers.*—The Report speaks very fully of the character and work of the trained teachers. As this part of the subject is of great importance, we hope that our readers will excuse the length of some of our extracts. The Commissioners say :³—

'We come now to consider the character of the trained teachers when in actual charge of schools. It is proved beyond all doubt that they are greatly superior to the untrained teachers. . . . The Assistant Commissioners, whose opportunities of comparison were greater than those of the inspectors, as they visited uninspected as well as inspected schools, are nearly unanimous in their opinion as to the superiority of the trained teachers. . . . Mr. Foster, whose evidence upon the subject differed in some essential respects from that of the other Assistant Commissioners, describes the trained teachers as generally dissatisfied with their position, but writes of them in a manner which admits their general ability. Some of the Assistant Commissioners add a high testimony to their general character, and to the spirit in which they pursue their calling. Thus Mr. Fraser says, "I wish to bear my humble testimony to the very admirable spirit in which the great body of certificated teachers whom I either saw in the course of this inquiry, or have the pleasure of being acquainted with elsewhere, are doing the work to which they have been called." Mr. Hare observes: "My decided impression is that the systems of training have been very successful, both in adapting the students to teach, and in furnishing them with solid matter and good methods of instruction. As a class they are marked, both men and women, by a quickness of eye and ear, a quiet energy, a facility of command, and a patient self-control, which, with rare exceptions, are not observed in the private instructors of the poor.'"—*Report*, p. 151.

We add to this testimony, before we give the Commissioners' conclusions, a few extracts from the Reports of the Assistant Commissioners, choosing them as impartially as possible. Mr.

¹ Page 168.² Page 546.³ Page 149.

Fraser thinks that even certificated teachers do not pay sufficient attention to method; that in some of the schools the instruction is too ambitious; but he 'rarely if ever observed any attempt at parade or showiness in teachers, and in the larger proportion of the good schools the instruction given is useful and sound.' He observed no tendency to dissatisfaction in the teachers with whom he came personally into contact, though he was told that it existed.¹ Mr. Hedley says—

'In schools which receive annual aid from Government, the masters are a body of men of superior intelligence and attainments; they are almost always spoken of by the managers in high terms.'—*Report*, p. 161.

Mr. Winder observes:—

'The public schoolmasters and mistresses who had been trained, left, on the whole, a very favourable impression on my mind. . . . I should be reluctant, from my limited experience, to speak of the precise effect which the present system of training has had upon them. It certainly has not had, in the instances which came under my notice, the result often attributed to it, of making them too ambitious in their style of teaching. . . . There seems a general impression amongst the supporters of schools that the training school course is highly beneficial.'—P. 219.

Mr. Coode enters very fully into the question. We extract the following, which strikes us as a very remarkable testimony to the trained teachers:—

'But the greatest boon of all, without which the rest must have remained almost without effect, has been the creation of a class of teachers trained systematically to their work, and performing it as yet under such control and the operation of such motives as tend to make the benefit manifest to the dull comprehensions of a population sunk in ignorance. Beginning with a public opinion, which, so far from forming a basis for a demand for teachers, consisted in truth of a contempt for their delicate vocation, these teachers have already nearly succeeded, chiefly during the last ten or twelve years, in eradicating all prejudices in the labouring class opposed to education, and have bred in considerable numbers of young men and women of this class such strong convictions of the benefits and necessities of education for the improvement of their own and their fellows' condition, that these may now be counted by hundreds in this district, giving zealous and intelligent assistance to every educational and moral movement.'—Pp. 263, 264.

Mr. Coode discusses soon after the drawbacks as to trained teachers. He thinks that it may be said of some that they are above their work, in the sense that they were capable of higher work than they were called upon by the circumstances of the district to perform, and he does not consider such dissatisfaction to be unnatural. He also considers the objection, 'that their conceit is too often such as to make them reject the advice and assistance of the managers of the school, and indispose its patrons and friends to take a due part in its promotion and management.'² As no objection is more commonly made, Mr. Coode's remarks will be read with interest:—

¹ Report, pp. 94, 95, 101.

² Page 269.

'Perhaps it is not unjust to managers generally to say that in most cases of complaint against trained teachers for want of submissiveness in those matters, it has appeared to me that, as to the occasion and substantial grounds of complaint, the teacher has been right and the complainant wrong, as might be expected in a dispute where one person stands on his professional knowledge, and the other is but an amateur, however intelligent. On the other hand, I must confess that the manner and bearing of some very good masters, and here and there of a good mistress or teacher, are, especially when fresh from the training school, unnecessarily self-assertive, and not unfrequently conceited and presumptuous. But these are common faults of aspiring and successful youth, which seem generally to be cured by time, and to be rarely imputable to men or women teachers after a few years' experience in their vocation.'—P. 271.

Mr. Coode adds that he did not meet any clergyman or gentleman of very high attainments who countenanced the complaint, and that some of the masters most complained of as being above their work were among the most active and successful promoters, both as originators and as teachers, of evening schools for the working classes. One more extract we must add in Mr. Coode's own words:—

'On the whole, my conclusion, formed with all the the deliberation that my opportunities have allowed of, is, that no objection applies to trained teachers as a class, but one—that they are too few for the wants of the country, and that no other necessity is so urgent in the interests of the whole community as that of an adequate supply of them in the least time that is sufficient for the purpose.'—P. 273.

It must certainly be allowed that this is remarkably strong testimony to the worth of the trained teachers, and is the more valuable because Mr. Coode weighed all the evidence commonly brought against them, and drew his deliberate conclusions. Mr. Cumin says on the same subject:—

'The unanimous opinion in my district is that teachers trained at a normal school are superior to those who are untrained. In this opinion I concur, and the salaries which a trained teacher can command in the market corroborate this view. In those schools where I did not find a trained teacher, I was always told that want of funds alone prevented his employment.'—P. 84.

This last statement seems to prove that any prejudices once felt must have given way. The following passage from Mr. Hare's Report is not less satisfactory. We have already quoted some sentences, which we omit in this place.

'I have found reason, in not a few particular instances, to believe that they are truly conscientious in the discharge of their duties, and exercise a highly beneficial moral influence over their pupil teachers and scholars. . . .

'I am further strongly of opinion that in both boys' and girls' schools, the trained teachers are gradually but surely introducing among the poor a style of manners, as well as of morals, such as their children see but seldom exemplified in private schools of a merely elementary class.'

And again, speaking of the complaints of ignorance and conceit, which are sometimes brought against trained teachers, Mr. Hare says:—

“Speaking of the class as a class, I have seen little proneness to think of themselves more highly than they ought to think, but on the contrary, much evidence of their modesty, patience, and perseverance, and many reasons for believing that, as an order of men and women, they are conferring substantial benefits upon the British community.”—P. 282.

We cannot resist quoting one more sentence from Mr. Hare, because we think it will carry conviction where even the preceding paragraphs may have failed: ‘Both fathers and mothers grow eloquent in praise of the trained teachers.’

We have purposely omitted all reference to the further question of the neglect of the junior classes and of elementary instruction, because we shall consider it presently. We shall now be prepared to hear what the Commissioners’ own conclusions are with respect to the trained teachers. After speaking of the condition of the training colleges, they say: ‘In these opinions we were fortified by the evidence as to the moral and intellectual character of those who, having passed through the training colleges, were found by our witnesses in the actual charge of schools. We cited from that evidence abundant proof that the trained teachers not only are comparatively far superior to the untrained, but are, in every respect but one, positively good.’

That exception we shall notice afterwards, as it refers to the alleged neglect of the junior classes. The Commissioners add: ‘Other complaints are, that the trained teachers are conceited and dissatisfied. The first we do not believe to be true of the class; the second we admit to a certain degree, and account for it by remarking, amongst other causes, that their emoluments, though not too low, rise too soon to their highest level.’¹

4. *The Pupil Teachers.*—On the subject of apprenticeship, we must content ourselves with very short quotations. The Commissioners say:—

“Though such observations as these are entitled to attentive consideration, there can be no doubt that the system is upon the whole excellent. To appreciate its value, the pupil-teachers must be compared with the monitors whom they have superseded, and with the students who were with great difficulty and in scanty numbers collected into the normal schools before 1846. The inefficiency of the monitors has been already described. The utmost extent of the attainments of the students on their admission to the training colleges was an imperfect acquaintance with reading, writing, and arithmetic. The pupil-teachers, on the other hand, have furnished a constant and sufficient supply to all the training colleges, and their acquirements and general fitness for the posts for which they have been selected are best attested by the fact that only 12·68 per cent. (or about one-eighth) of the total number admitted are removed during their apprenticeship, either by death, failure of health, failure in attainments, misconduct, or other causes, including the adoption of other pursuits in

¹ Report, pp. 168, 169.

life. Considering the stringency of the tests applied to ascertain the qualifications, moral and intellectual, of each individual, in every year of his apprenticeship, this is a most successful result.'—*Report*, p. 106.

The Commissioners admit that the hours of mental work may be too long, and that their studies may be devoted to the acquisition of facts rather than of principles. They think both these objections have some foundation, and they allude 'to the possibility of shortening the hours of school attendance as a remedy for the one; and the change of some of the subjects of their present course of instruction for matter of a more interesting and practical nature as a palliative for the other.'¹ These are matters of detail, in which many of the warmest friends of the present system will agree with the Commissioners.

5. *The condition of Elementary Schools in receipt of Annual Grants.*—We have now to consider the actual moral and intellectual condition of elementary schools under certificated teachers. In doing so, we shall have to notice the defects of which so much has been said, and which the Revised Code professes to remedy.

We may remark, by way of preface, that we believe that all the Assistant Commissioners agree in the general superiority of schools under trained teachers, and then proceed at once to quote the Commissioners' conclusions:—'We have strong testimony to the marked superiority of inspected over uninspected schools, and to the stimulus which inspection supplies.' Again, speaking of the instruction given, they say: 'It appears that even in the best schools only about one-fourth of the boys attain the highest class, and are considered by the inspectors to be "successfully educated."' And on the same point, as well as with respect to the general instruction, the Commissioners say:—

'The evidence indicates that there is a tendency in school-teachers to neglect both the more elementary subjects and the younger scholars, and these last appear to be capable of receiving a far better teaching in reading, writing, and arithmetic than has hitherto been given to them.'—P. 273.

And in another place it is said:—

'That the present conditions of school attendance are such that three-fifths of the children resorting to elementary schools attend sufficiently to be able, with proper instruction, to learn to read and write with tolerable ease, and to cipher well enough for the purposes of their condition in life, besides being grounded in the principles of religion. This, however, is subject to some deduction on the score of the frequent removal of children from school to school.'—P. 225.

Such are the defects, according to the conclusions of the Commissioners; but we hope that our readers will notice carefully the following passages, and see how far they are consistent

¹ *Report*, p. 167.

with the assertion, so generally assumed as indisputably true, that the present system has failed:—

‘It would be far from the truth to infer from the preceding evidence that the inspected schools must be considered as having failed. That they have not yet succeeded in educating to any considerable extent the bulk of the children who have passed through them is true, but they give an excellent education to an important minority.’—P. 264.

We must quote one passage more with respect to the results of instruction:—

‘Even as to mere literary instruction, it would be a mistake to suppose that the existing system has failed because it has hitherto educated successfully only one-fourth of the pupils. The effort has been directed towards establishing a good type of education; towards the quality of the teaching more than to the number of the taught. In this point it has succeeded. In good schools the senior classes have turned out scholars really well taught; the pupil-teachers have been brought up in them, and even where the definite results in the junior classes might appear small in an examination, they have probably affected the whole school morally and intellectually.’—Pp. 274-276.

Thus carefully do the Commissioners guard against the conclusion that, with respect to the instruction given, the present system has failed. They dwell upon the ‘excellent education given to the important minority,’ and to the type of the education which has been set up.

We must hasten on to the last and most important of our quotations from the Report—those which relate to the moral results of our elementary schools under trained teachers. If any of our readers should not have read the fourth section of the fourth chapter,¹ we are sure that they will thank us for directing their attention to it. It is entitled, ‘The Moral Influence of the Inspected Schools,’ and begins thus:—

‘The moral effect produced by the schools is more important than the instruction given in them, although not so appreciable. The standards by which it can be measured are less definite. We believe it to be very great, and we should be astonished if it were not so.’—P. 266.

We are afraid of wearying our readers with quotations, but it is absolutely necessary to give the exact words of the Commissioners. The evidence of Mr. Cumin on the general effect of education in Bristol and Plymouth is especially striking:—

‘Those best acquainted with the working classes—the clergy, the employers of labour, military and naval officers, and the police—are unanimous in thinking that within the last twenty or thirty years the working-classes have greatly advanced. . . . The Bristol riots would now probably be impossible. . . . The officers in the army and navy, but especially in the navy, spoke in the highest terms of the effect of education in civilizing the men. . . . In short, unless the evidence of every witness is unfounded, the working-people of this country have greatly improved. To use the expressions of the Dean of Bristol—and no one knows the common people better—“For a shy, surly, dogged demeanour, there is now a frank, ready, loyal, free courtesy; for suspicion, confidence; for turbulence, docility.”’—Pp. 93, 94.

¹ Pages 266-273.

We shall conclude our extracts on this subject with the Commissioners' now well-known words—words which we can never read or hear quoted without deep thankfulness:—

'The religious and moral influence of the public schools appears to be very great—greater even than their intellectual influence. A set of good schools civilizes a whole neighbourhood. The most important function of the schools is that which they best perform.'—P. 273.

II. Thus far we have been simply endeavouring to put before our readers the conclusions at which the Commissioners arrived, and we think it will be allowed that they are eminently favourable to the existing system. The training colleges are highly approved, very slight alterations only being suggested: and it is specially recommended that no reduction should be made in the present grants. The trained teachers are pronounced to be in all respects but one positively good; and the pupil-teacher system to be on the whole excellent. The schools are said to give an excellent education to an important minority, and their moral influence is stated to be very great.

But we must now consider the alleged shortcomings of the system, which shall be stated in the Commissioners' own words:—

'It appears that even in the best schools only one-fourth of the boys attain the highest class, and are considered by the inspectors to be "successfully educated."'¹

¹ The following passage from a memorial recently presented to Lord Granville has been brought under our notice, and we quote it in full, because it appears to us to refer to a very important point:—

'It is clear that by the words "receive a good education," the Commissioners, as well as the Assistant Commissioners, mean a great deal more than reading, writing, and ciphering, and it is quite possible that a large number of children may leave school without having reached the first class, or received what the Commissioners call a good education, who have nevertheless learned to read and write with ease, and cipher well enough for their condition in life. The Report does not furnish any accurate information as to the numbers who would come under such a description, but the Commissioners lay great stress on the evidence of Mr. Fraser, who, after describing the standard which might be attained by children who leave school at ten, if properly instructed in the junior classes, proceeds to say, "It thus appears that out of 282 schools only 100—little more than one in three—are in a condition that ought to be satisfactory to the managers; while not more than twenty-three, or scarcely one in twelve, are in that state of efficiency which shall send forth a child at ten years of age into the world, for the work of life, with that amount of scholarship which I attempted to describe."—Report, p. 247.

'But the Commissioners in citing this evidence appear to have overlooked the fact that of the 282 schools referred to by Mr. Fraser, the great majority were uninspected schools, that only sixty-five were under certificated teachers, and only fifty-eight had the additional advantage of a pupil-teacher. The Committee therefore venture to think that if it should turn out, as appears probable, that all, or nearly all of the twenty-three efficient schools were among the fifty-eight which had the full benefit of the Privy Council Grants, and that the remainder of the fifty-eight were among the hundred, which might properly be considered as satisfactory to teachers and managers, the general result of the whole passage would not quite bear out the conclusions which the Commissioners appear to have drawn from it.'

We are enabled, by the courtesy of the Rev. J. Fraser, to state that three of the

'The evidence indicates that there is a tendency in school-teachers to neglect the more elementary subjects, and these last appear to be capable of receiving a far better teaching in reading, writing, and arithmetic than has hitherto been given them.'—P. 273.

And, again:—

'That the present conditions of school attendance are such that three-fifths of the children resorting to elementary schools attend sufficiently to be able, with proper instruction, to learn to read and write with tolerable ease, and to cipher well enough for the purposes of their condition in life, besides being grounded in the principles of religion. This, however, is subject to some deduction on the score of the frequent removal of children from school to school.'—P. 225.

Here then is the sum of the matter. This is the alleged failure of the existing system. On this account the Revised Code is needed. Let us see then what is implied in this requirement of the Commissioners, presuming that their calculations are correct. They say that 25 per cent. are 'successfully educated,' but that we ought to educate 60 per cent.—*subject to deduction for migration.*

What can be said on this question of migration?

1. It appears from the last Report of the Committee of Council (p. 5), that the mean per centage for seven years, of scholars who are found to have been *in the same school* when the annual returns are made up, stands thus:—40·34 per cent. are found at that time to have attended less than one year, and 23·93 per cent. one year, but less than two years. Even where the attendance fluctuates the least, the per centage of children attending less than one year is stated to be 32·41; more than one year, but less than two years, 20·41. We think that these figures suggest that rather a large 'deduction' must be made for migration. The following passage shows that the Commissioners were alive to the difficulty. 'Another great difficulty 'with which teachers have to struggle is the capricious removal 'of children from school to school. The extent to which this 'goes on is extraordinary. The schools are often conducted on 'different systems, and thus what is learnt in one school has to 'be unlearnt in the next. Mr. Watkins says, "In the large 'towns and populous districts, where schools of different 'denominations exist, the children change much from one 'school to another. Some of them, in their short school-life, 'have been in, but not through, six or seven schools.'" ¹

twenty-three 'efficient' schools were workhouse schools, and that only four of the remaining twenty were under uncertificated teachers. It appears, therefore, that out of the twenty efficient schools, four-fifths were under certificated teachers. Mr. Fraser also kindly allows us to state that (speaking less precisely) very few schools (perhaps six or eight), under certificated teachers, fell below his second level of *usefulness* (p. 87). To such schools the remarks in his Report at pp. 88 and 94, would apply.

¹ Page 262.

2. In considering how far the failure to educate the three-fifths successfully can be charged on the teachers or the system, the *gross ignorance* of the children on entering school must be borne in mind. 'The children are frequently grossly ignorant when they first come to school, having been either at no infant school, or a mere dame's school.'¹

3. The Commissioners themselves dwell upon these two hindrances—gross ignorance on entrance, and migration from school to school. But we do not remember that they dwell much, if at all, upon the difficulties arising from the ignorance of the parents, the utter want in most cases of any home teaching, and in many instances the counteracting influences of home. They do not make allowance for the very low moral and physical condition of a large portion of our population. They seem to forget how much must be done for a large proportion of the children before they are fit to receive elementary instruction.

It is true that they quote a passage from Mr. Foster's Report, in which he says that the 'language of books is an unknown tongue to the children of the illiterate, especially in remote situations.' But it seems to us that, in making their calculation, they did not bear in mind what is perfectly well known to all practical persons—that the process of humanizing the child, of awakening his observation, and in fact developing to some extent his torpid mental powers, is a necessary condition of any results in the way of instruction, and that the time thus occupied is far greater than it is commonly supposed to be. The child has to be raised to a higher level before he can receive benefit from instruction. There is a passage in the Report which appears to prove how much these difficulties have been overlooked.

The Commissioners say:—

'Amongst the wealthier classes (rare and disgraceful exceptions apart) every one learns at a very early age to perform each of these operations (reading, writing, and ciphering) without conscious difficulty, and he receives this knowledge from women who have never given a thought to the subject of elementary instruction, and who in many cases have far less ability and less instruction than the male or female students at training colleges. The reason that the child obtains this knowledge and skill is, that in the upper and middle classes its absolute necessity is universally recognised. In other words, the person who has the instruction of the child has a sufficient motive to induce her to insist upon its learning, and the invariable consequence is that it does learn the indispensable elements of knowledge, and learns them perfectly. It is natural to suppose that the same results could be produced in elementary schools, if the teachers were thoroughly determined to produce them.'—P. 156.

But surely this is a most transparently unsound conclusion. Because the child of the wealthy parent learns to read and write easily with the help of the nurse, or nursery governess, therefore, according to the Commissioners, the poor child may learn, and

¹ Page 263.

it is the teacher's fault if he do not. But the child in the upper classes is surrounded by intelligent and cultivated persons, and learns insensibly from the earliest possible moment. The nurse and nursery governess are comparatively unimportant, and we readily allow that the reading and writing are soon learned. Give us the same material, and we will undertake to say that the trained teacher shall not be distanced. But, to suppose that anything like the same results can be produced, when the whole moral and physical condition is so low as it often is, when the child attends for a part of the day, and that perhaps irregularly, and when the intelligence has to be entirely awakened, is altogether unreasonable; and any one who is practically acquainted with the children of the poor, and with school work, will admit that it is. To demand that three-fifths of the children, on an average, should be educated up to the point required, is to ask that which is possible only when parents themselves are less ignorant, and school attendance less fluctuating. In his letter to Lord Granville, Sir J. Kay Shuttleworth says:—

‘We must suppose a settled population, in which most of the children enter an infant school at three years of age, and spend a hundred and forty days on an average in a good school, with a fair amount of home training and example, before we can even approach to the hope expressed by the Royal Commissioners, that three-fifths of the scholars may receive the amount of instruction which they are so sanguine as to expect.’—P. 26.

Now, we may fairly ask that the difficulties on which the Assistant Commissioners dwell should be considered. We admit that they complain of the amount of instruction given to a considerable number of the children, and therefore we may justly insist upon their qualifying statements. Our case is this:—that the ignorance of the parents—the debasing influences of home—the fact that these children often live with those who have never received a single idea through a book, and scarcely any through intelligent conversation—the frequent migrations,—and the time taken to humanize and to awaken intelligence—are sufficient to account for the fact that children, whose whole school-life does not extend, on an average, over more than four years,¹ leave our schools imperfectly educated. And if any one should not be satisfied with this statement (and let it be remembered that we are arguing on the supposition that the Commissioners’ statistics and conclusions are strictly correct), then we may say more. We beg that it may be remembered that the present system has been at work for a comparatively short time; that it has had to contend with difficulties inherited from the neglect of previous generations, and an unexampled increase of popula-

¹ The Commissioners say, not that the children *attend school* for four years, but that during that period they attend more or less regularly, the intervals being often very long. The shortness of the period of *actual attendance*, as calculated from trustworthy registers, is remarkable.

tion; that it had to fight its way, with one hand, against apathy, ignorance, and prejudice, while it was slowly and surely laying a good foundation with the other; that the very methods of teaching, and the whole system of training, had to be elaborated side by side with the work of founding and developing a system of elementary schools. Do our readers remember how long the present system has been at work? The Minutes were published, we believe, in 1847; and therefore the first apprentices finished their apprenticeship in 1852, or at the very earliest in 1851. Not a single pupil-teacher could have entered a training institution till 1851 or 1852,¹ and, if staying only for a single year, could not have been certificated and at work in a school till 1852 or 1853. It is, therefore, only during the last eight years that trained and certificated apprentices have been at work; and we notice this, because certificates can be obtained without residing in a training institution, and we suspect that the shortcomings of certificated teachers in general are often laid to the charge of the training schools.

We only wish that we had space to quote Sir James Shuttleworth's description of the semi-barbarian population of the Northern moors, and his own forcible statement (at page 15 of his *Letter on the Revised Code*²) of the difficulties with which the young teachers have had to contend. We regret it the less, because we have no doubt that our readers either have read the *Letter* or will read it. We must return to the Assistant Commissioners' evidence. While they all complain of the reading, they admit that the teachers are placed at a serious disadvantage, for which they are in no possible way responsible, and which more than one of Her Majesty's Inspectors has noticed—we mean the dullness of the reading-books. Mr. Fraser,³ Mr. Winder,⁴ Mr. Foster,⁵ Mr. Cumin,⁶ Dr. Hodgson,⁷ Mr. Hare,⁸ Mr. Wilkinson,⁹ all notice this point. Mr. Fraser also mentions a short supply, even of the dull books, as of not unfrequent occurrence.¹⁰ We wish we were able within any reasonable limits to quote these passages in full; but we must content ourselves with giving the references, and a short summary of the Assistant Commissioners' words.

Of these books it is said, that 'the children have to wade 'through many dreary pages of unsystematized scientific lore, 'giving very little scope to the graces of emphasis or expression;' that they are 'much too dry and unattractive;' that

¹ The Commissioners speak of the students who were 'with great difficulty, and in scanty numbers, collected into the normal schools before "1846"' (p. 106). Should it not rather be before '1851'?

² *Letter to Lord Granville on the Revised Code.* Smith and Elder.

³ Report, p. 100. ⁴ Report, p. 222. ⁵ Report, p. 340. ⁶ Report, p. 89.

⁷ Report, p. 546. ⁸ Report, p. 284. ⁹ Report, p. 396. ¹⁰ Report, p. 101 (note).

'they have been compiled apparently with little reference to whether they can be apprehended;' that they are 'singularly uninteresting,' that 'the choice is generally most unfortunate, and the language often difficult and unfamiliar;' that 'the want of a better kind of reading-books was named by a trained master as the one great want of the assisted schools;' 'that the reading-books are sadly dull, and unsuitable to the youthful mind.' In all these remarks we cordially concur, and so will those of our readers who have seen the effect produced upon the reading by the introduction of such narratives as 'Swiss Family Robinson,' or Miss Edgeworth's 'Frank,' into elementary schools. We commend the following passage from Mr. Wilkinson's Report to our many enterprising publishers:—

'Compilers seem not to have borne in mind sufficiently that children's reading-books should be so framed as to excite an interest and love for reading, as well as to convey information, and that to effect this they must be written in simple and easy language, and address themselves to the feelings and fancy, as well as the intellect.'

A series of good narratives, at a low price, would be invaluable in our schools.

The difficulties arising from the reading-books are fully allowed by the Commissioners; but we question whether the full force of such a passage as that which we quote from Mr. Foster's evidence was perceived by them:—

'If there were not this difficulty of language to overcome, any child of ordinary intelligence might, between seven and ten years of age, acquire a very fair amount of education for one of the labouring class. . . . But there remains the question, how long does it ordinarily require a child to gain that familiarity with literary language which will enable him to understand an ordinary book, sermon, or newspaper? Language is readily acquired in childhood by mere usage; habit is otherwise in maturer years, and if literary language is not learned in early youth, it will probably never be learned at all, at least never become familiar; in which case the mere mechanical art of reading will profit little, and will easily fall into disuse.'—P. 342.

4. Bearing in mind, then, that the Commissioners allow that 'an important minority' receive an excellent education, it is clear that the schools are well taught on the whole, although it is said that a more definite attempt should be made to perfect the education of the junior classes up to a certain point.¹ We have submitted to our readers that hitherto this has scarcely been possible—that good schools have not been long enough at work—that the time required, in the great majority of cases, for humanizing and awakening the children has not been sufficiently remembered—that the condition of their parents and home, their irregularity of attendance, and frequent migration—

¹ 'I have not detected any neglect of the lower classes, as compared with the upper, nor any abandonment of the less promising pupils to their stupidity or sloth.'—*Mr. Hare's Report*, p. 283.

have presented difficulties which the most earnest teachers have often found insuperable. We maintain that we are in the right road, and that perseverance, the careful use of experience already gained, and a readiness to modify any proved defects, are alone needed to enable us to give by degrees to the larger number what the smaller number has actually received. We have no desire whatever to overstate our case; we are quite ready to admit that methods may be improved, that more attention may, in some cases, be advantageously given to elementary subjects, and that apprentices may be taught to give better reading-lessons than they often do now. But we demur altogether to the conclusion of the Commissioners, that the proposed pecuniary stimulus to the teacher is either needed or will produce the result.¹ Moreover, we may fairly look at the Reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors, who certainly (to their honour be it spoken) can never be accused of concealing defects. Of Church schools under certificated teachers, according to the last return, the per centage reported to have been instructed 'excellently,' 'well,' or 'fairly,' was, in reading, 86·2; in writing, 87·9; and in arithmetic, 80. We think this return satisfactory. We have reason to believe that much has been done already, through the influence of the Inspectors, to secure the needful attention to the elementary subjects; and that all that is needed might be done, if it were distinctly and universally understood that these subjects must, in all cases, be taught thoroughly throughout the school, and that other subjects, if they appear at all, must occupy a very subordinate place on the time table.

Mr. Fussell says:²—'Great efforts have been made in many schools to improve the reading, and in several instances marked progress is apparent.' Arithmetic is said to be fairly taught, and the average proficiency of the children to be by no means unsatisfactory. The general character of the needlework of

¹ We ask our readers to consider whether the following words express conclusions entirely 'dispassionate,' or whether they may not even be rather 'sweeping and precipitate':—

'We are called to devise a remedy for a patent and glaring evil; to throw the stress of our efforts upon a particular point of difficulty; and if something even of a penal severity should enter into our legislation, at least it must be admitted that it has had a cause and a justification.'—*Dr. Vaughan on the Revised Code*, p. 22.

We think the Commissioners will be surprised to find that their conclusions are held to *justify something even of a penal severity in legislation*. Is the Committee of Council to be punished by Act of Parliament? or is 'something even of a penal severity' to fall upon the teachers, or on the managers who have given eight millions sterling to meet the four millions of 'public subsidies,' on which they have been 'confidently and even thanklessly relying'?

² Report of Committee of Council, p. 18.

pupil-teachers is 'very decidedly superior' to that which was formerly done. Mr. Bellairs says:—

'As a rule the training colleges appear to be taking more pains with their students in making them acquainted, not merely with the principles, but the practice of managing and teaching children. This statement, however, does not apply in the same degree to all. With regard to the certificated teachers, I am glad to report a general efficiency and a right discharge of duty. . . . With the exception of arithmetic, the number of schools in which the subjects of instruction are reported as imperfectly taught, is very small.'—Pp. 26, 28.

Mr. Watkins says:—

'There is good reason to be satisfied with the progress of school-children in the subjects of their instruction, and especially in the elementary and more important subjects. . . . There is no greater mistake than to assert that certificated schoolmistresses are either unwilling or unable to teach needlework, or that they lead their scholars to undervalue it as a necessary part of a woman's duty.'—Pp. 40, 41.

Mr. Mitchell says:—

'I am happy to be able to report in most schools a great improvement, and that now generally in all schools under inspection a sound and real education is given to the scholars.'—P. 61.

Mr. Kennedy says:—

'I think I see a decided tendency ever going on to stick to what may perhaps be called necessary subjects. By necessary subjects, I mean reading, writing, spelling, religious knowledge, and, in girls' schools, needlework. . . . As regards the character and qualifications of teachers, there is, on the whole, I find, very great reason to be satisfied.'—P. 95.

Mr. Brookfield thinks that teachers 'employ themselves too exclusively on the upper classes.'¹ Mr. Norris considers 'that the elementary reading-lessons are not satisfactory.'² Mr. Stewart says:—

'The parliamentary grant has been applied according to its intention, and done its work well; it has called forth a large amount of individual benevolence, and placed within reach of the working population what never could have been supplied without it—a sound, although plain education for their children.'—P. 121.

Mr. Mounier observes:—'My general impression is that our 'trained teachers, as a body, are doing sound work, which need 'not fear the closest examination.'³ Mr. Jones says:—'The 'progress of children in my district seems to myself a good index 'of the successful management of schools: children generally 'in Wales are much improved.'⁴ Mr. Bowstead says:—'The 'three indispensable elements of education—reading, writing, 'and arithmetic—evidently receive, as they ought to do, the 'largest share of attention, and are most successfully inculcated.'⁵ We could add several other extracts of a very satisfactory character.'⁶

¹ Page 85. ² Page 102. ³ Page 130. ⁴ Page 149. ⁵ Page 163.

⁶ We think these extracts, and the general tenor of the Inspectors' Reports, scarcely bear out the following statement:—'It is the general complaint of the inspectors of schools, that these first rudiments of education are not, under the present system, secured.'—Dr. Vaughan on the Revised Code, p. 21.

Before we turn to the question of the day, the Revised Code, it may be interesting to notice a passage bearing upon the comparative success of elementary education in England and America:—

‘A good deal has been said as to the failure of the English masters and mistresses in British and National schools, to instruct their pupils in reading, writing, and arithmetic. It certainly does appear that their failure has been considerably exaggerated; and, indeed, it will probably be found that, considering the class from which the pupils are drawn, and the time which they spend at school, the National and British schoolmaster accomplishes more than any other persons who have undertaken the same difficult task, whilst the whole cost of educating a boy or girl is less in England than it is in America.’—*Saturday Review on Popular Education in America*, Nov. 9, 1861.

III. Let us now endeavour to see what the Revised Code proposes to do, what its principle is, and what will be its probable working. Our readers will know tolerably well by this time the main features of the scheme.

The new Code proposes to pay one penny for each attendance after the first hundred (fifty days), of every child who passes a prescribed examination in reading, writing, and arithmetic. The children are to be grouped according to age. The grant thus earned may be reduced by not less than one-tenth, and not more than one-half of its total amount, for faults of instruction and discipline, and other specified defects. Moreover, it will be reduced by its excess above the amount of school fees and subscriptions, or the rate of fifteen shillings per scholar in average attendance.

This is the principle of the Revised Code, and the question is whether it is sound or not.

A payment is to be made on condition of passing a certain examination, which is to be the same for every school in Great Britain, whether boys', girls', or mixed, whether in town or country, whether agricultural, mining, or manufacturing, whether newly established or organized for years, whether the population be shifting or the reverse. The rule is to be the same for all; the same results are to be demanded; the same scales, and the same weights and measures, are to be used. The value of each child's attainments is to be carefully ascertained and entered, and one-third of the grant will be payable for success in each of the elementary subjects. This valuation of results is to be made once a year.

Sir James Shuttleworth thus defines the remedy devised in the Code for the defects of the existing system:—

‘The most certain way in which to secure the only results which are the legitimate concern of the State in elementary schools, is to examine each scholar in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and pay the managers a certain sum per head for each school-attendance of every scholar who can pass an

examination in each of these three elements, according to a standard of attainment to be required at fixed periods of age, and other conditions set forth in the Code.'—*Letter to Lord Granville on Revised Code*, p. 5.

The plan appears to be simple and complete: it presents many attractive features. It seems to secure attention to the elementary subjects, and to compel teachers to attend to their junior classes. It enlists in its favour those who are prejudiced against the present system: it has been advocated on the ground of economy. The present system is thought to be one of protection; the Revised Code is recommended as a step towards free-trade. Persons who are not practically acquainted with education, have naturally been caught by the proposition to 'pay for results.' Is it possible, they say, that we have ever paid for anything else?

Now, it appears to us that, however convenient it may be to use short and telling phrases by way of description, it is essential, when we enter upon a calm consideration of any question, to define the terms which we employ.

It is said that the Old Code pays for means, and that the New Code will pay for results. Now, when the terms are used in conversation between two persons who thoroughly understand the whole subject, there may be no great objection to them. But we demur altogether to the terms if they are to be used as even approximate definitions of the two systems.

Let us first see what light can be thrown upon the subject by those who are responsible for the Revised Code. We turn to the Vice-President of the Committee of Council, as the authorised exponent of their views. He says, in his speech:—

'At the same time, we must not be understood as proposing to base our payments upon results simply and by themselves. We think it would be rash and imprudent to sweep away a machinery which has been constructed with great labour, care, and dexterity—which, although it may be complicated and difficult to work, has answered many of the purposes for which it was designed—in order to substitute the new and untried plan of trusting merely to the results of examinations.'—*Speech of Right Hon. R. Lowe on moving the Education Estimate*, p. 27.

Therefore 'paying for results' is not a formula which the Vice-President would accept as descriptive of the plan of the New Code. They must be results not simply and by themselves, but specified results produced by a certain machinery and under certain prescribed conditions. In another part of his speech, he says:—

'In looking back to the system, we think it quite possible that we have erred in not devising some machinery for testing more particularly the results. So far we may have something to answer for, if reading, writing, and arithmetic have not so much attention paid to them as they ought.'—P. 10.

This shows that the results have been tested, and that the fault is simply (in the Vice-President's opinion), that they have

not been sufficiently tested. In the following passage Mr. Lowe seems to suppose that the Inspectors have not inquired into the condition of the junior classes, and we presume, therefore, that the alleged insufficiency of the test is to be found in the supposed want of attention on the part of the Inspectors to the condition of those classes.

‘For that system,’ Mr. Lowe says, ‘we propose to substitute the wholesome stimulus which must be afforded by an inquiry into the actual results of the teaching in a school, testing the exertion which the master has used in teaching not the upper class only, but all the children under his charge.’—P. 31.

Perhaps the passage in which means and results are most decidedly contrasted, is the following:—

‘Heretofore we have endeavoured to provide the means. We are now extending our view, so as not only to provide the means, but also to see that those means when provided are used to the best advantage. That, I think, is a decided step in advance, because what is the good of attendances and teachers, unless they lead to a real instruction and knowledge in the children?’—P. 30.

We find then, that, in the Vice-President’s opinion, results have been tested, though imperfectly, and that therefore payment for results is not a feature peculiar to the proposed system. He seems to think that we ought to have had more results, and that the deficiency is in some degree owing to the want of a more perfect machinery for testing results.

But what are results? There are general results, and particular or specific results. Are results simply a certain producible amount of reading, writing, and arithmetic? Surely not. When we are told that the present system has not produced sufficient results, and that we have little to show in return for a costly machinery, we beg that objectors will bear in mind what the general results of a school are, as contrasted with specific results in the way of attainment, and that it is impossible to measure and weigh them as you would measure and weigh material objects. We say that if children are brought into our schools, and disciplined and humanized, and taught as much as they can be taught in the time, results of the highest importance are secured, though the children may not be able to pass a specified examination, and ‘satisfy the inspector’ in arithmetic and dictation. We say that the results, in their full sense, defy tabulation, and are not merely the attainments producible at an examination, but the moral work which has been effected by the humanizing influences brought to bear upon the children, and by the discipline to which they have been subjected. We say that habits of cleanliness, and order, and neatness, are results. We say that good manners, self-respect, and truthfulness are results. And we say that the

labour spent in awakening a child newly admitted, and in teaching him the meaning of words, is work which is as essential to future producible results as is the foundation of a house to the superstructure.

The objectors to the new system do not object because it is proposed to test results, and to pay only when results have been obtained. They say that they have always been paid for work done; that training colleges, and pupil-teachers, and masters and mistresses, have been paid only after their work has been examined and approved, and that the money has been withheld when the official certificate of approval has not been given. If they are asked to show the results, they point to the body of trained teachers, to the apprentices, to the 'excellent education given to the important minority,' and to the undeniable moral results of the elementary schools in receipt of annual grants. They say that they are quite willing to acknowledge any defects which may exist, and to remedy those defects as far as they can. But they beg that it may be remembered that the Committee of Council must at least share any blame which may fairly attach to the shortcomings of the system, inasmuch as their influence could at once have secured increased attention to elementary subjects, and to the methods of teaching those subjects which are adopted in the training schools. They say, further, that they object to the New Code because it proposes to pay for certain specified results only, and makes the grant depend upon the examination of the children *capitativim*. They say that the payment is offered upon conditions which it will be often impossible to fulfil; that it is unreasonable to expect the same results from all schools under an infinite variety of circumstances; that scarcely any two schools are alike in all respects; that the time the school has been at work, the character of the population, the ability of the children, the requirements of labour, and the various difficulties of the teachers, should all be taken into account, if results are to be fairly estimated. They say that the principle fails entirely in its application to infant schools; that it would in many cases lead to their being closed, though they are said by the Commissioners¹ to need special encourage-

¹ 'It appears to follow from this evidence, that infant schools form a most important part of the machinery required for a national system of education, inasmuch as they lay the foundation, in some degree, of knowledge, and, in a still greater degree, of habits which are essential to education, while, without them, a child may contract habits and sustain injuries which the best school will afterwards be unable to correct and remedy.'—*Report*, p. 32. 'The demand for infant mistresses is great, and we trust that it will be much greater.'—P. 169. Dr. Vaughan says: 'At whatever sacrifice of coherence and consistency, a payment upon attendance is, I believe, the only capitation grant possible in the case of infants between the ages of three and five. Group I. must be confined to children not between

ment, and that this failure of the application of the principle is in itself a sufficient proof of the unfairness of any plan which refuses to recognise any results except mere attainments in reading, writing, and arithmetic.

They object further that it will be impossible, in many cases, to start new schools, as very few of the children, however well they may be taught, will be able to pass the examination at the end of the year. They say that the long established schools in large towns, attended by a higher class of children, will of necessity receive very large grants, while schools in shifting or scattered populations, and schools in poor districts, will receive very small grants, although these schools, on account of the poverty of the scholars, and the absence of wealthy residents, require assistance the most. They conclude, therefore, that the grant will generally be in inverse proportion to the need. They say that the proposal to pay for certain results only will tend to the neglect of the irregular, dull, and backward children, because they will not be remunerative, and that it will thus hold out an inducement to neglect the junior classes which it is intended to benefit. They say that to pay, only for these subjects is to encourage the production of mechanical results, and to lower the character of the education now given in our schools. They object to the proposal to judge of the efficiency of their schools by the attainments of some of the scholars in the three subjects. Lastly, they believe that it is dangerous to draw a sharp line of demarcation between religious and secular teaching, and by proposing to pay the maximum grant for attainment in three secular subjects to give to them an undue prominence and importance.

We have grouped together some of the objections to the Revised Code, and we have endeavoured to show that the principle of payment is unsound, that many of the results will be ignored and discouraged, and that results have been attained and paid for under the present system. We would gladly confirm what we have said by a more detailed examination of the probable working of the principle of the New Code, if our space allowed it, but we feel bound to consider a little more closely the three following points: (1) The pecuniary difficulties in which the Revised Code would involve school managers and treasurers, who are, in the great majority of cases, the clergy. (2) The increased expenditure on inspection which the regulations of the New Code would necessitate; as well as the change

three and seven, but between five and seven years of age. But the principle of grouping by age is in my opinion radically unsound. What school was ever constituted on such a basis? The proposal can be regarded only as a violent escape from conflicting difficulties.—P. 25.

in the character of the inspection. (3) The probable effect on the religious instruction given in our schools.

(1) It has been ascertained, beyond all reasonable doubt, that the grants on the whole will be much smaller.¹ This difficulty, great as it is, is not the greatest. The grants will not only be smaller, but they will be very uncertain. No grant will be paid except for children actually examined, and it may obviously be reduced by causes quite beyond control, such as wet weather, bad roads, or the prevalence of sickness. Parents who have a grudge against the clergyman or the teacher may keep their children away on the day of examination. Some schools must be inspected when the children can be collected with difficulty; some just after the harvest holidays, when they will certainly do less well. The inspector may be a stranger, and make the children nervous, and when once thrown off their balance, the earnings under the new Code will be small. We think that all practical persons will appreciate this last difficulty. Now we ask whether school managers can fairly be required to take upon themselves heavy additional pecuniary responsibilities on the chances of such a grant as this? Is it likely, for instance, that they will incur a large expenditure on pupil-teachers when they can be repaid only out of a grant liable to be reduced by circumstances entirely beyond control? What chance is there that there will be anything left to augment the salary of the teachers, even if other claims are satisfied? The general feeling on this point will be best understood from the extracts which will be found in our note,² which are fair specimens of a large number of similar memorials; and it must be remembered that this pecuniary difficulty arises out of the principle of the New Code, and

¹ Sir J. K. Shuttleworth estimates that about 175,000*l.* would be withdrawn from the annual income of elementary schools, in the first year of the operation of the New Code.—See *Letter to Lord Granville on Revised Code*, p. 39.

² 'We are unable to undertake the increased pecuniary responsibility which the Code imposes upon school managers. From the circumstances of this neighbourhood, the incumbents of parishes are in most cases virtually, and often absolutely responsible for all school expenditure, and the weekly advances to pupil-teachers would fall on them, while the Code leaves the repayment altogether uncertain. . . . We have the greatest difficulty in keeping our schools out of debt, and we believe that it would be impossible for us to do so under the Revised Code.'—*Memorial of Thirty-eight Clergy of the Deanery of Stepney*.

'The enormous pecuniary responsibility which will devolve on the managers of schools, and the great uncertainty as to the amount of the grants to be received, will render them unable or unwilling to carry on their schools.'—*Memorial of the Chester and Manchester Diocesan Board of Education*.

'The pecuniary loss which the schools will suffer, will be such as to damage the schools seriously. . . . The uncertainty of the amount of the grant will increase our difficulty.'—*Memorial of the Governors of the Old Schools of Cambridge*.

'The general effect of the new Code would be to bring such increased responsibility and expense upon the managers of existing schools, as greatly to embarrass the majority of them, and to lead extensively to the closing of schools altogether in poor districts.'—*Memorial of Managers of Church Schools in Leeds*.

that no modification of details can alter it. If the grant were doubled, the only effect would be that the long established schools in settled populations would get very large grants, while new schools, and those in shifting and scattered populations, would still have very insufficient support.¹

The sacrifices which the clergy have made for the promotion of education entitle them to be heard, when they affirm, almost unanimously, that what is difficult now, will become impossible, and that many schools would be actually closed, if the Revised Code came into operation. In very many cases every nerve has been strained, and nothing more could be done. The parliamentary grants, so far from stopping the flow of private benevolence, have stimulated it to a remarkable extent.

'If we have spent 4,800,000 $\frac{1}{2}$,' says the Vice-President, 'in educating the people, private liberality has spent double that sum. In fact, the question as to what system of education is to prevail will be regulated by the opinion of those whose hands maintain it.'—*Speech of Right Hon. R. Lowe*, p. 11.

Let us see what the Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners say of the sacrifices made by the clergy to support their schools.

The Commissioners say, in speaking particularly of the rural districts:—

'The heaviness of the burden borne by the clergy is imperfectly indicated even by such figures as these. It frequently happens that the clergyman considers himself responsible for whatever is necessary to make the accounts of the school balance, and thus he places himself towards the school in the position of a banker who allows a customer habitually to overdraw his account. He is the man who most feels the mischief arising from want of education. Between him and the ignorant part of his adult parishioners there is a chasm. They will not come near him, and do not understand him if he forces himself upon them. He feels that the only means of improvement is the education of the young; and he knows that only a small part of the necessary expense can be extracted from the parents. He begs from his neighbours; he begs from the landowners; if he fails to persuade them to take their fair share of the burden, he begs from his friends, and even from strangers; and at last submits, most meritoriously and most generously, to bear not only his own proportion of the expense, but also that which ought to be borne by others. It has been repeatedly noticed by the school-inspectors, and it is our duty to state, that as a class the landowners, especially those who are non-resident (though there are many honourable exceptions) do not do their duty in support of popular education, and that they allow others, who are far less able to afford it, to bear the burden of their neglect.'—*Report*, p. 78.

Mr. Fraser's Report contains a long and very interesting passage on this subject. Mr. Hedley also notices it, Mr. Winder's experience in the manufacturing districts is different.

¹ 'All, or nearly all, will lose something: very many schools a great deal, and this in the direct ratio of their need. The greater the difficulty the less the help.'—*Letter of the Rev. D. Coleridge*, p. 6.

Mr. Foster speaks of the sacrifices made by the clergy in the rural portions of his district.

Some extracts from the several Reports will be found in a note.¹

¹ It would be wrong, perhaps, to say that schools are usually in debt, as I believe that there are rarely, if ever, any unsatisfied claims allowed to accumulate; but there is almost universally a considerable annual deficit, for which the treasurer—in most cases the parochial clergyman—is responsible. There is seldom less than 5*l.* and under the pressure of extraordinary expenditure, I have known it amount as high as 70*l.* The return in question (of the sources of the voluntary contributions towards the expenses of the schools) has been received in a sufficiently complete state, to be available from 168 parishes only, and shows the expenditure and the details of the voluntary contributions in support of 168 schools. The rateable value of the lands in these 168 parishes, amounts to 508,895*l.*; the gross estimated rental may safely be reckoned at one-third more, or at least 650,000*l.* The total average annual cost of these schools is set down at 6,661*l.*, being an average of 39*l.* 6*s.* per school. To meet this expenditure there are voluntary contributions to the sum of 4,518*l.* distributed as follows:—169 parochial clergymen contribute 1,782*l.*, or, on an average, 10*l.* 10*s.* each; 399 landowners contribute 2,127*l.*, or an average of 5*l.* 6*s.* each; 217 land-occupiers contribute 200*l.*, or an average of 18*s.* 6*d.* each; 102 householders contribute 181*l.*, or an average of 1*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* each; and the remaining 228*l.* is contributed by 141 other persons interested in the school or parish, though neither residing nor owning property there. . . . Indeed, even with the case thus stated, the pecuniary sacrifices of the clergy in the cause of education have not received their full appreciation. I have not attempted to balance them against the size of their families, or the value of their livings, too minute a detail for my present purpose, but necessary before we can form a just estimate.—*Mr. Fraser's Report*, pp. 73-75.

'Schools are not often reported as being in debt; but the reason of this is that a real debt upon the school would very soon close it. In two or three cases I have found schools in debt to the clergyman. It is a debt so long as he sees any hope of raising subscriptions to liquidate it; otherwise he ceases to speak of it. Many schools would be in debt, if one of the managers—generally the clergyman—did not consider his subscription to be whatever is wanted to make both ends meet. . . . In most cases where the clergyman contributes so largely, it is because he has no one who can or will help him, and he must either make the sacrifice which it requires, or see the school lose all its efficiency.'—*Mr. Hedley's Report*, p. 157.

'It may be stated generally on this subject, that schools, attended chiefly by the children of colliers and miners, are in most cases aided by few, except the owners or lessees of the mines, while, in the rural districts, the aid is derived either wholly from the landowners, or from them and the clergy together, the latter contributing probably at least one-third. The Bishop of Durham, and the Dean and Chapter, subscribe handsomely to several of the schools; but the burden on the whole seems to fall very disproportionately on the incumbents, and it is, perhaps, owing to their modesty that my information is so partial.'—*Mr. Foster's Report*, p. 327.

'The burden of supporting the day-schools falls upon a comparatively small number of individuals. The public at large do not take their fair share, partly, I believe, because they are not very urgently pressed to contribute, and partly because they know little or nothing about the subject. I was repeatedly told by clergymen that they had nothing to do, when they wanted money, but to apply to Mr. A. B., who was always ready to give what was required, but in no single instance did I gather from them that the general public were forward to contribute. . . . If a clergyman be respected, and an earnest beggar, I see no reason to doubt that in every part of my districts (Rochdale and Bradford), he could collect enough and to spare for its education. But he must ask and ask again before the money will be forthcoming.'—*Mr. Winder's Report*, p. 217.

We may add the following testimony:—'The conduct of the English clergy in this respect has been most noble and self-denying.'—*Edinburgh Review on Government Education* (Reprint, p. 35).

The following passage speaks of that faith in the power of education, which leads to the exertions of which we have been speaking:—

‘If now an opinion is sought (respecting the results of education) from the parochial clergy, who take a deeper and more intelligent interest in the welfare of the poor than any other class, their answer is given in the extreme care which they bestow upon the school, the great cost which they bear in supporting it, the time and personal attention which they give to it, and the anxiety which they express for some means of increasing its efficiency. Nothing could more strongly express their unanimous confidence that education, such as they try to make it, that is, religious as well as secular, does succeed in improving the condition of the labouring class.’—*Mr. Hedley's Report*, p. 165.

Bearing in mind, therefore, what the clergy and laity of the Church of England have done for elementary education, the Committee of Privy Council and the House of Commons will surely allow their representations to have the greatest weight.¹

They appeal to the sums raised by private benevolence, and they ought to do so, when persons, who are not acquainted with the facts, speak of the largeness of the Parliamentary Grant, and the amounts voted to the several schools, forgetting the exertions made in order to fulfil the conditions on which alone those grants have been given.

Perhaps this is the most suitable opportunity for reminding our readers of what the Church of England has done for the education of the poor.²

It appears that 76 per cent. of the children attending week-day schools are found in schools connected with the Church of England. Of seventeen training colleges for males only, fifteen belong to the Church. Of fourteen colleges for females only, twelve belong to the Church. Of four colleges for males and females conjointly, which may be reckoned as eight, two belong to the Church. Therefore, of the thirty-nine training colleges in England and Wales, twenty-nine are connected with the Church of England.

The following particulars may here be added:—

Corrected to Dec. 31, 1860. ³	Totals for England and Wales.	In Church of England Schools.
Certificated masters	3,577	2,809
Certificated mistresses	2,856	2,256
Male pupil-teachers	6,664	4,829
Female pupil-teachers	6,470	4,924

¹ The Wesleyan Committee of Education have issued a very able protest against the Revised Code. We wish that our space allowed us to give extracts. The Committee of the British and Foreign School Society have ‘expressed their regret that a change so radical should be contemplated,’ and their ‘conviction that its operation would be to increase, rather than remedy, any defects or inequalities in the present mode of administration.’

² In speaking of the Church's educational work, we trust it will be understood, that we speak of that which falls within our province, and that we are fully alive to the activity and zeal of the British and Foreign School Society, and of the Wesleyan body.

³ Report of the Committee of Council, 1860–61, pp. xviii. xxiv.

Total grants to schools in England and Wales (excluding Parochial Union Schools), for year ended Dec. 31, 1860	£570,421	9	3½
Amount received by Church of England schools out of this grant	437,643	6	7½
Total amount voted between 1839 to Dec. 31, 1860, out of parliamentary grant to schools in England and Wales	3,905,644	17	11
Received by Church of England schools out of this total grant	3,070,432	15	8

We think that these figures need no comment, and that they will sufficiently show the part which the clergy and laity of the Church of England have taken in promoting elementary education.

Nor is it only the probable reduction of the grant which has so alarmed school managers. The suddenness with which it is proposed to effect that reduction has caused just apprehension, and has much increased the dismay with which practical persons regard the proposal to pay the whole of the grant to schools on a new and untried principle. They have naturally been perplexed at having, on such short notice, to contend at once with uncertainty and reduction. The latter would have been a sufficient trial, but, combined with the former, it seems in many cases to be simply ruin.¹

We cannot suppose that the framers of the Revised Code foresaw such consequences as these. We can only imagine that, being led away by a plausible theory, they did not perceive what its practical working was likely to be.

(2) We turn now to the increased expenditure on inspection, which the Revised Code will involve. The Vice-President says: 'It only remains that I should point out the evils of the proposal. As the system spreads, we must increase the number of the inspectors. I am afraid that is unavoidable.'²

We venture to think that inspection will lose much of its value under the Revised Code. It will become a mere examination. Now one of the results secured by inspection is without doubt a knowledge of what the children can do; but it is only one of its many beneficial results. Inspection includes a thoughtful consideration of the methods of teaching, of the time the school has been at work, the character of the population, the apparent effect produced upon the children in quickening their intelligence, and promoting habits of cleanliness, order, and respect for their superiors and themselves. It implies the action of an educated mind upon the questions brought under its notice, and the exercise of patient thought, discretion, and tact.

¹ 'The blow to the rural clergy would come so swiftly and suddenly as to stun them. They would in many cases abandon their hopeless struggle, and close their schools.'—*Letter of Sir J. Shuttleworth to Lord Granville*, p. 43.

² Speech of the Right Hon. R. Lowe, p. 31.

It implies, when duly carried out, not only a full practical knowledge of every thing connected with school work, but also a ready sympathy with the difficulties both of school managers and teachers. Under the New Code it will be the inspectors' duty to examine certain children individually, grouped according to age. This will occupy so long a time, that it is not easy to see how he can judge of the ordinary working of the school, or of the methods of teaching, or of the general character of the whole school: he will be, in fact, an examiner, not an inspector. The inspection will cost the country much more, and be much less effective.

Dr. Vaughan says:—

'Much has been said, and with some show of reason, as to the burden which will be thrown upon the inspectors of schools by the introduction of this new condition. . . . That there will be an increase of labour we may well admit. But that increase of labour in the country will be compensated by a diminution of labour in the central office. *Clerks and examiners now occupied in London may be transferred to the work of inspection elsewhere.*'—P. 27.

We do not quite understand the words which we have placed in italics, but we presume that Dr. Vaughan does not mean to suggest that a clerk should accompany Her Majesty's inspector on his annual visit. School managers are bound to receive the inspector, but not a clerk. No provision for the admission of a clerk or an examiner is to be found in the trust deeds.

The Commissioners were fully alive to the danger of turning the inspection into an examination. They allow that Sir J. Shuttleworth's words insist on the most valuable object which inspection secures, when he says that mere examination of the children *capitatum* would necessarily concentrate the attention of the inspector on 'some two or three elements of education,' and therefore divert it from the 'general moral relations of the school, and all the phenomena which meet the eye.'¹ They proposed, therefore, to preserve the inspection intact, and to add to it an examination by schoolmasters, paid out of the projected rate. They say, 'We are far from desiring to supersede this (the present inspection), by any plan of a mere examination into the more mechanical work of elementary education—the reading, writing, and arithmetic—of boys below ten years of age.'² It seems to us that the Revised Code proposes to have a large amount of superfluous mechanical work performed at a very large cost; and that it will turn the inspection into a mere examination, wearisome alike to managers, teachers, children, and inspectors. The schools in which the 'excellent education is given to the important minority' were not assisted in rising to their present level by such inspection as this. Surely, if an inspector hears

¹ Report, p. 231.

² Ibid. p. 321.

a class read, satisfies himself about the reading of each child, sees that the method of teaching is good, and ascertains the reasons why some of the children read badly as compared with others, he has done all that need be done. So, in the same way, if he tests the arithmetic of the class, and finds out how many can work the sums correctly, ascertaining from the teacher any circumstances which may account for the inaccuracy of those who fail, and observing the methods of teaching, he can arrive at a sound conclusion with respect to the efficiency of the teacher. What the advantage would be of entering each child's name, and making a separate record of the work of each individual, we cannot understand.¹

We agree with Mr. Derwent Coleridge's opinion that the New Code 'will increase the invidiousness, the difficulty, and the expense of inspection to an indefinite extent.'²

The Vice-President observes, in speaking of the system generally, that 'nothing is so likely to bring a system to the ground as making it needlessly burdensome and expensive.'³

We may say the same of inspection. Nothing is so likely to lead to a change in the character of inspection as the additional duty which he proposes to assign to the present inspectors at a large additional cost. It is easy to see that a demand would soon be made for cheaper inspection, and that it would be almost impossible to resist it. We think that this would be a great misfortune. No small part of the success of the present system is owing to the manner in which the inspection has on the whole been carried on; and we are sure that all practical persons will agree with us when we say that the results would have been very different, if the inspectors had not been educated gentlemen. We therefore cordially agree with Mr. Lowe's words, and hope that the Committee of Privy Council will always be of the same opinion:—

'We have considered the recommendation of the Commissioners that we should employ schoolmasters instead of inspectors,' but it appears to us that considering the delicate and difficult duties which inspectors have to discharge, and the social position of those with whom they come in contact, we ought to retain for their discharge persons of the same class as we have now. We believe the work will be done more efficiently by them than it would be by schoolmasters.'—*Speech of Right Hon. R. Lowe*, p. 32.

¹ The 'Yorkshire Clergyman,' in his Letter to Managers of Schools, says, on the authority of the district inspector, that it will take five minutes at least to examine each child. Mr. Tufnell says, 'It would take you ten minutes a child if you had to go to every class and find out what each scholar could do,'—*Question* 2323. 'Which I presume would be the only fair way?—If you are to examine the whole school, and required to give an opinion on each individual child, it would be the only fair way. But no inspectorial power could possibly get through such an amount of work.'—*Minutes of Evidence*, p. 412.

² Letter to Sir John Coleridge, p. 7.

³ Page 6.

⁴ Should it not be, 'in addition to inspectors, as examiners'?

(3) We pass on to the question of the probable effect of the New Code upon the religious instruction in our elementary schools. Here, in fact, two questions present themselves. The first is, whether Her Majesty's inspectors will examine and report upon the religious instruction as at present; the second is, what the effect will be upon the religious instruction of the proposal to pay the maximum grant for proficiency in three secular subjects.

The appointment of inspectors, and the character of the inspection in Church of England schools, so far as the religious teaching is concerned, is provided for by the Order in Council of the 10th of August, 1840, which may be called the Concordat between the Church of England and Committee of Council on behalf of the State.

Much discussion has taken place respecting the words of Article 14 (Rvd. C.): 'The inspectors do not interfere with the religious instruction, discipline, or management of schools.' It has been supposed that the Revised Code gives to these words a fresh meaning. We do not apprehend that this is the case. The words form a part of the Minute of Sept. 24, 1839, which prescribes (*inter alia*) that—

'The right of inspection will be required by the Committee in all cases. Inspectors authorized by Her Majesty in Council will be appointed from time to time, to visit schools to be henceforth aided by public money. *The inspectors will not interfere with the religious instruction, or discipline, or management of the school*; it being their object to collect facts and information, and to report the results of their inspection to the Committee.'

This Minute interprets generally the Order in Council of June 3, 1839, which affirms 'the principle of inspection as a condition of all grants from the Education Fund.'

The principle of inspection being thus affirmed generally, the Order in Council of June 3, 1839, and the Minute of Sept. 24, 1839, 'have been adapted by various supplementary Minutes to the schools of different denominations; . . . *e.g.* to schools connected with the Church of England by the Order in Council dated 10th August, 1840.'

We presume that no Minute could ever supersede an Order in Council, and perhaps, therefore, the Church hardly needed the assurance elicited by Archdeacon Sinclair, as Treasurer of the National Society, that this Order in Council 'is in no way affected by the Minute of the 29th July, 1861.'² This statement agrees with the Vice-President's words:—

'The schools will continue to be denominational, and religious teaching must be the foundation of all. The inspectors will still conduct a religious exami-

¹ Explanatory Memorandum on Inspection. ² Letter, dated Sept. 27, 1861.

nation where they conduct one now; in short, there is no proposal to make any change in the religious character of the schools.'—*Speech of Right Hon. R. Lowe*, p. 31.

We conclude, therefore, that the Inspectors will report upon the religious instruction as at present, and that no fresh instructions are needed. In fact, according to the trust-deeds of Church of England schools, managers are bound only to admit such inspection as is provided for under the Order in Council of August 10, 1840, and might therefore legally demand the fulfilment of those regulations, and decline inspection on any other terms.

We cannot suppose for a moment that any Government will propose to break the compact thus made with the Church; or, if the idea were ever entertained, that the proposition would be made except with full notice during the parliamentary session.¹

We turn to the second question, and try to ascertain in what way the provisions of the Revised Code will affect the religious instruction given in our schools.

Although the New Code does not legally affect the inspection of Church schools, there can be no doubt that it does affect, indirectly, but not therefore less really, the religious instruction given in them. This it does in two ways. It draws for the first time a sharp line of demarcation between the religious and secular instruction, and then gives to the latter an undue importance and prominence, by proposing to pay the maximum grant for proficiency in three secular subjects. It first fences off three subjects, and then exalts them disproportionately. It seems to proclaim publicly that reading, writing, and arithmetic alone are to be encouraged by bounties from the State, that these are the objects worthy of its special care and protection, and that the absence of religious instruction may fitly be made the subject of penalties.² It practically suggests to teachers and apprentices that the time devoted to religious instruction would

¹ We feel bound, however, to remind our readers of the words of the Vice-President:—'But let me say that if the number of inspectors should become too large, the Government and the House have the remedy in their own hands. The number of inspectors is far larger than it need be at this moment, because each denomination has its own inspectors, and it often happens that three or four gentlemen are sent to the same town to inspect the schools in it. That of course involves an enormous waste of time and money, and some good might be effected by making the same gentlemen inspect all classes of schools, with the exception perhaps of those belonging to the Roman Catholics. However, we propose nothing of that kind. I merely point out what might be done.'—*Speech*, p. 32. The italics are ours. Doubtless it might be done, but it would be the repeal of the Concordat between the Church and the State.

² 'It (Rvd. C.) separates secular from religious studies, thus introducing a false and dangerous principle, encouraging the former by bounties, while it protects the latter only by penalties, inoperative except in extreme cases.'—*Letter of Rev. D. Coleridge*, p. 7.

have enabled them to earn so much more out of the new capitation grant if it had been given to the secular teaching. It invites calculations as to the *minimum* time which will be sufficient to ensure that amount of religious instruction which will escape any forfeiture under Article 47.

It may be said that the clergy and managers of schools will take care that the religious instruction is duly given, and that conscientious teachers, without any such superintendence, will give to it as much time and attention as they do now. We do not doubt it; but how do these considerations alter the viciousness of the principle? To say that persons will persevere, under difficulties deliberately sanctioned by law, in doing that which they know to be right, is not to prove that the law is a good one. The truth is, that to distinguish in this way between secular and religious instruction is a fatal error, and introduces a new and most dangerous principle. The State does not pay the Church for teaching so much reading, writing, and arithmetic, to be measured and valued at an annual inspection. It assists the Church in providing a religious education, which shall include these secular subjects. It assists in maintaining the schools as a whole; it sends inspectors who are not only Churchmen, but (with one exception¹) in holy orders, and whose appointment may be revoked at the request of the Archbishop of the province, because the religious character and instruction are to form a chief subject of inquiry, and because it has been agreed between the Church and the State that no other inspectors shall inquire into the proficiency of the children even in secular subjects. On these terms alone has the Church received, or would, we trust, ever consent to receive, public money. These terms are secured to her on the part of the State by the Concordat of August 10, 1840, and by the management clauses in the trust-deeds of her schools. The State has assisted the Church in providing buildings and machinery, in training teachers, and in supporting elementary schools, on condition that certain proportionate results were obtained in each case. To reverse the order, to separate between religious and secular instruction, to exalt the latter, and to say that only a certain limited class of results shall be paid for—as if these alone were worthy of the special care of the State—is practically, though indirectly, to break up the unity and due proportions of the teaching in our schools, and to throw into the shade their religious character.

IV. We have left ourselves but little space for any further

¹ It may be well to draw attention to the fact that one of the Church inspectors is a layman.

remarks. We would gladly enlarge upon the alterations which the Revised Code makes in the system of apprenticeship, and the marked discouragements to training institutions which its provisions involve. We must content ourselves with reminding our readers that under the New Code the indenture of apprenticeship is changed into a form of agreement between pupil-teachers and managers;¹ that the former will no longer be apprentices of the master or mistress; that the relation between the two parties which has worked so beneficially, and which seems almost essential to the due maintenance of discipline, will therefore not exist; that the time given to the instruction of the pupil-teachers may be less in amount and at longer intervals, the requirements of the annual examinations remaining substantially the same; and that the instruction may be given to them (in some way utterly incomprehensible to practical persons) as scholars in the night-school, which masters and mistresses, on the removal of protection, are to be allowed to keep in addition to the day-school, as long, we presume, as their health permits them to keep either.²

With equal conciseness we must notice that the enactments just mentioned would, in the opinion of the most experienced persons, endanger the system of apprenticeship, and consequently the supply of students for the training colleges; that the New Code takes away all inducement to remain for the second year's training, which the authorities of those institutions, as well as Her Majesty's inspectors, have declared to be so essential;³ that it cancels all the pecuniary engagements of the State with lecturers in training colleges, as well as with certificated teachers with respect to their augmentations; and that it reduces the grants to training colleges, in opposition to the recommendation of the Commissioners.

Why, then, it may be asked, was the Revised Code introduced?

¹ Our space only allows us to remind our readers of a very able article in the *Saturday Review* of November 16, on '*The New Minute, and the Pupil Teachers*.'

² It is said that the Revised Code facilitates the establishment of night-schools. But all experience proves that teachers cannot undertake a night-school if there are pupil-teachers to be instructed, without sacrificing the day-school, the pupil-teachers' instruction, or their own health. The Revised Code makes a compromise with respect to the pupil-teachers' instruction. The Old Code forbids work in the night-school only where there are pupil-teachers.

³ 'Perhaps the most serious defect of all in the New Code, in its bearing upon training colleges, is that it contains no motive whatever, *directly operating upon the Students*, to prolong their period of study through a second year. . . . For the value of a second year's training, morally and intellectually, is indisputable. It is the one fact in the entire range of educational questions, upon which there is a complete consensus of witnesses.'—*Letter of Rev. J. Fraser to the Bishop of Salisbury*, p. 24.

It will be said at once—because the present system is too expensive, and threatens to make enormous and ever-increasing demands on the resources of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. We should be inclined to ask whether the expense be really so enormous; whether a considerable part of the grant may not fairly be estimated as so much taken from the cost of pauperism and crime; and whether money can be ill-spent which is so carefully expended, and which calls forth an expenditure of at least twice as much, in addition, on the education of the country. However, we will not discuss these questions now. We yield to no one in the desire to see the Education Grant administered as economically as is consistent with efficiency. The Vice-President tells us in his speech, that during the last three years about '40,000*l.* a-year has been saved to the public without any apparent damage to the progress of education' (p. 5). We think that this shows what sound economy may effect even under the present system. No one seems to regret the abolition of the book-grant, and this would save 5,618*l.* 16*s.* 5*d.* according to last year's estimate. Grants for scientific apparatus and drawing amount to 1,667*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* Building grants will decrease. Grants for building or enlarging training schools have ceased. Annual grants to training colleges will increase very slightly. Capitation grants (63,897*l.*) might be withdrawn, or given on more stringent conditions. We admit that Parliament and Chancellors of the Exchequer should watch the grant carefully, and see that the country has its money's worth. We allow, of course, that if Parliament see fit, it may revoke the grant altogether, and leave the whole work to private benevolence. But we say, that if retrenchment were meant it ought to have been openly avowed. Parliament has not yet said that the grant is excessive, and no member has yet risen in his place to move the reduction of the estimate. Chancellors of the Exchequer have grumbled, according to constitutional usage, and are expected to do so. But the Vice-President did not put forward the necessity of retrenchment as the ground upon which the alterations were to be made, and the Minute simply states that it is enacted to render the distribution of the Parliamentary grant 'more simple, more general, and more effective.' We cannot, therefore, argue the question on economical grounds.

The simplicity of the Revised Code consists in reducing all payments to one capitation grant, subject to uncertainty and fluctuations from causes which are quite beyond control. It throws all the risk upon the managers of schools, and they have almost unanimously declared that the simplicity of the Revised Code involves, so far as they are concerned, reduction of the grants, uncertainty, and risks which cannot be estimated.

Again, it will only make the distribution of the grant more general at the cost of efficiency. The New Code offers a lower class of certificate, corresponding to registration, to all persons above twenty-two years of age, whereas at present persons cannot be registered under thirty-five years of age. We do not suppose that any large number of teachers will obtain this certificate; nor, if they do, is it by any means clear that it is well to intrust the instruction of pupil-teachers to those who hold a lower certificate than the present third class.¹

But we hold that the other plan by which it is proposed to extend the distribution of the grant is thoroughly objectionable. It is proposed to give provisional certificates (Article 85, Rvd. C.) to pupil-teachers who have completed their apprenticeship, and to put them at once in charge of schools in agricultural districts. We venture to think that it would indeed be a mistake to put girls and boys of eighteen and nineteen in sole charge of schools, without requiring them to receive any training. They cannot fairly be expected at that age to have the moral weight necessary for this work, or to be able to conduct schools, when they have never been taught to conduct them. They have arrived at the age at which they would be benefited by residence in a training school, but it was never contemplated that they would take sole charge of schools, still less that they should be certificated. We conclude, therefore, that the New Code would make the distribution of the grant more general by establishing a much lower type of school, not by gradually introducing into the rural districts really superior schools, as the Old Code was actually doing.

We need not say much of the effectiveness of the New Code. A measure which practically sweeps away a tried and successful system, and substitutes for it one which is wholly experimental, can be effective only in a sense very unsatisfactory to all practical persons. It may possess the effectiveness of destruction. But this can hardly be the intention of its framers, since the Vice-President states as one of the 'advantages' of the plan, that 'it leaves the whole system of the Privy Council intact.'²

It should be borne in mind, however, that we are by no means opposed to well-considered modifications of the existing system. We are quite willing to admit that improvements may

¹ 'I am inclined to think myself that pupil-teachers should not be apprenticed to any but certificated masters and mistresses. I doubt whether the registered teachers have a sufficient amount of intellectual attainment, whatever may be their powers of school management, to undertake and complete their instruction.'—*Report of Rev. J. Fraser*, p. 123.

² Speech of the Right Hon. R. Lowe, p. 29.

be made. It cannot be denied, for instance, that large capitation grants are paid where they are not needed, and that the extension of the grant beyond its original limits is to be regretted. For our own part we should be glad to see the present capitation grant gradually withdrawn. It is a fair question whether some limitation of the number of pupil-teachers may usefully be made; and, above all, how the benefits of the present system may be gradually and surely extended in the rural districts. It is most desirable that all possible means should be taken to secure the greatest amount of practical skill on the part of students in training colleges, and to enforce increased attention, if need be, to the elementary subjects. Practical persons, who are concerned in the working of the present system, are most anxious to make it as perfect as possible, to modify, to retrench, to extend, and to deepen in whatever way may seem most desirable.¹

But in order that the work may be safely and surely carried on it is essential that there should be a feeling of security. It is absolutely necessary that a system which involves the pecuniary interests of thousands, and the moral interests of a nation, should not be liable to sudden and sweeping alterations; still less that it should be exposed to them without sufficient notice, and without Parliamentary sanction. We have learned to our cost what the powers of the Committee of Council are; we believe that we express the opinion of all those who have given to the subject the most earnest and thoughtful consideration, when we say that those powers must be defined and limited. Confidence cannot be restored, and therefore the work of education cannot prosper, unless we are assured that such revolutions will be impossible for the future without the deliberate sanction of Parliament.

We appeal to the practical common-sense of the English people, with full confidence in its verdict. We appeal to the results; to the schools which have risen in every direction; to the training colleges which may be seen in almost every diocese; to the army of trained teachers which they have annually sent forth. We appeal in proof of the earnestness of her purpose to the six millions sterling which the Church of England has spent in the last twenty years in promoting elementary education. We appeal above all to the moral results of our schools, to the remarkable testimony in their favour which impartial

¹ In proof of this assertion, we may appeal to the published pamphlets of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth (the parent of the present system); of the Rev. Derwent Coleridge, Principal of St. Mark's; of the Rev. C. F. Bromby, Principal of Cheltenham; and of John Martin, Esq., Hon. Secretary of Highbury Training College.

witnesses have given, and to the improved and improving condition of our population. We do this in no spirit of self-confidence, or of boasting, still less with the desire to conceal aught which is imperfect, or to deny any proved deficiency. But when it is proposed to endanger or destroy the work of years, when there is a well-grounded apprehension among sober and earnest men who have been giving time and money, and personal service, that what they value most is imperilled, it is their duty to come forward and say so, and calmly and firmly to warn the country before it is too late. The warning has been uttered throughout the length and breadth of the land, and will not, we believe, have been uttered in vain. Much as we deplore the loss of confidence which the publication of the New Code has caused, we trust that many benefits will flow indirectly out of its ill-timed and ill-considered enactments. We trust that the thorough sifting of the subject may lead many to assist in the work who have hitherto held back, that a more accurate knowledge of what has been done for elementary education under the present system may be diffused, and that the result may be an increasing and more intelligent activity, and a more earnest determination to extend still more widely the blessings of a sound religious education.

ART. V.—*Codex Zacynthius*. *Æ. Greek Palimpsest Fragments of the Gospel of Saint Luke, obtained in the island of Zante, by the late GENERAL COLIN MACAULAY, and now in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Deciphered, transcribed, and edited, by SAMUEL PRIDEAUX TREGELLES, LL.D.* London: Samuel Bagster and Sons. 1861.

WHATEVER theories may have been recently propounded in Germany and England about the true interpretation of the New Testament, one thing at least is certain: that no Greek writing of equal antiquity has anything like the amount of documentary evidence for its text, which that little (but most precious) volume has. The MSS. of various ages, which contain either the whole, or a part of the New Testament, amount to about a thousand: we believe that they rather exceed that number. Their date ranges from the middle of the fourth century, down to the time when the marvels of calligraphy and tachygraphy were superseded by the greater marvel of Gutenberg's discovery. Yet those old stained moth-eaten parchments, with their faded characters and blurred margins, have an interest which is not exceeded by the most finished specimen of typography which the presses of Oxford and Cambridge, London and Paris, Leipzig and Berlin, can produce. The volume, even when it emerges from the establishments of Hayday, or of Hayes, '*Sosiorum pumice mundus*,' sinks into insignificance in the presence of those ragged and jagged leaves, over which some fifteen centuries have rolled, and which are still the earliest extant witness of that which the Holy Ghost recorded by the hands of Apostles and Evangelists. We feel, as we gaze on those venerable characters, that we are brought so much nearer to the autographs of S. Matthew, S. Paul, and S. John. But at all events, they furnish an evidence peculiarly their own, of that which was received as Holy Writ at the time when they were transcribed. Palæography, like criticism, is becoming methodized, and assuming a scientific form. If those who are conversant with the records of our national archives, have no difficulty in making out the handwritings of our English sovereigns (of such, at least, as *could* write); if, for instance, the quaint upright characters, with their appended flourishes, in which Queen Elizabeth expressed her feelings or her *will*, belong to an age essentially distinct from that in which, with graceful cursive hand, Queen Victoria intimates her royal pleasure; so each century exhibits, in its written alphabet, peculiar marks of its

own. Those who are curious in such matters, may commence with the papyrus specimens in the Louvre, at Paris; and those who are not able (all must be willing) to go to Paris, may see facsimiles in the magnificent work of M. Silvestre. The young palæographer may there read a letter from Dioscorides to Dorion, of about the date 250 B.C. He may also read a petition addressed to the Crown in Egypt, when Ptolemy Philometor was king, by Thanès and Taous, two young ladies engaged in attendance upon some temple. 'On dirait l'histoire,' M. Silvestre remarks, 'd'une pétition adressée à un souverain dans le XIX^e siècle, avec cette différence toutefois, qu'au bout de trois mois l'affaire fut terminée, et favorablement pour les jumelles.' He assigns 164 B.C. as the date of the petition. Consider, moreover, how widely the MSS. of the New Testament are dispersed in the various capitals and universities of Europe, at Mount Athos, Mount Sinai, in the East. What hidden stores there may be, we do not know; but this we do know, that every year is adding to our documentary evidence; and in the instance now before us, we have a proof, that even in London, that mighty heart of the world-wide British empire, a precious document (mere fragment though it be) may lie unnoticed for a period of nearly forty years; and that it was a foreigner who first pointed out its value, if not even its very existence.

The Codex Zacynthius is a Palimpsest MS. now in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society.¹ It contains a considerable portion of St. Luke's Gospel, with a Catena. Public attention was first called to it by Dr. Paul de Lagarde, of Berlin, in 1857.² An edition of it has been recently published by Dr. S. P. Tregelles, 1861. The MS. was *seen* by the late Professor Scholz, of Bonn, in 1845, but he did not attempt to decipher it.

According to Dr. Tregelles' Preface (p. ii.), 'The book in its present form is of a quarto or small folio size (the leaves measure eleven by seven inches), and consists of 176 folios . . . folded in twenty-two quires. . . . The later writing is a Greek Lectionary from the four Gospels, and belongs, I suppose, to the thirteenth century. The vellum is generally coarse, and a few of the leaves are torn.' From certain memoranda at the beginning, it appears that the MS. was given, in 1820, by Prince Comuto, to the late General Colin Macaulay (uncle to the late Lord Macaulay), who at that time visited Zante; and that in 1821, it was by him presented to the Bible Society. Its pre-

¹ Numbered "24, Greek Evangelisterium Parchment."

² In his book, "De Novo Testamento ad Versionum Orientalium fidem edendo Commentatio." Leipzig, 1857.

vious history is buried in obscurity. 'There is, I suppose, no trace of its history prior to its having been then in Zante.' (Pref. p. ii.)

Dr. Tregelles goes on to remark: 'The older writing must have been part of a volume of large folio size (fourteen by eleven inches), for the leaves are now folded across, the later writing running the other way. It consists of eighty-six leaves, and three half-leaves, two of which are *sewn together* to make part of one of the modern quires; and one folio of the later writing (173) is supplied by paper. These leaves are, of course, now intermixed; but for convenience sake, if ever the book is bound with reference to the ancient writing, I have marked the folios *with Roman numerals*, from i. to lxxxix.' (Pref. p. ii.)

The fragments which remain of this older writing, contain large portions of S. Luke's Gospel, from the beginning to chap. xi. 33, 'accompanied by *large* Patristic extracts, occupying often the greater part, and at times the whole of the page' (*ib*). The text is in round, full, well-formed Uncial letters, such as might be ascribed to the sixth century; but the round letters in the Catena are so *cramped*, that they might appear to belong to the eighth century. There are but few accents or breathings.

With regard to *sections*, the MS. has the ordinary κεφάλαια or τίτλοι, with the heading sometimes at the top of the page, sometimes above the text. An example of a heading may be seen p. xxvi. (Treg. Facsim.) Lu. iv. 1, where there is Z̄ at the margin, and at the head of the page, Z̄ περι του πειρασμου του σαρς. The head-lines at the top of the page are sometimes in red ink.

There are also numbers which appear to refer to sections in the Catena; these run up to ρ̃, (100), and then begin again. 'Occasionally the same portion of Scripture occurs more than once when accompanied by a different Patristic extract.'

But one of the most remarkable points in this MS. is the fact, that it contains the same divisions as the Vatican MS. similarly marked. 'This notation is sometimes in the margin in large Greek letters, and sometimes close to the text, and occasionally 'in both places.' (Pref. p. iii.) To this Vatican notation there is commonly prefixed a large ψ. The only other MS. known to possess this Capitulatio Vaticana is the Vatican MS. itself. In one instance (ii. 22), 'The notation IB of the larger section (the *Capitulatio Vaticana*), stands thus small over that of the '83d, referring to the Catena.' (Pref. p. xiii.)

The MS. Dr. Tregelles has denoted by Ξ. The readings from ii. 4, are inserted in Dr. Tregelles' Greek Testament, and

also in the fourth edition of Dean Alford's first volume of the New Testament (1859).

'The following nine ecclesiastical writers are cited by name 'at the head of the pages, as the authors of the extracts in the 'Catena':—Chrysostom four times; Origen eight times, and once with Basil; Eusebius once; Isidore, Presbyter of Pelusium, once; Victor, Presbyter, twice; Basil three times; Cyril thirty-eight times; Titus nineteen times; Severus, Archbishop of Antioch, five times. 'A later hand (or the original scribe, 'perhaps from motives of caution) seems to have deleted with 'some care the name of *Severus*. 'Some of the pages of Ξ 'are marked $\epsilon\chi$ ἀνεπιγραφοῦ.' (Pref. pp. iii. iv.)

There is probably no other MS. of equal antiquity accompanied by a Catena. Ξ may be considered of the eighth century at least.

Dr. Tregelles has not mentioned the Ammonian sections, or the Eusebian canons¹ in connexion with this MS., nor do any of them appear in his facsimile edition: so that the different sections exhibited in Ξ appear to be, 1. The Capitulatio Vaticana; 2. The κεφάλαια; 3. The references to the Catena.

On the subject of MS. Catena, Dr. Tregelles has the following remarks, which appear worthy of attention:—

'The kind of text found in Ξ leads to some points of important inquiry: was there, or was there not, a kind of text preserved in MSS. containing Catena, of a peculiarly ancient character? It has been said, "The second instance begins an induction," and here we are prepared thus to proceed. We have in this MS. Ξ , of the eighth century, at least, a higher antiquity than in any such Codex previously known; next there are the Moscow fragments, 15 of Matthæi (for the text of which and the description, see Appendix to this volume); these are assigned to the *ninth* century; and X^3 of the *tenth*, which contains far the larger part of the four Gospels. In these three oldest documents of the kind, is found that *class* of text which comparative criticism proves to be the oldest; and in Ξ and the Moscow fragments its purity is such, that it may be compared to the extant Codices of the fourth century, B^4 and $\aleph$ (Tischendorf's "Codex Sinaiticus"). Thus, as far as facts and codices are now known, we may form what might be termed a *provisional conclusion*, that the oldest MSS. with Catena or Scholia (and those of three successive centuries), are monuments of the older text. The fact of the Capitulatio Vaticana being found in Ξ is here of significance; for these sections are thus shown to have been once of more extended distribution than if they had been a peculiarity of that one Codex B ; and as found in Ξ , a connexion is shown, even in minute circumstances, between the Codices of the fourth century and the most ancient of those with Catena.'—Pref. pp. iv. v.

¹ For a brief account of these, and of the κεφάλαια, see *Christian Remembrancer*, No. CXII. p. 379.

² They are given in the Appendix to Dr. Tregelles' edition of the 'Codex Zacynthius.'

³ X . 'Codex bibliothecæ universitatæ Monacensis . . . Exeunte nono vel ineunte decimo sæculo exaratus est.'—Tischendorf, *Prolog. Nov. Test.* pp. clxx. clxxi.

⁴ B . 'Codex Vaticanus,' No. 1209.

Prefixed to the text is a list of the κεφάλαια or τίτλοι (folio i. verso of the MS., and folio ii. recto and verso). These κεφάλαια are in the text given at the head of the page where they occur, each with its number, the number being also given in the margin. There are other MSS. which also contain lists of these κεφάλαια, as *A*, *C*, *L*, (Imp. Lib. Paris, No. 62. Gospels. Eighth century. Edited by Tisch. in 'Monumenta sacra inedita'); *R*, (B. Mus. A rescript containing most of S. Luke. Sixth century. Edited by Tisch. 'Monumenta sacra inedita.' Vol. II.); Δ ('Codex Sangallensis,' a Greek and Latin interlinear MS. of the Gospels. Ninth century. Edited by Rettig, 1836); *Z*, (Dublin. Rescript of S. Matthew. Sixth century. Edited by Barrett, 1801). A collation of the κεφάλαια, according to these MSS. (including Ξ), will be found at the end of S. John's Gospel, in the New Testament now in the course of publication by Dr. Tregelles. It is remarkable, however, that Ξ has a matter peculiar to itself, namely, a collation of the κεφάλαια in S. Matthew, with the corresponding κεφάλαια in the other Gospels, on a principle somewhat similar to that on which the Eusebian canons are constructed, in order to compare the Ammonian sections. 'These references in Ξ are confused; some numerals are repeated in additional columns, and some have been erased.' (Pref. p. viii.)

'As to interchange of vowels, and other defects, Ξ is much more correct than many, or perhaps than most documents of the same antiquity.' 'It is at least worthy of note, that this is the only Greek New Testament MS. which seems to have come to us from Greece itself; Egypt, Constantinople, and Mount Athos, having been, it seems, the ordinary localities from which our libraries in Western Europe have been furnished with these precious documents.' (Pref. p. xvi.) 'So far as may be learned from the Catena, it may be evident that wherever this MS. was written (or else that from which it was copied), the name and teaching of Cyril of Alexandria was held in high estimation: also the five citations of Severus, and the careful mode in which he was designated a *Saint*, and *Archbishop of Antioch*, indicates an admission of his claims, and as a consequence, an adhesion to his *Monophysite* teaching. It need hardly be said, that there is nothing in the readings of this MS. which shew any doctrinal bias.' 'The erasure of the name of Severus is worthy of notice, for whatever be the date of the MS., this alteration seems to have been made by some one who stood in fear of the edict of Justinian, against all who possessed or transcribed the writings of Severus.' The edict was A.D. 536. Dr. Tregelles compares 'the difference between the *republican* (or rather *Cromwellian*) and *Royal* copies of Walton's Polyglot.' It is to be remarked, that 'it is the name

‘[of Severus] that has suffered, while the extracts from his ‘works are uninjured.’ (Pref. pp. xvi. xvii.)

So far as the form of the letters affords any clue to the date, Dr. Tregelles remarks; ‘On the one hand, the confined letters ‘of the Catena suggest the eighth century; while those of the ‘text are such as we have been accustomed to ascribe to the ‘sixth; and the general absence of accents and breathings, even ‘from the Catena, seems hardly compatible with the later date. ‘The edict of Justinian, and the erasure of the name of Severus, ‘if taken alone, would make the sixth century *probable*, and it ‘is worthy of note that the authors were all of them previous; ‘so that there is no contradiction on the ground of anachronism.’ (Pref. pp. xvii. xviii.)

In the facsimile page may be noted in the text the large initial O projecting to the left; the frequency of the point; the contractions $\chi\nu$ $\theta\nu$; and in the Catena $\sigma\tau\rho\varsigma$ $\upsilon\varsigma$ $\sigma\upsilon\nu\omega$ $\pi\rho\varsigma$ $\pi\rho\varsigma$ $\iota\omega$ $\gamma\eta$ (at end of line). In the text occurs ΠΕΤΡΟΣ (*sic*). The rest is printed in the types which were cast for the Alexandrine MS., and which were lent to Dr. Tregelles by the Trustees of the British Museum. Handsome as are these types, care must be taken, in reading from them, that we do not insensibly confuse the age of Ξ with that of A . It might have been safer, though certainly less sightly, to have printed the text in ordinary capitals. But about the beauty of the typography there can be no doubt; there is every reason to believe that Dr. Tregelles has executed his laborious task with the most scrupulous fidelity; and he has done good service in thus decyphering a valuable testimony to part of the Gospel text. We now proceed to compare some of the readings of this MS. with those of the older Uncial MSS., and it will be most convenient to classify our observations under certain heads.¹

ITACISMS.

Of these the Codex Zacynthius contains but few, when compared with *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*. We think it may be said that in general the words are written as we should write them. There are,

¹ We propose to compare the readings of Ξ with those in

A. Codex Alexandrinus: ‘medio fere sæculo quinto.’

B. Codex Vaticanus, 1209: ‘sæculo quarto *** fere medio.’

C. Codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus: ‘ante medium sæculum quintum.’

D. Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis: ‘circa med. sæc. vi.’

L. Codex Imp. Paris, No. 62, Gospels: ‘octavo sæculo.’

The abbreviations *La*, *Tf*, *Ts*, denote respectively the editions of the Greek Testament by Lachmann (1842–1850); Tischendorf (1859); Tregelles (1860. See Preface to Part II.)

however, the following instances to show that the scribe was liable to the same Alexandrian influences which have so largely affected the orthography of the MSS. just mentioned.

The itacism (very common in *A, B, C, D,*) of

αι for *ε* occurs iii. 13, *πρασσεται.*

14, *αρκεισθαι.*

x. 4, *ασπασησθαι.*

Of the converse itacism, *ε* for *αι*, (also very common in *A, B, C, D,*) occur instances,

ii. 13, *εξεφνης.*

v. 23, *εγειρε*, (rather, a various reading; See Ln. Tf. Ts.),

vi. 38, *δοθησετε.*

viii. 28, *δεομε.*

ix. 45, *εσθωνται.*

ε for *η*, vi. 28, *επερεαζοντων*, (doubtful: this may be another form of the word: *A, X* have the same).

ει for *ι*, (very common in *A, B, C, D,*)

ii. 36, *παρθενειας*, (doubtful: this may be another form).

vi. 36, *οικτειρμονες*,

οικτειρων.

The converse itacism, *ι* for *ει*, (very common in *A, B, C, D,*) is the one which most frequently occurs in *Ξ*.

i. 39, *ορινην.*

vi. 34, *δανισητε*, (for *δανειζητε*).

35, *δανιζετε.*

vii. 41, *χρεοφιλεται*, (for *χρεωφειλεται*).

δανιστη.

ωφιλεν.

ix. 43, *μεγαλισητι.*

x. 24, *ιδαν*, (doubtful: the form without the augment occurs in the LXX; and in Tischendorf's text of the New Testament, *e.g.* John ix. 1).

xi. 4, *οφιλοντι.*

x. 34, *πανδοκιον*, (for *πανδοχειον*).

η for *ι*. viii. 16, *κληνης.*

ix. 14, *κλησιας*, (with *A. πρωτοκλησιας* occurs in Mark xii. 39, *A*; Luke xi. 43, *C*; xiv. 7, 8, *A*; xx. 46, *A*).

ι for η. vi. 35, *χριστος*.

αχριστους, (for *αχαριστους*, or *αχρηστους*.

This reading will be noticed afterwards).

ι for υ. vii. 25, *τριφη*.

ο for ω. vii. 47, *ο δε ολιγον*.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

The *ν* epenthetic (e.g. *ειπεν* for *ειπε*, &c.), is of constant occurrence in *Ξ*, as in the older MSS. ; we find, however, *εδοξε* in i. 3, *ηυξανε* in i. 80, *ωρμησε* in viii. 33. *A* has *προειπε*, Acts i. 16, 'quod rarissime solet facere.' (Woide). *συνηλθε*, ii. 6.

The form *δανειδ* occurs in i. 27, &c., as it does in *A, B, C, D*, wherever it is written at length. In *Ξ* the contracted form is also found, *δαδ*, ii. 11. In *Z* the name always occurs in the contracted form. *δανειδ* is admitted into the text by Ln. Tf. Ts.

The form *μωνσεως* is found, as at ii. 22. This is the general though not the invariable form in *A, B, C, D*, and is adopted by Ln. Tf. Ts.

The usual contractions are found, *πηρ υς*, &c.

ιλημ, ii. 38.

αι is sometimes written at the end of a line with *ς*, as *αφεωντς*, vii. 47, *κς*, viii. 19.

We find *ουτως* for *ουτω*, in ix. 15.

We find the aspirated mute *χ*, for the smooth mute *κ*, in ii. 37, *ουχ αφιστατο*.

In vi. 35 we have *απελπιζοντες*, with Stephens (1550), where Ln., Tf. read *αφελπιζοντες*.¹

In one respect *Ξ* stands in very marked contrast to the earlier MSS. They constantly neglect to assimilate consonants. Thus *εγγυς* is written *ενγυς*, *αγγελος* is written *ανγελος*, &c. &c. *D* abounds most in these non-assimilated forms, but they are found in *A, B, C*. e.g. *συνπαραγενομενοι* occurs in *A, B, C, D*. Some of these non-assimilated forms are admitted into recent texts: e.g. *συνβιβασθεντες*, Col. ii. 2, Tf.; *ευκακειν*, Eph. iii. 13, Gal. vi. 9, Tf.

In *Ξ* all such forms are written in the usual way.

There occurs, however, in x. 3, the doubtful form *εμμεσω*. Tf. has admitted it (*εμμέσω*) into the text of the Revelation, for *εν μέσω*, Rev. i. 13. The form occurs often in the earlier MSS.

¹ The form *αφελπιζοντες* illustrates the tendency to aspiration, which the Attic dialect in its later forms had. E.g. *ἄμμος*; whence *καθαμμίζω*, Aristotle; *αἶω*, *αἶαινω*, whence *αφαινῶναι*, in Aristoph. *ιδάλλω*, *φιδάλλω*, *εφιδάλλω*. *ἐλπίς* is found in Attic inscriptions. See Donaldson, Gr. Gr. (1859), page 17.

But Dindorf, in his notes on Stephens' Thesaurus, seems inclined to resolve it into *εμ μεσω*, for *εν μεσω*.

DIFFERENT FORMS.

In i. 36, for *γηρα* we have *γηρει*, with *A, B, C, D, L*, Ln. Tf. Ts.

vii. 41, for *χρεωφειλεται* we have *χρεοφιλεται*, with *A, B*, (acc. Rulotta, Mai mg, Alford,) *D, L*, (*ε* corr'), Ln. Tf. Ts.

vi. 48, for *πλημυρας* we have *πλημμυρης*, with *B¹, L*, Ts. The form *ειπαν* for *ειπον* occurs continually, as in *A, B, C, D, L*, and in Ln. Tf. Ts. e.g. i. 61, v. 33, vii. 20.

In ix. 49, for *ειδομεν* we have *ειδαμεν*, (*ιδαμεν, L*).

In ii. 16, we have *ηλθαν*, with *B¹* and *L*, Tf. Ts.

In x. 24, for *ειδον* we have *ιδαν*.

In viii. 19, *ηδυνοντο*, with *L*, for *ηδυναντο*.

In x. 1, for *εμελλεν* we have *ημελλεν*, with *A, B, C*, Ln. Tf. Ts.

In i. 31, we have *συλλημψη*, with *A, B, C, D, L*, Ln. Tf. Ts., and it may be observed that this form of the future, from *λαμβάνω*, is now a ruled point with these three editors of the New Testament.

Similarly, ix. 51, *αναλημψεως*, with *A, B, C, D, L*, Ln. Tf. Ts.

In ii. 5, for *μεμνηστευμενη* we have *ἐμνηστευμενη*, with *A, B¹, C¹, D¹, L*. In vi. 48, *οικοδομησθαι*, with *B¹, L*.

In iv. 18, for *ενεκεν* we have *εινεκεν*, with *A, B, D, L*, Ln. Tf. Ts.

In v. 28, &c. for *απαντα* we have *παντα*, with *B, C², D, L*, Ln. Ts.

In v. 32, at the end of a line *ηλ*, and at the commencement of the next line *ληλυθα*.

In viii. 26, for *αντιπεραν* we have *αντιπερα*, with *A, B, D*, Ln. Tf. Ts.

In viii. 29, for *εδεσμειτο* we have *εδεσμευετο*, with *B, L*, Ts.

In ix. 7, *τετρααρχης*, l. m. *C* also has this form.

In x. 4, for *βαλαντιον* we have *βαλλαντιον*, with *A, B, C, D, L*, Ln. Tf. Ts.

In x. 13, *χοραζειν*, with *A, B, C, L*, Tf. Ts.

In x. 30, *ιερειχω*, with *B, L*, Tf.

In x. 39, *μαριαμ* for *μαρια*, with *B¹, C¹, L*.

In xi. 31, *σολομωνος* for *σολομωντος*, with *A, B, D*, Ln. Tf. Ts.

In vii. 1, *καφαρναουμ*, with *B, C¹, D*, Ln. Tf. Ts.

In ii. 39, *ναζαρεθ*, with *B*, *D*, *Tf*. *Ts*. Elzevir, for *ναζαρετ*, *R*. Stephens.

MERE ERRORS IN TRANSCRIPTION.

From these the MS. is remarkably free.

In i. 36, we have *συγγενη* for *συγγενης* (but *συγγενης* in the same verse repeated).

In vi. 27, we have *εχρους* for *εχθρους*.

In vi. 35, *μηδεν* for *μηδεν*.

αχριστους for *αχαριστους*. But this may be for *αχρηστους*.

In viii. 45, *συννεχουσιν* for *συνεχουσι*. But the second *ν* was afterwards erased.

In xi. 27, *βαστασα* for *βαστασασα*. According to Tregelles, *B*, acc. Bartolucci, has the same error.

We now proceed to notice the more important points wherein the MS. differs from the text of *R*. Stephens (1550);¹ and these may be conveniently classed under four heads, viz. Transposition, Substitution, Omission, Addition.

TRANSPPOSITION.

The effect of transposition is, sometimes to throw the emphasis on one word rather than another, sometimes to necessitate a change in the punctuation. But in very many cases there is no perceptible change in the sense. Of transposition, we have noted in Ξ about forty-seven instances. A few may be selected:—

In Luke iii. 14, ς reads *καὶ ἡμεῖς τί ποιήσομεν*;

Ξ reads *τι ποιησωμεν και ημεεις*;

Here there is both transposition and substitution. *A* reads with ς . *Ln*. *Ts*. simply transpose: *τί ποιήσομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς*; *B*, *C*, *L*, *Tf*. read with Ξ . *D* reads *Τι ποιησωμεν ινα σωθωμεν*;

In iv. 8, ς reads *Προσκυνήσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου*,

Ξ reads *Κυριον τον Θεον σου προσκυνησεις*, with *B*, *D*, *L*, *Ln*. (non *mg*.) *Ts*. This transposition throws the emphasis on the Sacred Name.

¹ We take this opportunity of noticing the edition of the Stephens' text, edited by Mr. Scrivener, published at Cambridge, 1860. In footnotes are given the various readings in the editions of Beza, 1565; Elzevir, 1624; Lachmann, 1842-50; Tischendorf, 1859; Tregelles, 1844, 1857. The little volume reflects the highest credit on the editor's care. In p. 25, there seems, however, to be an omission of 16 in the margin. In p. 149, ver. 25, ϕ is without accent and breathing. In p. 266, ver. 28, *παρὰ* seems unaccented. In p. 269, ver. 14, *συμβουλευσας* seems unaccented. In p. 277, ver. 27, *ἀπιστος* is without accent and breathing. Matt. xxv. 8, *ἔτε* for *ἐτι*. In the remarks which follow in the text of this article, our citations will be made from this edition, denoted by the mark ς .

In v. 21, ς reads *τίς δύναται ἀφίεναι ἀμαρτίας*,
 Ξ reads *τις δυναται αμαρτίας αφειναι*, with *B, D, L, (αφιεναί)*, Ln. (non mg.) Tf. Ts.

In vi. 44, ς reads *οὐδὲ ἐκ βάτου τρυγῶσι σταφυλὴν*.
 Ξ reads *ουδε εκ βατου σταφυλην τρυγωσιν*, with *B, C, D, L*, Tf. Ts. The transposition seems to bring out more fully the contrast between *βάτου* and *σταφυλὴν*, though the difference can hardly be expressed in English.

In vii. 37, we have an instance of a transposition which affects the punctuation.

ς reads *γυνὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἥτις ἦν ἀμαρτωλός*,
 Ξ reads *γυνη ητις ην εν τη πολει αμαρτωλος*, with *B, L, Ln.* (non mg.) Tf. Ts., where the three latter have merely a comma after *ἀμαρτωλός*.

In vii. 46, ς reads *ἐλαίῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν μου οὐκ ἤλειψας·
 αὕτη δὲ μύρῳ ἤλειφέ μου τοὺς πόδας*.

In the latter part Ξ reads with *L*, *αυτη δε μυρω τους ποδας μου ηλειψεν*, an arrangement which makes the latter half tally better with the former, besides bringing the enclitic *μου* into its proper place after *πόδας*. In this last respect *A, B, Ln.* Tf. Ts. agree with Ξ .

In ix. 18, ς reads *τίνα με λέγουσιν οἱ ὄχλοι εἶναι*;
 Ξ reads *τινα με οι οχλοι λεγουσιν ειναι*, with *B, L*, Tf. Ts., an arrangement which throws the emphasis upon *οἱ ὄχλοι*, and brings out the contrast with *ὑμεῖς* δὲ in verse 20.

In x. 36, ς reads *τίς οὖν τούτων τῶν τριῶν δοκεῖ σοι πλησίον γεγονέναι, κ.τ.λ.*

Ξ reads *Τις τουτων των τριων πλησιον δοκει σοι γεγ.* with *A, B, C, L*, Tf. Ts., an arrangement which throws the emphasis on *πλησίον*. *ουν, A, C, [ουν]* Ln. Ts.

Other instances of transposition might be quoted, but these are perhaps sufficient for our present purpose.

SUBSTITUTIONS.

Of substitutions, that is, of one word put for another, we have noted about 201. This number includes instances which occur more than once, *e.g.* *δαυειδ*. But mere itacisms, &c. are not included.

In i. 37, ς reads ὅτι οὐκ ἀδυνατήσκει παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ πᾶν ῥῆμα.
 Ξ reads του Θεου, with *B, D* ($\pi. \tau. \Theta.$ post ῥῆμα *D*),
L, Ln. (mg.) *Tf. Ts.*

In i. 42, ς reads καὶ ἀνεφώνησε φωνῇ μεγάλῃ,
 Ξ reads καὶ ανεφώνησεν κραυγῇ μεγάλῃ, with *B, L,*
Tf. Ts.

In ii. 2, Ξ reads κυριμίου, on which Dr. Tregelles has a note:
 'The reading of the MS. is either κυρινιου or
 'εὐ κυρηνου, certainly not κυρηνιου: the cross
 'strokes of N and of H (if that letter were there)
 'have disappeared.' He inclines to κυρηνου.

In ii. 14, Ξ reads, with ς , εὐδοκία· ('sic'), clearly without any
 'correction, so that the MS. could never have read
 'εὐδοκίας.' (*Ts.*)
 εὐδοκίας, *A, B¹, D, Ln.* *Tf. Ts.*

In ii. 16, ς reads καὶ ἦλθον σπεύσαντες.
 Ξ alone καὶ ἦλθαν πιστευσαντες.

In ii. 37, ς reads καὶ αὕτη χήρα ὡς ἐτῶν ογδ.
 Ξ reads εως for ὡς, with *A, B, L, Ln.* *Tf. Ts.*

In ii. 39, ς reads εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν
 Ξ for αὐτῶν reads εαυτῶν, with *A, B, D¹, L, Ln.* *Tt.*
Ts.

The later Greek avoided the use of αὐτῶν for the reflexive pronoun.

In iv. 7, ς reads σὺ οὖν ἐὰν προσκυνήσῃς ἐνώπιόν μου, ἔσται
 σου πάντα.

Ξ reads εμου for μου, and πασα for πάντα.

In the reading εμου, which substitutes the emphatic pronoun for the enclitic, *B, D, Ln.* *Tf. Ts.* agree.

In the reading πασα *A, B, D Gr, L, Ln.* *Tf. Ts.* agree.

In v. 23 and 24, for εγείραι, Ξ reads εγειρε, with *A, B, C, D,*
Ln. *Tf. Ts.*

This is one of the cases where the variation may be no more than an itacism. Modern editors, however, agree to retain the actual reading of the MSS.

In v. 24, for παραλελυμενω, Ξ reads παραλυτικω, with *C,*
D, L, Ln.

The Hellenistic form παραλυτικός belongs, however, in the New Testament to S. Matthew and S. Mark only: the classical form παραλελυμένος is used by S. Luke, both in the Gospel and the Acts; also in Heb. xii. 12, παραλελυμένα γόνατα.

In vi. 35, ς reads ὅτι αὐτὸς χρηστός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀχα-
 ρίστους

Ξ reads χριστος for χρηστος, and αχριστους for αχαριστους.

Here *χριστος* seems to be by itacism for *χρηστος*, and *αχριστους* for *αχρηστους*. No other MS. has this reading, nor does Dr. Tregelles notice either word among his *variae lectiones*; so that he seems to consider *αχριστους* not as an itacism, but as a slip of the scribe for *αχαριστους*.

In vi. 48, *ς* reads *τεθεμελίωτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν*.

Ξ reads *δια το καλως οικοδομησθαι αυτην*, with *B*¹, *L*. With this agree *Tf. Ts.* except that they edit *οικοδομείσθαι*.

In vii. 31, *ς* reads *εἶπε δὲ ὁ Κύριος*,

Ξ alone reads *ουκετι εκεινοις ελεγετο αλλα τοις μαθηταις*.

In vii. 32, *ς* reads *καὶ λέγουσιν*, (dative)

Ξ alone reads *λεγοντα*. *Tf. Ts.* read *λέγοντες*, with *D Gr, L*.

In ix. 1, *ς* reads *τοὺς δώδεκα μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ*,

Ξ reads *αποστολους* with *C*¹, *L*, for *μαθητας αυτου*. om. *μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ*, *Tf. Ts.*

In ix. 3, *ς* reads *ράβδους*,

Ξ reads *ραβδον* with *B, C*¹, *D, L, Ln. Tf. Ts.*

In ix. 7, *ς* reads *τετράρχης*.

Ξ reads *τετραρχης*. "*A prima manu: a deleted.*" (*Ts.*)

C has also this form.

In ix. 10, *ς* reads *εἰς τόπον ἔρημον πόλεως καλουμένης Βηθσαιδά*.

Ξ reads *εις πολιν καλουμενην Βηθσαιδα* with *B, L, Tf. Ts.*

In ix. 35, *ς* reads *ἀγαπητός*

Ξ reads *εκλελεγμενος* with *B, L, Ln. (mg.) Tf. Ts.*

In ix. 49, *ς* reads *ἐπιστάτα*,

Ξ reads *διδασκαλε* with *C*¹, *L*.

ς reads *ἐκωλύσαμεν*.

Ξ reads *εκωλυομεν* with *B, L, Ln. (mg.)*

In x. 13, *ς* reads *καθήμεναι*

Ξ reads *καθημενοι* with *A, B, C, L, Ln. Tf. Ts.*

In x. 15, *ς* reads *ἡ ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθείσα*,

Ξ reads *μη εως του ουρανου υψωσηση*, which must of course be pointed with a question: So *B, D, L, Ln. (non mg.) Ts. om. του, B*¹ *Ra, D, Ln. Tf. Ts.*

In xi. 33, *ς* reads *κρυπτὸν*

Ξ reads *κρυπτην*, with *A, B, C, D, L. κρυπτὴν Elz. Ln. Ts. κρύπτην Tf.*

With this verse the rescript ends at the words *την λυχριαν*.

OMISSIONS.

Under this head are classed words found in ς but not found in Ξ . Of omissions we have noted 118 instances.

- In i. 28, ς reads *καὶ εἰσελθὼν ὁ ἄγγελος πρὸς αὐτὴν*
 Ξ om. *ο αγγελος* with *B, L, Tf.* [Ts.]¹
- In ii. 7, ς reads *ἐν τῇ φάτνῃ*.
 Ξ om. *τη* with *A, B, D, L, Ln. Ts.* Similarly in verses 1, 2, with *Ln. Tf. Ts.*
- In ii. 8, ς reads *φυλακὰς τῆς νυκτὸς*
 Ξ alone om. *της νυκτος*. This is not noted among the *variae lectiones* of Dr. Tregelles' edition.
- In ii. 12, ς reads *τὸ σημείον*
 Ξ om. *το* with *B.*
- In ii. 15, ς reads *καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ ποιμένες*
 Ξ om. *και οι ανθρωποι* with *B, L, [Ln.] [Ts.]*
- In ii. 38, ς reads *καὶ αὕτη αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ*
 Ξ om. *αυτη* with *A, B, D, L, Ln. Ts.*
- In iii. 20, ς reads *ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ*.
 Ξ om. *τη* with *B, D, L, Ln. Ts.*
- In iv. 8, ς reads *Ἔπαγε ὀπίσω μου, Σατανᾶ*
 Ξ om. with *B, D, L, [Ln.] Tf. Ts.*
 ς reads *γέγραπται γάρ,*
 Ξ om. *γαρ* with *A, B, D, L, Ln. Tf. Ts.*
- In iv. 9, ς reads *Εἰ ὁ υἱὸς εἰ τοῦ Θεοῦ,*
 Ξ om. *ο* with *A, B, D, L, Ln. Tf. Ts.*
- In iv. 18, Ξ om. *ιάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τὴν καρδίαν* with *B, D, L, [Ln.] Tf. Ts.*
- In v. 19, ς reads *καὶ μὴ εὐρόντες διὰ ποίας εἰσενέγκωσιν*
 Ξ om. *δια* with *A, B, C, D, L, Ln. Tf. Ts.*
- In v. 33, ς reads *Διατί οἱ μαθηταὶ*
 Ξ om. *διατι*, thus removing the question, with *B, L, Tf. [Ts.]*
- In vii. 22, ς reads *χωλοὶ περιπατοῦσι,*
 Ξ alone omits.
- In vii. 27, ς reads *πρὸ προσώπου σου,*
 Ξ alone omits.
- In vii. 28, ς reads *προφήτης*
 Ξ om. *προφητης* with *B, L, Ln. [Ts.]*
- In ix. 3, ς reads *μήτε ἀνὰ δύο χιτῶνας ἔχειν.*
 Ξ om. *ανα* with *B, C¹, L, [Ts.]*

¹ i.e. Tregelles brackets the words.

- In ix. 54, ς reads $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ καὶ Ἑλίας ἐποίησε;
 Ξ om. with *B, L, Tf. Ts.*
- In ix. 55-56, Ξ om. καὶ εἶπεν—ἀλλὰ σῶσαι with *A, B, C, (D), L, Ln. Tf. Ts.*
- In x. 22, ς reads καὶ στραφεῖς πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς εἶπε,
 Ξ om. with *B, D, L, Elz. Ts.*
- In x. 38, ς reads ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτοὺς, καὶ
 αὐτὸς εἰσῆλθεν
 Ξ om. καὶ with *B, L, [Ln.] [Ts.]*
- In xi. 33, ς reads οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον,
 Ξ om. with *L.*

ADDITIONS.

Under this head are classed words which occur in Ξ which are not found in ς . Of these instances we have noted but 24. The large number of omissions as compared with the small number of additions is rather in favour of the antiquity of the MS., it being more likely that, in the course of time, words and sentences would creep into the text, from glosses and commentaries, than that they should drop out.

- In i. 59, ς reads ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ,
 Ξ reads ἐν τη ἡμερᾷ τη ογδοῇ with *B, C, D, L, Ln. Tf. Ts.*

Here we have an instance of transposition combined with addition.

- In ii. 1, Ξ prefixes του to ἀπογραφεσθαι with *L.*
- In v. 30, ς reads μετὰ τελωνῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν
 Ξ reads μετὰ τῶν τελ. κ.τ.λ. with *A, B, C, D, L, Ln. Tf. Ts.*
- In v. 36, ς reads ἐπίβλημα ἱματίου καινοῦ
 Ξ prefixes ἀπο to ἱματίου with *B, D, L, [Ln.], Tf. Ts.*
 Ξ also adds σχισας after καινου with *B, D, L, Tf. Ts.*

So that in Ξ the whole sentence stands οτι ουδεις ἐπιβλημα ἀπο ἱματίου καινου σχισας ἐπιβαλλει ἐπὶ ἱματίον παλαιον.

- In vi. 25, ς reads οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, οἱ ἐμπεπλησμένοι,
 Ξ adds νυν with *B, L, [Ts.]*
- In vii. 12, ς reads ἱκανὸς σὺν αὐτῇ.
 Ξ prefixes ἡν to σὺν with *B, L, Elz. [Ts.]*

In ix. 50, After *Μὴ κωλύετε*

Ξ adds *οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν καθ' ὑμῶν* with *L*.

In x. 11, After *ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑμῶν*, Ξ adds *εἰς τοὺς ποδας ἡμῶν* with *A, B, C, D, L, Ln.* (om. *ἡμῶν*),
Tf. Ts. (om. *ἡμῶν*).

In x. 21, *ς* reads *ἡγαλλιάσατο τῷ πνεύματι ὁ Ἰησοῦς*,

Ξ adds *ἐν* before *τῷ* with *D, L*.

τῷ ἁγίῳ after *πνεύματι* with *B, C, D, L, Ln. Ts.*,

and omits *ο Ἰησοῦς* with *B, D, Ln. Ts.*

So that in Ξ the sentence stands *ἡγαλλίασατο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ*.

In xi. 29, *ς* reads *ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη πονηρά ἐστι*

Ξ adds *γενεα* after *αὕτη* with *A, B, D, L, Ln.*
Tf. Ts.

The selection of instances which we have given will have sufficiently indicated the general character of this rescript, so far as that character can be gathered from its readings. It will have been seen that there are some itacisms and some Alexandrian forms, but that these are by no means numerous in comparison with the instances by wholesale, which occur in our four oldest existing uncial MSS. ; that the instances of miswriting are few ; that the readings agree very frequently indeed with those of *L*, frequently with those of *B*, and that they constantly confirm the texts of Lachmann and Tischendorf. In the case of Dr. Tregelles' text, the MS. does not so much confirm his previous judgment, as constitute an item (and an important one) in the formation of his judgment ; but it will have been noticed how frequently the texts of all three critics agree with the text of Ξ. We need not hesitate to accept it as a substantial witness (so far as it goes) to the text of S. Luke's Gospel. Our most grateful acknowledgments are due to Dr. Tregelles for the care with which he has edited this venerable MS., particularly when it is remembered that, sooner than run the risk of injuring it by chemical applications,¹ he submitted to increased toil and much strain of eyesight in deciphering the all but evanescent characters of the MS. Nor should the liberality of the authorities at the Bible Society be forgotten, who kindly allowed Dr. Tregelles to have the use of the MS. in the country, where he could forget 'Fumum et opes strepitumque Romæ.'

¹ 'The vapour of the Hydro-sulphate of Ammonia suffices to combine with the iron of the ancient ink still remaining in the vellum ; and thus the ancient letters are produced in a distinct green colour.' (TREGELLES, Pref. p. xxii.)

Dr. Tregelles, in his preface, has some remarks upon Palimpsest MSS.; and we may observe, in addition, that a palimpsest has an evidence which seems to be peculiarly its own. We are carried vividly back to the time when parchment was dear, and books were scarce. The genuineness of such a document can hardly be questioned. That a manuscript of the Greek Testament should be first rubbed out, then cut up into new leaves, then superscribed, merely for the chance of the original writing being restored by chemical process, or deciphered by a pair of very patient eyes, is an hypothesis too absurd to be maintained for a moment. We might challenge even Simonides himself to manufacture such a document as the Codex Zacynthius, existing, as it does, under such complicated conditions.

The valuable character of the fragments¹ which remain to us may make us regret that we have not the entire MS.; but enough is preserved to us to show the general nature and character of its text; and if we find that the fragments support with tolerable uniformity a certain class of MSS., we may fairly infer that what is lost would also have done the same.

Anyhow, we must not undervalue even the smallest fragment of evidence. If from one bone, or the fragment of one bone, the comparative anatomist will construct the likeness of a long-lost animal; so from a few broken passages the comparative critic may gather the general bearing of a MS., and call it up to take its place among other records.

In comparing the text of *Ξ* with that of *A, B, C, D*, we have made no reference to the text of the Codex Sinaiticus. One reason is, that we have at present only a small selection from its readings: this is, indeed, a most valuable contribution to the criticism of the New Testament, and we are much indebted to Professor Tischendorf for having given us, at once, so much of interesting matter. But another reason is, that some doubts have been cast upon the genuineness of Professor Tischendorf's discovery; and until these are fully cleared up, it seemed prema-

¹ The fragments are as follows:—Inscription, i. 1—9, του κυριου | i. 19, και αποκριθεις—23, οικον αυτου | i. 27, δρι ω ονομα—ειπεν | i. 30, μη φοβου—32, πατρος αυτου | i. 36, και ιδου—66, τουτο εσται | i. 77, του δουναι—ii. 19, καρδια αυτης—ii. 21, και οτε—22, μωυσεως | ii. 33, θανατοιζοντες—39, ναζαρεθ | iii. 5, και παν—8, της μετανοιας | iii. 11, και ο εχων—20, εν φυλακη | iv. 1, ιησους δε—του διαβολου | iv. 6, και ειπεν—20, εκαθισεν | iv. 32, και εξεπλησσοντο—43, του θεου | v. 17, διδασκων—36, ματιον παλαιον | vi. 21, μακαριοι οι πεινωντες—vii. 6, στεγην εισελθης | vii. 11, και συνεπορευοντο—37, του φαρισαιου | vii. 39, ουτος ει—47, ολιγον α | viii. 4, ειπεν δια—21, και ποιουντες | viii. 25, εθανμασαν—35, εξεληλυθει | viii. 43, απο ετων—50, και σωθησεται | ix. 1, συγκαλεσαμενος—28, προσευξασθαι | ix. 32, γρηγορησαντες—33, τρεις σκηνας | ix. 35, και φωνη—ακουετε | ix. 41, αποκριθεις—x. 18, πεσοντα | x. 21, εν αυτη—40, συναντιλαβη | xi. 1, και εγενετο—2, λεγετε | xi. 3, τον αρτον—4, οφιλυντι ημιν | xi. 24, και μη—30, σημειον | xi. 31, σολομωνος ωδε | xi. 32, ιωα ωδε—33, την λυχνην.

ture to bring its readings into comparison with those of other documents.

Now we have not been able to trace the reports of the forgery to anything like documentary evidence; and against them are counter-reports: as *e.g.* that the monks of Mount Sinai have sent a petition to the Emperor of Russia, requesting that their treasure may be returned to them.

Meanwhile, the following facts deserve consideration.

In the first visit made by Professor Tischendorf to Mount Sinai, in May, 1844, he obtained part of a MS. of the Old Testament, which he afterwards published under the title of the 'Codex Friderico-Augustanus.' We have never heard that the genuineness of this fragment has ever been questioned. At the same time (1844) he *saw*, but was not allowed to take with him, another part of the same MS., containing Isaiah and the Maccabees.

At his second visit to Mount Sinai in 1853, he could nowhere find the other part which he had seen in 1844.

But on the 4th Feb., 1859, at his third visit to Mount Sinai, he did see the Old Testament fragments which he had seen in 1844, which he missed in 1853, and with them the whole of the New Testament, apparently a part of the same MS. It would seem then, that if the New Testament part of the MS. be a forgery, it could not have been in the convent till after 1853; else why was it not exhibited then?

Again, were the monks in the plot, or were they themselves imposed on?

Now comes another difficulty. Porphyrius, a Russian archimandrite, *saw* this MS. of the New Testament in the course of a visit which he made to the East in 1845-6. Therefore it was in existence, and in the convent, before 1853. If, then, it was a forgery made for the purpose of victimizing Tischendorf, why was not the trap baited for him in 1853? Why should an interval of six years be allowed to pass, when really the chances were that he would never visit the convent again? Dr. Tregelles mentions (Pref. p. iv.), that the part containing the New Testament had been also seen by Major Macdonald previously to its discovery by Professor Tischendorf. Another fact to be borne in mind is the number of different corrections which the MS. has received: this much increased the labour of transcription; and in the notes to the portions of the MS. already published, we find not less than six different correctors enumerated by the learned editor under the designations of Corr.^{1a} Corr.^{1b} Corr.² Corr.^{2a} Corr.^{2b} Corr.³ There may possibly be more.

Further, in the *Ausserordentliche Beilage* to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1st October, 1861, under the head, 'Die orientalische

Section der deutschen Philologen und Schulmänner,' Frankfurt a. M., 26th Sept., it is stated that they give up the idea of having a paper from Professor Tischendorf on the Sinaitic MS., and of seeing the MS. by inspection, owing to an attack of fever (announced by telegraph) under which the learned and fortunate Palæographist (der gelehrte und glückliche Paläograph) is suffering.¹ Here is not a word of doubt about the genuineness of the MS., and Tischendorf is called 'fortunate,' an epithet which would hardly have been suitable had he been considered as the victim of a hoax.

Again, in the *Ausserordentliche Beilage* to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 7th Nov. 1861, is a short account of the Codex Zacynthius. The article quotes, with approbation, Dr. Tregelles' praises of Professor Tischendorf, especially as regards the Sinaitic MS. (*dessen Russificirung doch schwerlich nach englischem Geschmack ist*). But there is not a syllable of doubt about the genuineness of the MS. Lastly, in the *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 28th Sept. 1861, is a review of Hahn's Greek Testament, and the Codex Sinaiticus is quoted as confirming certain readings, without a doubt intimated about its genuineness. On these grounds, then, we pause before we credit the report which makes out the Sinaitic MS. to be a forgery.

The facsimile page in the edition of Ξ contains an extract from S. Cyril. Dr. Tregelles remarks (Pref. p. iv.): 'I have noticed extracts from Cyril of Alexandria in Ξ identical (though with better readings) with some of those published by Cardinal Mai, in his "Bibliotheca Nova Patrum," vol. ii., and with the Syriac version of the Homilies of Cyril, edited in 1858, from the Nitrian MSS., by the Rev. Robert Payne Smith, of the Bodleian Library.'

In a former article on the Codex Alexandrinus (*Christian Remembrancer*, No. CXII.), we called attention to certain unexplained discrepancies between Mr. Cowper's text and Woide's facsimile edition. We have now to add the following:—

In Luke viii. 44, the words $\mu\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ are stated by Mr. Cowper (note 3) to be '*rescripta*;' whereas in Woide only $\mu\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau$ are said to be '*rescripta*.'

In Luke iii. 1, Woide has $\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\nu\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$, Mr. Cowper $\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\nu\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$.

¹ 'Auf einen angekündigten Vortrag des Professor Tischendorf in Leipzig über die von ihm aufgefunden Sinaitische Handschrift des Neuen Testaments und die in Aussicht gestellte Autopsie derselben musste leider verzichtet werden, da der gelehrte und glückliche Paläograph wegen eines Fieberanfalls, was telegraphisch gemeldet wurde, die Reise nicht hatte antreten können.'

In John xii. 13, Woide has *των φοινικων*. Mr. Cowper omits *των*.

In John vi. 34, Woide has *ημιν*, Mr. Cowper *υμιν*; xi. 44, Woide *αφετε*, Mr. Cowper *αφετο*.

In John xiii. 12, Mr. Cowper has *και ελαβεν*. Woide omits *και*. xvi. 17, Woide *υπαγω*, Mr. Cowper *υγαγω*.

In Acts ii. 23, Woide's text has ***οσπηξαντες*; his notes have ***οσπηξαντες*. Mr. Cowper prints [*πρ*]οσπήξαντες, but is silent about the difference between Woide's text and notes.

In Acts iii. 10, Woide has *αυτος*, Mr. Cowper *ουτος*.

In Acts iii. 25, Woide's text *ενευλογηθησονται*, Woide's note *ενευλογησονται*. Mr. Cowper repeats Woide without explaining.

In Acts vii. 26, Woide has *συνηλασεν*, with this note *συνηλασσειν*. We. *male*. Mr. Cowper has *συνηλασσειν*.

In Acts vii. 37, Woide has *μωσης*, Mr. Cowper *μουσης*.

In Acts ix. 18, Woide has *ωφθαλμων* in the text, *οφθαλμων* in the notes. Mr. Cowper corrects the former, but does not notice the latter. The same remark applies to Woide's reading *αναβλεψεν* in the text, which in the notes is *ανεβλεψεν*.

In Acts x. 33, Woide reads CTΓE for *συ τε*, but does not, in his notes, mention *γε* as a various reading. Is ΓE a misprint for TE? Mr. Cowper has *συ γε*, but does not remark on Woide's silence in the notes.

In p. 98, note 1, Mr. Cowper says, 'Woide legit *επιστρεψατο* male.' Woide has *επιστρεψατο*. Mr. Cowper gives in his text what no doubt is the right reading, *επιστρεψατω*.

In Mark xiv. 21, Mr. Cowper has *η* before *ουκ*. Woide has in the text *Η*, in the notes *η*.

We notice as wrongly accented *εὐλόγων*, Luke i. 64. In Luke ii. 38, *αὕτη* should probably be *αὐτῇ*. *πλοιαρία*, Luke v. 2. *εδέειτο*, Luke viii. 38. *ἐπιβαλλών*, Luke ix. 62. *ὥς*, John i. 32. *τριακόντα*, John v. 5. *μείζον*, John x. 29. *πηχεών*, John xxi. 8. *οὗτος ἐστίν*, John xxi. 24. *σίτια*, Acts vii. 12. *ἀποστειλῶ*, Acts vii. 34. *ἐξιστανῶν*, Acts viii. 9. *ἐναντὶ*, Acts viii. 21. *ὁ τί*, Acts ix. 6. *ἐσται*, Acts x. 35. *ἤμεν*, Acts xi. 11.

Misprinted are *τελώνιο*, Luke v. 27; *ἔω*, Luke ix. 27. *ἀράγκασον*, Luke xiv. 23; the question after *ἐκείνῳ*; Luke xxii. 22.

ART. VI.—*The Minor Prophets, with a Commentary Explanatory and Practical, and Introductions to the several Books.* By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church. Parts I. and II.

THAT Dr. Pusey's Commentary on the Minor Prophets should have remained so long unnoticed in these pages may require some apology, both to the revered author and to our readers, but it can scarcely be said to need explanation. For the difficulty of reviewing such a book as this is enough to deter the most audacious and austere of critics. Indeed, there is something almost presumptuous in the idea of subjecting to ordinary criticism the results of 'a matured study' of the Sacred Text, 'spread over more than thirty years,' by such a scholar and such a theologian as Dr. Pusey. There is no living divine, within our knowledge, in the Church of England, who is competent to undertake this task, or who could, with any propriety, measure himself against the Regius Professor in the interpretation of the original text of the Lesser Prophets. Besides which, the present Commentary is, in its object and manner, devotional and parænetic rather than critical. Not indeed that it is uncritical or unscholarly. Far from it. Herein it is distinguished most favourably from some other excellent contemporary works of devotional hermeneusis, in which the original verbal meaning of the Sacred Text has been too little regarded. Dr. Pusey lays down the first principle of the interpretation of Holy Scripture most justly and emphatically, as it seems to us. 'The literal meaning of the words,' he says, 'lies, of course, as the basis of any further development of the 'whole meaning of each passage of Holy Scripture.' So that the first duty of a commentator, both in order and importance, is to make up his mind as to the plain verbal meaning of the text. Here is no encouragement to a careless reliance upon an authorized version, whether it be the Septuagint, or the Vulgate, or the Vernacular. The critical 'strife of tongues,' the follies of Talmudists, the malice of Rabbinical misinterpreters, the narrow prejudices and affectations of professed Hebraists, the controversial exegesis of rival schools or divided Churches, the wild speculations and unbelieving sneers of the neological scholars of Germany, and of their imitators among ourselves—

all of these have to be endured, discussed, accounted for, and disposed of. You may dislike all this jangling, and long to rise above it; but it will not do to despise it, or to ignore it. It may be the happiness of those, who are not called by their position in the Church, or by their gifts and attainments, to enter into this weary conflict, to use the Word of God, as it was meant to be used by the majority of Christians, 'for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.' But there are others whose lot it is to do this indeed, but to do more. They have to guard the deposit of the written Word, and to meet all comers, like the knights of old, in defence of that sacred charge. It will be an evil day when the Church shall be able to reckon few ripe scholars, or none at all, among its clergy, and when the criticism of the Sacred Text shall have passed into alien hands. It is only too notorious that there are many signs of some such decay of learning among us. When it is no longer thought necessary for a Bishop to know Greek, and when literates and ex-Scripture-readers are crowding in undue proportions into the priesthood, for want of better educated candidates, who can expect a high standard of learning to be maintained among the great body of the clergy? All the more, therefore, ought we to prize real scholarship, employed in the service of the Church, when we can find it. It is in this point of view that we are prepared to give so warm a welcome to the present Commentary. Its learned author has shrunk from none of the labour, and from none of the distasteful irrelevancy, of much of the controversial criticism which must underlie—at least, in this age of the Church—the proper exposition of God's written Word. He has not first assumed his English text, and then built upon a borrowed basis his devotional interpretation of it. He has not tried to soar aloft before laying a firm foundation. His Commentary, indeed, is intended chiefly, as we have said, for devotional readers, but it is also one which is meant to stand the test of the examination of hostile or indifferent critics. And yet there is no sort of parade of learning in these pages. The man who has studied the original text for thirty years, with every qualification for the task, may well dispense with the scaffolding when his building is finished. If he meets his readers on the firm platform of an assured text, as to its original literal meaning, and thence invites them to follow his guidance to the deeper spiritual signification of the words, he may be allowed to keep out of sight the ladder by which he mounted. In fact, the criticism of the Hebrew verity is one thing, and the exegesis of it another. We doubt, indeed, whether any man can be a sound commentator who is not something of a critic: but the converse

is not true. There may be many an acute critic who is not in any way to be trusted beyond his own proper scope and limits. If scholars choose to exercise their ingenuity on the venerable documents which form the Bible, we are not of those who would resent it, or who fear the consequences. No province of human thought in this age can be barred to intruders. The time has come when free inquiry, without reverence and without scruple, will be directed, as to every other conceivable subject, so also to the Sacred Text. It would be lamentable, indeed, if there were none who could watch the discussion, and intervene in it, at fitting times, in a faithful and religious spirit. But, happily, there are still some, who, when they study what they believe to be the written Word of God, bring more than merely human learning and ingenuity to the task. Ridiculous as the statement may seem to a man of sceptical and irreligious temper, there is such a thing as 'the gift of faith' with respect to the Divine oracles for those who ask aright for it. 'Open Thou mine eyes, that I may see the wondrous things of Thy law.' The more a man meditates on Holy Scripture, in a spirit of faith and prayer, the more assured he becomes that, as a revelation from God to man, it is unassailable. This truth is borne in upon the mind by a thousand corroborative proofs, the combined resultant of which is incontrovertible. Of course this kind of personal conviction is no argument against an unbeliever; nor can it be relied on in controversy with a sceptical criticism. The 'scholar armed'—to use the title of the old manual—must be ready to meet his antagonist with equal weapons: but he knows well, as much as if it were a matter of demonstration, that no philological subtleties or discoveries can affect the broad facts of the Revealed Word. Some people seem to think that the genuineness and inspiration of the Scriptures would be brought into serious doubt, if it could be proved that one or two Hebrew roots had never been properly understood; or if it were conceded by the Church that some passages are of doubtful interpretation, or others wholly unintelligible. The truth is, that difficulties of this kind, even if they were greatly multiplied, do not affect the general question at all. First, as Dr. Pusey well remarks: 'Any thoughtful reader must have been struck by observing how independent that meaning [viz.—of any passage of Holy Scripture] is of single words. The general meaning remains the same, even amid much variation of single words. This is apparent in the passages which the Apostles quote from the LXX., where it is not an exact translation of the Hebrew. The variation arising from any single word does not mostly extend beyond itself.' This is most true; and it might be added, that the peculiar structure

of a Semitic word is singularly well adapted for conveying this pregnancy and many-sidedness (so to say) of meaning.

Besides which, it ought to be fairly looked in the face that it has pleased God to permit His written Word, when once committed to human keeping, to be exposed to the various accidents that are incidental to that custody. It may, indeed, very well appear to any one who reverently considers the matter, as though something very like a special Providence had watched over the Church's fulfilment of its trust in the guardianship of the Sacred Scriptures. But it is not necessary to insist upon this; nor would it be easy to frame an expression of belief on this subject which would satisfy either friends or foes, approaching the question, as they would do, from different sides and with different objects. Most unprejudiced persons, however, would admit that the present state of the Sacred Text is exactly what might have been expected. We know with what jealous—almost servile—care the Jewish Church handed down from age to age the ancient Scriptures. Again, every tyro in sacred criticism knows the value of the *fact* of that connecting link between the two Testaments,—between the ancient and the modern world, between the Semitic family of nations and the rest of mankind,—the Alexandrine version into Hellenistic Greek of the Hebrew original. Then comes the completion of the Canon, and the custody of the whole collected Bible by the Christian Church. The more deeply the history of the written Word is studied, the more clearly will it be seen that this sacred trust of the Catholic Church has been faithfully fulfilled. The Sacred Canon, as a whole, has come down to us with greater accuracy, and in a more perfect form, than any other equally ancient document: and what with the quotations of many centuries of writers, controversial or devotional—what with commentators, Jewish and Christian—what with countless versions, of all ages and into all tongues—we know with something like absolute certainty that we possess the authentic record of the written revelation of God to mankind. And this conviction is not to be shaken by the plausible objections of geologists to the Mosaic records of the creation, nor by philological doubts as to a few (alleged) Zendic words in the language of Daniel. The balance of evidence may incline against the authenticity of the narrative of the woman taken in adultery in the eighth chapter of S. John: or Porson may convince us that the verse about the Three Witnesses is an interpolation. But the only wonder will be, when everything is taken into consideration, that the difficulties are not far more serious and more numerous. It has not pleased God—doubtless for the wisest reasons—that the transmission of His written Word should be

exempt from the accidents which attend human infirmity and human shortcoming. It has not been His will to work (so to say) a continuous miracle for the counteraction of man's negligence, or faithlessness, or malice. It may be argued, perhaps, that the presence of our Lord in the Church, through the Holy Spirit, ought to have been safeguard enough against any, even the smallest, depravation of the Word, written or traditional. But we know as a fact that human sin is permitted to thwart, within certain limits, and for punitive purposes, even the Divine ordinance: else were schism and heresies impossible. The present state of the Christian Church throughout the world proves that the purity of the faith, and the integrity of the letter and of the interpretation of those Scriptures, with which that faith is irrevocably bound up, answer to the degree in which Christian communities have remembered their responsibilities. In the Divine government of the world, individuals, and separate communities, aye, and the Catholic Church itself, suffer for the sins and negligences of our own and of past generations.

If we have the courage to admit this, we shall be able to meet the depravers of Holy Scripture without the consciousness of having a weak place to defend. It is no essential bulwark of the fortress that we surrender, but only an indefensible outwork. We may very well say to our opponents: Do your worst against the text of Scripture. We are not afraid of your philological speculations. We will consider all that you have to say as to the language of the Bible, or as to the questions of ethnology, and philosophy, physical or metaphysical, which may be connected with it. We are confident that, whatever doubts you may succeed in establishing as to this or that detail, you will not affect the general question of the authenticity and the Divine origin of the revelation. It is possible that some details may be held in suspense for a time. This is especially true in matters where physical science appears to be at variance with the language of Scripture. Nothing can be more unphilosophical than for men of science to treat even their most plausible hypotheses as though they were truths already demonstrated. On the other hand, they may be pardoned some degree of resentment, when they find that the legitimate advance of induction is viewed with stupid jealousy by religious men from a fear of its consequences. It is too often forgotten, on both sides, that the text of Scripture has already undergone many assaults from various quarters, which for a time may have seemed very formidable indeed, although now we can afford to look back upon them with indifference. We need not instance the attacks of Celsus or of Porphyry, for example, although it might have been well for

some modern sceptics had they remembered, or had they known, that their objections had not even the merit of originality, and did not really deserve even a contemptuous reply.

Take rather the controversies which were caused by the first application to the Hebrew text of comparative Semitic philology; or, again, by the first hasty generalizations of critical scholars when they began to collect and compare innumerable manuscripts. Of the former, Dr. Pusey remarks, with dignified moderation:—

‘The comparison of the cognate dialects opened for the time an unlimited licence of innovation. Every principle of interpretation, and every rule of language, was violated. The Bible was misinterpreted with a wild recklessness to which no other book was ever subjected. A subordinate meaning of some half-understood Arabic word was always at hand to remove whatever any one disliked. Now, the manifoldness of this reign of misrule has subsided. But interpretations as arbitrary as any which have perished still hold their sway, or from time to time emerge; and any revisal of the Authorized Version of the Old Testament, until the precarious use of the dialects should be far more settled, would give us chaff for wheat, introducing an indefinite amount of error into the Word of God.’

And, again, speaking of the variations of manuscripts, he observes:—

‘Hebrew criticism has now escaped, for the most part, from the arbitrariness which detected a various reading in any variation of a single old version, or in the error of some small fraction of MSS. which disfigured the commentaries of Lowth, Newcome, and Blayney.’

In connexion with this, many of our readers will remember that Tischendorf, in his latest edition of the New Testament (the seventh, lately published at Leipsig), has abandoned many of his former hasty emendations, and has come nearer and nearer to the dull mediocrity of the *Textus Receptus*. Dr. Wordsworth was the first to point this out; and a recent critical writer, Mr. Scrivener, in his excellent edition of the *Codex Augiensis*, has counted 187 places in S. Matthew's Gospel alone in which Tischendorf returns to the Received Text, from which he had prematurely departed in his edition of 1849.

Our conclusion from these considerations is, that we need have no fears as to any new ordeal which the text of Scripture is likely to have to undergo at the hands of hostile critics. It is most unlikely that any considerable doubt will be thrown on any part of the text, or of its general meaning, as we now possess and understand it. But, at the worst, the general import and significance of the inspired record will remain unaffected; and its demands on an enlightened faith will lose none of their cogency. This, which is, we think, the conclusion of all Biblical scholars who have pursued the inquiry in a broad and candid spirit as well as with a religious temper, is undoubtedly (though he does

not express it as we have done) the substantial result of Dr. Pusey's prolonged studies of the sacred text. For all practical purposes we may be satisfied with the *Textus Receptus* and the Authorized Version. We may begin by longing for bolder flights of criticism; but in the end we shall surely find that we are not wiser or better informed than our predecessors in the faith. In the present Commentary, Dr. Pusey has not, like Bishop Lowth (for example) in his *Isaiah*, attempted a new and original translation. He takes the Authorized Version as the basis of his exposition. And yet he does not do this from ignorance, or from a wish to save himself trouble, or as a mere matter of assumption. He expresses his conviction, indeed, that 'in the main our translators were in the right;' but he has reached this conviction by a long course of patient examination of the original. This is the special value of his adhesion to our English version. It is a deliberate and mature conviction; and it is one which may well, for more reasons than one, excite our gratitude.

The result, then, of thirty years' study of one of the most neglected, and least intelligible, parts of Holy Scripture is this, that we may trust almost implicitly the familiar words of our English version. Dr. Pusey shows us very clearly why this confidence is not ill-placed. 'Our translators,' he says, 'had most of the helps for understanding Hebrew which we have, the same traditional knowledge from the ancient versions, Jewish commentators, or lexicographers, or grammarians, with the exception of the Jewish-Arabic school only, as well as the study of the Hebrew Scriptures themselves, and they used those aids with more mature and even judgment than has mostly been employed in the subsequent period.'

But many commentators would not have been satisfied without making a parade of the process by which they reached this perhaps humbling conclusion. Not so the present writer. It is plain that Dr. Pusey purposely avoids all show of learning when he can profitably do so. His object, he expressly tells us, is to comment on the meaning of the Minor Prophets, and not to embarrass his readers with discussions, which, however important in their place, belong to the grammar or the dictionary rather than to that meaning itself. Accordingly, he only introduces critical references when, having thought it fit to adopt any different rendering of word or phrase, he points out, for the use of scholars, the reasons which have guided him in his decision. For, sometimes he finds renderings in the Authorized Version, which are capable of being improved; and, in some cases, where the meaning is yet unestablished, he adopts other renderings as being equally, or even more, probable. But if any new translation that has been suggested is altogether unnoticed in his

pages, it is not that the commentator has been ignorant of it or forgotten it. 'I have proved *all*,' he says. He dismisses summarily and without record what has not borne the test of his judicial inquiry. And doubtless this is the best plan for a devotional commentary of this kind—so long as we can trust the judgment and competency of the commentator. But it would cost many a man a bitter pang to cancel, in this way, results which were not to be attained but by such prodigious labour. It is surprising how much superfluous matter a rule of this kind, severely enforced, cuts off at a sweep. Not only abstract philological discussions, but even the comparisons of the renderings of ancient versions, in themselves so profitable a subject of study, are thus often sacrificed. As our author says:—

'As soon as one is satisfied that any given rendering of an ancient version does not correctly represent the Hebrew original, the question how the translators came so to render it, by what misreading, or mishearing, or guess, or paraphrase, belongs to a history of that version, not to the explanation of the sacred original.'

And what follows, as to the endless contradictions of modern exegetical writers, is still more to the point, and has a racy humour of its own.

'Still more distracting is a discussion of the various expositions of modern commentators, or an enumeration of names, often of no weight, who adhere to one or the other rendering, or, perhaps, originated some crotchet of their own. These things, which so often fill modern commentaries, have a show of learning, but embarrass, rather than aid, a reader of Holy Scripture. I have myself examined carefully every commentator, likely or unlikely to contribute anything to the understanding of the sacred text; and if I have been able to gain little from modern German commentaries (except the school of Hengstenberg, Keil, and Havernick), it is not that I have not sifted them to the best of the ability which God gave me. Even Luther said of his adherents, that they were like Solomon's fleet; some brought back gold and silver, but the younger, peacocks and apes. On the other hand it has been pleasurable to give (at times somewhat condensed) the expositions of Pococke, extracted from the folio, in which, for the most part, they lie entombed amid the heaps of other explanations which his learning brought together. Else it has been my desire to use what learning of this sort I have, in these many years, acquired, to save a student from useless balancings of renderings which, I believe that no one, not under a prejudice, could adopt.'

All these considerations help us to understand the general principles upon which the present Commentary is constructed. To us these principles seem thoroughly sound and judicious. We welcome an exposition in which the proper relation between criticism and interpretation, between philology and theology, is so clearly perceived, and so honestly observed. This, in short, is one of the few books of the sort which are suited to the capacities of the more unlettered reader, while they have no reason to fear the searching demands of the finished scholar.

Too often the well-intended devotional commentary is so weak in its substructure, that one suspects the soundness of all that is built upon it. There cannot be a greater mistake, we repeat, than to suppose that a trustworthy exegesis can be allied with an imperfect knowledge of the original text. As in secular knowledge the best elementary teaching is to be expected from the most accomplished scholar; so the most consummate divine is the best fitted for the task of expounding the meaning of Holy Scripture to the 'babes in Christ.' Not, indeed, that every scholar has the capacity for imparting knowledge, nor that every theologian has special gifts for catechetical instruction; but the rule is universally true, that no shallow sciolist can make a really good teacher, even in the elements of a subject.

Such a commentary on the Holy Scripture as that which Dr. Pusey has thus projected, and of which we have a specimen before us in the two parts already published, containing his exposition of Hosea, Joel, and part of Amos, is therefore a precious gift to the Church, and by no means the least of the many services which its beloved author has rendered to the cause of religion and true piety among us. We need not now speculate as to whether it is likely that all or any of the colleagues who are associated with him in the task will show equal fitness for this great undertaking. That will be seen in due time. Meanwhile, it will suffice to quote from the introductory remarks, a passage in which the general proportions of the work are sketched out: from which it will be seen what progress has already been made in assigning each part of the great task to its proper labourer.

'To this employment, which I have had for many years at heart, but from which the various distresses of our times, and the duties which they have involved, have continually withheld me, I hope to consecrate the residue of the years and of the strength which God may give me. *Vitæ summa brevis spem vetat inchoare longam.* The wonderful volume of the twelve prophets, "brief in words, mighty in meaning," and, if God continue my life, the Evangelical Prophet, are what I have specially reserved for myself. The New Testament, except the Apocalypse, and most of the rest of the Old Testament, have been undertaken by friends, whose names will be published when the arrangement shall finally be completed. The Commentary on the Minor Prophets is in the course of being printed: the Commentary on S. Matthew is nearly ready for the press. Other portions are begun. But the object of all who have been engaged in this work is one and the same; to develop, as God shall enable us, the meaning of Holy Scripture out of Holy Scripture itself; to search in that deep mine, and—not bring meanings into it, but—Christ being our helper, (for "the well is deep"), to bring such portions as they may of its meaning out of it; to exhibit to our people truth side by side with the fountain from which it is drawn; to enable them to see something more of its riches than a passer-by or a careless reader sees upon its surface.'

That this most important undertaking may be blessed in its progress and its issue is our most earnest prayer. It will supply

a crying want among us. There is no commentary in existence which fulfils what is here promised. Indeed, but that it would lead into too wide a digression, we might show only too conclusively that, even after three hundred years of a translated Bible, there is no English commentary which one can put, without hesitation, and with perfect satisfaction, into the hands of the lay members of the Church.

One other observation must be made before we proceed to examine more in detail the actual working out of the plan. It seems impossible not to be struck with the singular opportuneness of the appearance of the first parts of this Commentary. Just at the time when the faith of many has been so wantonly and needlessly shaken, and when some have been led to entertain doubts, if not as to the integrity and inspiration of the bulk of Holy Scripture, yet at least as to portions (and especially the prophetic portions) of the Old Testament, it is reassuring to find one of the confessedly most difficult and obscure parts of the Hebrew Scriptures thus brought home to the hearts and consciences of its readers, as is done by this Commentary in the case of the first two Minor Prophets. Comparatively little read, and little regarded, by any, and contemptuously as these obscure but awful utterances would be sneered at by the disciples of the latest school among us, who practically disbelieve all exercise of the prophetic power, it is these very predictions which Dr. Pusey here undertakes not merely to expound as matters of past history, but to apply as the living and life-giving oracles of God to the present needs of every Christian soul. It is difficult to read these devout pages, full as they are of most pregnant meaning, without feeling, humbly and thankfully, that, indeed, 'the well is deep.' Is it too much to say that this Commentary on the Minor Prophets opens out to ordinary readers what may almost be called a new region of God's Word? We are certain that no one can thoughtfully read Dr. Pusey's exposition of Hosea and Joel without feeling that these sacred Books have been far too much neglected. We do not say that all the difficulties, and obscurities, and apparent incoherencies of the text are removed; but we are sure that an attentive reader will be convinced that, if these books be slighted, no unimportant part of the 'whole counsel of God' will be obscured, to our great loss and detriment. Here, after all, is the best answer to the disquieting insinuations of our modern scepticism. Better than any laboured apology for the inspired Word, is such an application of its virtue to the soul as shall make any apology superfluous. More persons ought, we think, to be comforted and strengthened in the faith by Dr. Pusey's Commentary, than are perplexed and overthrown by all the doubts and sneers with

which the written Word of God has lately been assailed. For those who know experimentally even some little part of the depth of Holy Scripture have a sure antidote against the worst weapons of the scoffer and the unbeliever.

It is time, however, to proceed to some examination of the Commentary itself. The plan of the work is to prefix to each book a separate introduction; and then to give the text of the Authorized Version, the commentary being printed verse by verse in the lower, but larger, division of the page, while references and a few critical notes are disposed at the bottom.

The introduction to Hosea includes, of course, what prefatory matter is required by the other Minor Prophets in their collective aspect. This takes the form of a very instructive and interesting historical summary, dealing with the dates of the several Prophets, and their respective relations to the rival kingdoms of Judah and Israel. We have often been struck by the general ignorance which prevails as to the relative chronology of the two kingdoms and their respective prophets, in spite of our many boasts of a general knowledge of Holy Scripture. Dr. Pusey's Introduction gives a brief but able conspectus of the prophetic ministrations in the Jewish Church, from the time of Hosea, who followed close upon Elisha, till that of Malachi. The author speaks of the *prophetarum laudabilis numerus* as 'that brilliant constellation, whose light gleamed over the fall of Israel and Judah, shone in their captivity, and set at last with the prediction of him who should precede the rising of the Sun of Righteousness.' It would have been well, perhaps, had he arranged the prophets chronologically in a tabular form, as a help to the recollection of their relations to each other in respect of time and of nationality; for many persons, we hope, will read this Commentary who do not possess books like Horne's 'Introduction.'

Dr. Pusey sides with those who, admitting the genuineness of the title of his book, believe that Hosea exercised his prophetic office for sixty-five or seventy years. The prophet's ministration extended from the reign of Uzziah, King of Judah (while Jeroboam II. was still reigning in Israel), through the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz, to that of Hezekiah. These dates comprise an extreme period of from B.C. 810 to about B.C. 720; out of which Hosea probably prophesied during the last twenty years. 'A long and heavy service,' is our author's pious comment, 'for a soul full of love like his, mitigated only by his hope of the coming of Christ, the final conversion of his people, and the victory over the grave.'

Hosea was a native and a subject of the northern or Israelitish kingdom, and he lived during the very darkest time of its

decline. Politically, all was anarchy. The kingdom was a military despotism, in which one successful soldier after another snatched the crown by the murder of his predecessor, with the certainty of being himself supplanted in his turn by some lucky adventurer. Accordingly, each in turn tried to strengthen himself by foreign alliances, the consequences of which were further corruptions of the national schismatical worship by the introduction of alien idolatries.

We must here make room for a long quotation, in which Dr. Pusey gives a condensed, but very masterly, description of the Israelitish worship and its consequences; a subject absolutely necessary to be understood for the proper comprehension of Hosea's prophecy.

"These irreligions had the more deadly sway, because they were countenanced by the corrupt worship which Jeroboam I. had set up as the state religion, over against the worship at Jerusalem. To allow the people to go up to Jerusalem as the centre of the worship of God would have risked their owning the line of David as the kings of God's appointment. To prevent this, Jeroboam set up a great system of rival worship. Himself a refugee in Egypt, he had there seen nature (*i.e.* what are God's workings in nature) worshipped under the form of a calf. He adopted it, in the words in which Aaron had been overborne to sanction it, as the worship of the One True God under a visible form: "these be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." With great human subtlety, he laid hold of Israel's love for idol-worship, and their reverence for their ancestors, and words which even Aaron had used, and sought to replace by this symbol of God's working His actual presence over the mercy-seat. Around this he gathered as much of the Mosaic ritual as he could. The Priests and Levites remaining faithful to God, he made other priests, not of the line of Aaron. Thus, while he gratified the love of idolatry, he decked it out with all the rest of the worship which God had appointed for Himself. He retained the feasts which God had appointed, the three great festivals, their solemn assemblies, the new moons and sabbaths; and these last feasts were observed even by those to whose covetousness the rest on the festival was a hindrance. Every kind of sacrifice was retained; the daily sacrifice, the burnt offering, the meat offering, the drink offering, thank offerings, peace offerings, free will offerings, sin offerings. They had hymns, and instruments of music. They paid the tithes of the third year; probably they gave the first-fruits; they had priests, and prophets, and temples; the temple at Bethel was the king's chapel, the temple of the state. The worship was maintained by the civil authority. But all this outward show was rotten at the core. God had forbidden man so to worship Him, nor was it He who was worshipped at Bethel and Dan, though Jeroboam probably meant it. People, when they alter God's truth, alter more than they think for. Such is the lot of all heresy. Jeroboam probably meant that God should be worshipped under a symbol, not of the personal God, but of ever-renewed life; His continued vivifying of all which lives, and renewing of what decays. And so, what was worshipped was not God, but much what men now call "nature." The calf was a symbol of "nature," much as men say, "nature does this or that;" "nature makes man so and so;" "nature useth simplicity of means;" "nature provides," &c.; as if "nature were a sort of semi-deity," or creation were its own creator. As men now profess to own God, and do own Him in the

abstract, but talk of "nature" till they forget Him, or because they forget Him, so Jeroboam, who was a shrewd, practical, irreligious man, slipped into a worship of nature, while he thought, doubtless, he was doing honour to the Creator, and professing a belief in Him. . . . And now, in Hosea's time, these idolatries had yielded their full bitter fruits. The course of iniquity had been run. The stream had become darker and darker in its downward flow. Creature-worship (as S. Paul points out) was the parent of every sort of abomination; and religion having become creature-worship, what God gave as the check to sin became its incentive. Every commandment of God was broken, and that habitually. All was falsehood, adultery, blood-shedding; deceit to God produced faithlessness to man; excess and luxury were supplied by secret or open robbery, oppression, false dealing, perversion of justice, grinding of the poor. Blood was shed like water, until one stream met another, and overspread the land with one defiling deluge. Adultery was consecrated as an act of religion. Those who were first in rank were first in excess. People and king vied in debauchery; and the sottish king joined and encouraged the freethinkers and blasphemers of his court. The idolatrous priests loved and shared in the sins of the people; nay, they seem to have set themselves to intercept those on either side of Jordan, who would go to worship at Jerusalem, laying wait to murder them. Corruption had spread throughout the whole land; even the places once sacred through God's revelations or other mercies to their forefathers, Bethel, Gilgal, Gilead, Mizpah, Shechem, were especial scenes of corruption or of sin. Every holy memory was effaced by present corruption. Could things be worse? There was one aggravation more. Remonstrance was useless; the knowledge of God was wilfully rejected; the people hated rebuke; the more they were called, the more they refused; they forbade their prophets to prophesy; and their false prophets hated God greatly. All attempts to heal all this disease only showed its incurableness.

Without some knowledge of these political and religious conditions of the decaying kingdom of Israel, it is impossible to understand Hosea's prophecies. It was the prophet's duty to warn his countrymen that their ruin and captivity were now imminent and irreversible. There is, indeed, a promise to them of a distant spiritual restoration in Christ; but no hope is given of an escape from the temporal punishment of their sins. God had tried them for two centuries and a half; but now the time of mercy was past. Hence the peculiarly stern and mournful character of Hosea's prophecies. Dr. Pusey is of opinion that the prophet himself collected his predictions into the form in which we now have them; and he shows the logical connexion of thought which makes these utterances an organic whole.

Every one knows that the prophet's marriage with Gomer, 'a wife of whoredoms,' and its consequences, form, as it were, the groundwork of the whole prophecy. This is the first and greatest difficulty in the exposition of this book. Dr. Pusey, as might have been expected, takes this marriage, commanded by God, to be a real transaction, and not, as Witsius (to whom, without naming him, he seems to refer), a *mera parabola*. In this view he is opposed to many modern commentators, but he

has Irenæus, Augustine, Ambrose, Theodoret, Cyril of Alexandria, and even Theodore of Mopsuestia on his side. However, the idea that the narrative is merely symbolical, and that God did *not* command the prophet to marry a woman of unchaste life, that his treatment of her might be an image of God's dealing with the spiritual fornication (viz. the falling away to idolatry) of the house of Israel considered as espoused to the true God, was entertained by Jonathan, the Chaldee paraphrast; who, indeed, most unjustifiably tones down the plain meaning of the command in Hosea i. 2, till it loses all force and substance. And this view is also defended by the chief rabbinical authorities, although Kimchi gives his testimony that there was an ancient tradition among the Hebrews that the precept was literally understood and complied with by the prophet himself. In fact, so shocked and repelled are the rabbinites by the notion of such an alliance, as being inconsistent with their conception of the prophetic dignity, that they zealously declare the matter to have been transacted in vision only, and not in reality. The question is so important—meeting one, as it does, on the very threshold of Hosea's prophecy—that we could have wished that Dr. Pusey had so far deviated from his general rule as to notice the controversy more in detail. We subscribe, indeed, fully to his conclusion; but S. Jerome's authority on the other side seems to deserve some explicit notice. We admit the substantial force of Dr. Pusey's argument, that 'there is no ground to justify our taking as 'a parable what Holy Scripture relates as a fact. There is no 'instance in which it can be shown that Holy Scripture relates 'that a thing was done, and that with the names of persons, and 'yet that God did not intend it to be taken as literally true. 'There would then be no test left of what was real, what 'imaginary; and the histories of Holy Scripture would be left 'to be a prey to individual caprice, to be explained away as 'parables, when men disliked them.' This is quite true; but then, considering that so considerable a minority contends that the marriage of Hosea, like many other recorded acts of the prophets, was merely a visionary transaction, represented scenically to the people, as a means of inculcating the spiritual truth symbolized therein, it might have been well, even in a commentary of this popular kind, to support the assertion by proofs and arguments.

Of course the reason why so many have wished to represent the prophet's marriage with Gomer as a merely figurative transaction, is, that the command seems in itself to be, if not immoral, yet at least unbecoming and inconvenient. But Pococke has acutely remarked, followed herein by Warburton, that any-

thing which would be really unworthy to be transacted in fact, it would be no less unworthy of Almighty God to represent in scenic vision as transacted. We gain nothing in the way of obviating either cavils or real difficulties by transferring such alleged transactions from the region of literal fact to that of prescribed scenic exhibition. Had the command to Hosea been really an immoral one, it would have made an objection, as real and as insuperable, to the representation of it by Divine command as to the actual performance of it under the same sanction. But is it not clear—as Rabbi Isaac Abarbanel observes—that the command to Hosea was not to defile himself in any way with the deadly sin into which his wife had fallen, but only to espouse in lawful matrimony a woman who had thus transgressed? Such a marriage, however degrading in its relation to the person or the family of him by whom it is admitted, is by no means in itself sinful. It might indeed well be wrong if prompted by needless contempt of the decencies which are the safeguards of general morals, but there are conceivable circumstances in which it might be right, or even an act of high virtue, to incur the degradation. Under the ancient dispensation, marriage by lawful rites with a person of ill fame or habits was interdicted to the priests only, for whose relative official sanctity, as intercessors and sacrificers, this separation from sinners was absolutely required. But though Jeremiah and Ezekiel were both prophets and priests, there is no reason for supposing this of Hosea, any more than of Amos or other contemporary prophets. There is no impossibility, then, in conceiving the command to Hosea to be taken literally. And there is much to make this probable. Dr. Pusey very beautifully draws out what seems to have been God's meaning in this command. After Gomer's fall into adultery and subsequent repentance, the prophet received her back, but did not restore to her the rights of marriage. 'Thus by the love of God and the patient forbearance which He instructed the prophet to show, a soul was rescued from sin unto death and was won to God; to the children of Israel there was set forth, year by year, before their eyes, a picture and a prophecy of the punishment upon sin and of the close union with Himself which He vouchsafes to sinners who repent and return to Him.' And again, after some quotations from the Fathers,—'The prophet himself, in his relation to his restored yet separated wife, was, so long as she lived, one continued living prophecy of the tenderness of God to sinners. Fretful, wayward, jealous, ungovernable, as are mostly the tempers of those who are recovered from such sins as hers, the prophet, in his anxious watchful charge, was a striking picture of the forbearing lovingkindness of God to us

‘amid our provocations and infirmities. Nay, the love which
 ‘the prophet bare her grew the more out of his compassion and
 ‘tenderness for her whom God had commanded him to take as
 ‘his own. Certain it is that Holy Scripture first speaks of her
 ‘as the object of his love, when God commanded him a second
 ‘time to take charge of her who had betrayed and abandoned
 ‘him. God bids him show active love to her whom, amid her
 ‘unfaithfulness, he loved already. “Go yet, love a woman,
 ‘beloved of her husband, yet an adulteress.” Wonderful picture
 ‘of God’s love for us, for whom He gave His only begotten Son,
 ‘loving us while alien from Him and with nothing in us to
 ‘love.’

This is well and strikingly put. And another consideration might have been added. We may well remember, when reflecting on this command to Hosea, that He, who to recover us to holiness came in contact with the foulest circumstances of our condition, in the record of His own taking flesh of Abraham and of David caused to be expressly set down by S. Matthew the names not only of the harlot of Jericho, but of the incestuous Thamar and the adulterous wife of Urias. The same reason which dictated this condescension may perhaps, in some measure, explain why God commanded His ancient prophet to form an alliance with a sinful woman, when the object was to rebuke under this image His apostate people and to save a remnant from among them.

But we need not seek to deny that this mysterious command of God to the prophet has its difficulties. Doubtless the difficulties are least, when we take it literally, with the explanations which we have offered. But anything is better than to have to conceive, with Luther, Osiander and others, that the prophet was enjoined to impose unjustly upon a pure and chaste woman the odious name of *אִשֶּׁת זְנוּנִים* *uxorem fornicationum*: or, with no less an authority than S. Thomas Aquinas, that it pleased God, in this instance, to dispense with His ordinary laws, and to sanction a breach of the seventh commandment by His prophet, for the sake of presenting this image of their own pollution to the people of Israel.¹ The phrase *יְלִדֵי זְנוּנִים*, τέκνα πορνείας, need mean no more than that the prophet adopted as step-children those to whom Gomer had given birth

¹ See *Prima Secundæ*, Quæst. C. Artic. viii.; and *Secunda Secundæ*, Quæst. CLIV. Artic. ii. But S. Thomas may possibly have been misled by the utterly unwarranted insertion of *fac tibi* in the Vulgate. The verse is read thus in that version: ‘Sume tibi uxorem fornicationum et *fac tibi* filios fornicationum,’ the Hebrew original having no correlatives for the words here italicised; and S. Jerome does not give these inserted words in his own translation. But Stuck points out that there is a degree of ambiguity in the verb *לָקַח* used here by the prophet.

before her union with him. Dr. Pusey, we observe, does not dwell upon the difficulty of this expression. We can scarcely agree with him, that it is meant that the children, though born in lawful wedlock, should 'share the disgrace of their mother.' But this must remain a matter of opinion. However, he seems to have done right in adopting, with Horsley and Lowth, though against the bulk of modern commentators, the literal sense of this much disputed passage as the only one which the Hebrew text will bear without violence. We observe that the writer of the notice of Hosea, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, expresses an opinion that the 'inconveniences of the literal theory are the more formidable.' We cannot agree with him. We have no doubt that Dr. Pusey's decision, as a matter of exegesis, is true and unimpeachable: and if the object be an unpleasant one to contemplate, we must remember that it was expressly meant to be so, as a visible token of God's anger against the sin of spiritual unfaithfulness. There is a striking remark of Theodore of Mopsuestia, whose dubious orthodoxy does not diminish its importance, that God, who often commanded strange things to His prophets, enjoined this marriage with Gomer for the admonition of a people whom nothing less would rouse to a sense of their condition before God, their saviour and benefactor. The strange spectacle of God's representative taking to him a harlot wife was the picture in which they were to see their own conduct and their own relation to God, who had not yet wholly rejected them.

There is no need to follow Dr. Pusey through his complete analysis of Hosea's prophecy. The 'connexion'—as a certain school of religionists among us calls it—that is, the logical sequence of thought, is, as generally in the prophetic utterances, extremely difficult to catch. But viewed as a whole, without reference to the misleading division into chapters, the prophet's message is coherent and consistent enough. We may make one or two remarks on the peculiar language and style in which the prophet wrote. S. Jerome's well-known criticism sums up nearly all that can be said on the matter. '*Osee commaticus est et quasi per sententias loquitur.*' Contemporary as he was with Amos, Isaiah, and Micah, this prophet belonged to the most classical period of Hebrew speech. But his language has some distinguishing peculiarities. It is very unlike the continuous invective of the herdsman prophet, who was probably his senior; or the exuberant magnificence of the strains of Isaiah, who was somewhat his junior; but more resembles the intermediate style of the Morasthite prophet, who was still later than Isaiah. Hosea deals in short sentences, in which the meaning is so compressed as to be often almost unintelligible: while the

transitions from one aphorism to another are extraordinarily abrupt. But some passages of his prophecies are bursts of deep pathos and singular beauty. It is this profound feeling which seems to have especially struck the present commentator. We quote some of Dr. Pusey's more remarkable passages on this point:—

‘The words of upbraiding, of judgment, of woe, burst out as it were, one by one, heavily, condensed, abrupt, from the prophet's heavy and shrinking soul, as God commanded and constrained him, and put His words, like fire, in the prophet's mouth. . . . He delivers his message as though each sentence burst with a groan from his soul, and he had anew to take breath, before he uttered each renewed woe. Each verse forms a whole for itself, like one heavy toll in a funeral knell. . . . It is in remarkable contrast with this abruptness in the more mournful parts, that when Hosea has a message of mercy to deliver, his style becomes easy and flowing. . . . Here, as filled and overfilled with joy, instead of abrupt sentences, he lingers on his subject, adding in every word something to the fulness of the blessing contained in the preceding. He is indeed (if one may venture so to speak) eminently a prophet of the tenderness of the love of God. In foretelling God's judgments, he ventures to picture Him to us as overcome (so to speak) by mercy, so that He would not execute His full sentence. God's mercies he predicts in the inmost relation of love; that those whom He had rejected, He would own as ‘sons of the living God;’ that He would betroth them to Himself in righteousness, in judgment, loving-kindness, mercies, faithfulness, and that for ever; that He would raise us up on the third day, and that we should live in His sight, ransoming us Himself and redeeming us, as our kinsman, from death and the grave.’

Before leaving the introduction to Hosea, we may remark that Dr. Pusey has not dwelt so fully as we could have wished upon the lessons, applicable to the present divided state of Christendom, which may be drawn from the facts that the mission of Hosea was to the schismatical kingdom of Samaria, and that his allusions to the kingdom of Judah are merely incidental throughout his prophecy. But he has briefly touched upon the curious circumstances as to the state of religion in the northern kingdom, which may be gleaned from the prophet's hints and allusions. Thus Hosea's casual references to the Pentateuch prove (as Hengstenberg has shown in detail) that the written Pentateuch was in habitual use in Israel even after the great schism from Judah. Dr. Pusey suggests that the ‘schools of the prophets’ maintained the teaching of the law in the schismatical kingdom, as well as the public worship of the true God. He points out, from notices in the Books of Kings, that the people were in the habit of going to Elisha and to other prophets on sabbaths and new moons. The same historical books prove, that even after Jezebel's massacre of the prophets there still existed schools of the prophets at Bethel, Jericho, Gilgal, Mount Ephraim, and Samaria; and in three of these places, Gilgal, Bethel, and Samaria, the prophets of God must have confronted idolatry and corruption in their chief abodes.

As Dr. Pusey concludes: 'The contradiction of men's lives to the law, thus extant and taught among them, could scarcely have been greater than that of Christians now to the Bible which they have in their houses and their hands and their ears, but not in their hearts.'

We have no intention of following Dr. Pusey through the successive chapters of his (literally) running commentary. We have already said, that he succeeds in throwing a flood of light upon the prophet's meaning. We do not say that we think him always right, or that he always escapes the besetting sins of a commentator—the tendency to exaggerate, and to hide under an irrelevant cloud of pious words and thoughts his inability to solve the real enigma of the prophetic language. But we may safely say, that we have never seen a better specimen of hortatory exegesis; and we repeat, that the manner in which the message of Hosea is applied to modern times and habits, and brought home to the conscience of the reader by his devout exposition, is altogether most striking, though to some instances of this we might make exception. The scriptural knowledge evinced by the author is most profound; and we admire the judgment with which he has borrowed apt quotations from other writers. But too often an extract is marked with inverted commas, while no reference is given to the author from whom it is cited. From the design of the work, as we have already stated, matters of mere criticism are intentionally excluded. But here and there a brief reference in a foot-note, or the citation of the original Hebrew words, will point out places in which the commentator has had to grapple with the most obscure passages or phrases of his author.

Such a place is the last clause of verse eighteen of the fourth chapter. The most careless reader will be struck by the un-Hebraic character of this clause, as translated in the Authorized Version:—'Her rulers *with* shame do love, Give ye.' It is not only that the charge of extortion and avarice, though very probably a most just one, against the rulers of Ephraim, is out of place, when taken in connexion with the context, but the very form of the phrase is enough to rouse suspicion. We are not surprised, therefore, to find the learned commentator translating the clause differently. 'It were, perhaps, more correct to render' (says Dr. Pusey), '*her rulers do love, do love, shame.*' And a foot-note is added:—'*אָהֲבֵי רָבָּן* is probably one of the earliest forms of the intensive verb, repeating a part of the 'verb itself, with its inflexion.' We venture to say that Dr. Pusey is quite right here. But few of his readers, perhaps, will know how vast an amount of discussion and inquiry is summed up in the conclusion which is thus simply enunciated. It may be

worth while, therefore, to explain this more fully. The Hebrew clause consists but of four words,—

אהבו הו קלון מנניה :

We print them without the Masoretic points, which, in this case, have undoubtedly been a false guide to translators. These words have been supposed to mean, literally, *Amaverunt date ignominia clypei ejus*; which it might seem to need an *Œdipus* to reduce to grammatical order or sense. However, 'her shields,' as the margin of the English Bible alternatively translates מנניה, may, without violence, be taken as a poetical expression for *proceres ejus*, 'her nobles;' and so a meaning may be obtained as follows:—'Her rulers,' i.e. the great men of Ephraim, 'have loved the cry of Give ye to their disgrace;' in other words, have been disgracefully addicted to exacting gifts or bribes from those subject to their authority. Rabbi David Kimchi has the credit of originating this translation. His commentary is thus translated in the edition of Coddæus:—'Dicit quod principes amarunt dicere Date. Dicunt Date nobis munera et avertemus a vobis judicium: et hoc ignominia est illis.' From him this rendering descended to the Hebraists of the sixteenth century, whence it passed into our own and other versions. And it may be granted that the Masoretic punctuation, if it be strictly adhered to, will scarcely admit of any other:—אהבו הו קלון מנניה.

The difficulty lies in the word הו, which, as Rosenmüller points out, is not met with elsewhere, and which Gesenius once supposed (without much probability) to be a mere itacism of transcription. The Alexandrine translators left it out altogether, rendering the passage, ἡγάπησαν ἀτιμῶν ἐκ φρονήματος αὐτῆς, either supposing these three letters to be a mere repetition of the preceding word, or not finding it in their copies; for in three of the manuscripts collated by Kennicott the word is absent. [Their mistake in the last Hebrew word of the clause arose, says Rosenmüller, from their pointing it, מננא; but Stuck, who follows the Syriac version here—

ܐܡܪܘܢܐ ܩܠܘܢ ܡܢܢܝܐ

as if the translator had read *ignominiosa et insana idola adamant*,—fancies that מננא may have been thus interpreted from the analogy of the Arabic جِن, *dæmon*. Of the whole passage, however, this critic says, 'nunquam poterit effici quid vates sibi voluerit.' S. Jerome understood the הו not as the imperative of יהב, *date*, but as the infinitive of the Hiphil הביא from the root בוא, with a quiescent Aleph at its close, and governing קלון as its accusative. Accordingly he translated

the passage 'Dilexerunt *afferre ignominiam* protectores ejus.' And thus, perhaps, did Jonathan, the Chaldee Targumist, understand the passage, if we may draw an inference from his loose paraphrase, as given by Kimchi, *Dilexerunt ut veniret sibi ignominia principes ejus*, or, as translated in Walton's Polyglott, *quam dilexerunt ut eveniret sibi in ignominiam*. But when it is considered, that all the Hellenist, and the Syriac, translators conceived the word קלון, *ignominiam*, to be the immediate accusative of the verb *loved*, without any weakening infinitive being interposed, it is reasonable to conclude that it is so in the original Hebrew. Some rather rash critics, such as Houbigant and Kuinoel, going further than Gesenius, have boldly struck the word חבו out of the text altogether, considering it a mistake of transcription by the repetition of the last three letters of the word preceding. But it is wiser, with Dr. Pusey and Gesenius (see the latter, under the roots אהב and יאהב), to conclude that in this repetition of its last two radical letters, with the plural termination, we have, perhaps, the vestiges of an intensive conjugation, *Ktaltal*, in accordance with the genius of Semitic speech, denoting the eager and assiduous desire with which the rulers of Ephraim loved their own disgrace. This view is supported, moreover, by the later German critics, Ewald, Maurer, and Hitzig; and its accordance and parallelism with the repetitive הִזְנָה הִזְנִי of the preceding clause, describing the profligacy of the same persons, will not be overlooked. (See, too, the word הִבְהִי in Hosea viii. 13.)

We have said enough, perhaps, to point out the nature of the inquiry which meets the critical scholar in every attempt to find the exact meaning of the original text in its more difficult passages; but we have not exhausted, by one half, the disputes and questions which have been raised about these four Hebrew words. Those who wish to go deeper into the matter, to weigh the opinions of the Rabbinites, to compare the other versions, Semitic or non-Semitic, and to consider every suggestion of modern interpreters, must be referred to Rosenmüller, Stuck, Simson, Hitzig, and the rest, not to mention the lexicographers.

The rendering which Dr. Pusey here prefers to that of the Authorized Version is likely, we think, to commend itself to most modern scholars. The prophet's meaning, so interpreted, is emphatic and intelligible enough. We now, however, venture to subjoin Dr. Pusey's exposition of the clause as an example of that superfluous commentating which even he has not always managed to avoid. We submit, with great respect, that the following sentence adds little, if anything, to the plain meaning of the prophet's words:—

'Yet it were, perhaps, more correct to render *her rulers do love, do love, shame*. They love that which brings shame, which is bound up with shame, and ends in it; and so the Prophet says, that they *love* the *shame* itself. They act as if they were in love with the shame, which, all their lives long, they are unceasingly and, as it were, by system, drawing upon themselves. They chase diligently after all the occasions of sins and sinful pleasures, which end in shame: they omit nothing which brings it, do nothing which can avoid it. What else, or what more, could they do, if they *loved* the *shame* for its own sake?'

It is this sort of amplification—not of the sense, but merely of the expression—of a passage, which is so common a device in sermon-writing, to the great annoyance of an educated audience. It is done in a sermon to fill up the stated time, and in a commentary for the sake of saying something, where in truth there is nothing to say. It only shows how inveterate the habit is in the clerical mind, that we find even a writer like the present commentator falling into the snare.

The fact is, that a perfect commentary would be probably even more brief and condensed than the one now under review. There are many places, even in the more obscure writings of the Minor Prophets, where it is quite unnecessary to say anything. A paraphrase may often be useful; but even this, as no one can fail to observe even in such a book as Hammond's Paraphrase of the New Testament, is often weak and meaningless. Again, a commentator is doubtless under a great temptation to tack to his exposition much subsidiary matter that may have been suggested to his own mind by his examination of the text, but which is not necessarily connected with it. There seems to be an instance of this in the note on the prophet's argument against idolatry, in chap. viii. ver. 6. Speaking of the calf of Samaria, Hosea there argues with enormous force against the worshippers of graven images;—'the workman made it, therefore it is not God.' It may be doubted, perhaps, if this is the most suitable place for the extension of the argument, however true and important in itself, to meet the Arian heresy. But Dr. Pusey has thought otherwise. He proceeds to say, 'God Himself could not make a creature who should be God. The Arian heresy, which imagined that God the Son could be a creature and yet an object of our worship, or that there could be a secondary God, was folly.' We do not, however, mean to make a protest against the relevancy of this further application of the prophet's argument; for the truth is so important and suggestive that the oftener it is enforced the better. But, we repeat, in a model commentary we should expect to find a more rigid limitation to the immediate subject matter.

We have already spoken of the admirable applications of the prophet's words to the individual conscience which abound in these pages. Let us give an excellent example, in the comment

on ch. viii. ver. 12. 'I have written to him the great things' (where, as Dr. Pusey says, the English translators have taken the *Kri* reading, although the *Ktib* is, as usual, the better one) 'of my law, but they were counted as a strange thing.'

'These *great, or manifold things of God's law*, which ought to have been continually before their eyes, in their mind and in their mouth, they, although God had written them, for them, *counted as a strange thing*, a thing quite foreign and alien to them, with which they had no concern. Perhaps this was their excuse to themselves, that it was *foreign to them*. As Christians say now, that one is not to take God's laws so precisely; that the Gospel is not so strict as the Law; that men, before the grace of the Gospel, had to be stricter than *with it*; that *the liberty of the Gospel* is freedom, not from sin, but from duty; that such and such things belonged to the early Christians while they were surrounded by heathen, or to the first times of the Gospel, or to the days when it was persecuted; that riches were dangerous, when people could scarcely have them, not now when every one has them; that "vice lost half its evil by losing all its grossness;" that the world was perilous, when it was the Christian's open foe, not now, when it would be friends with us, and have us friends with it; that *love not the world* was a precept for times when the world hated us, not now, when it is all around us, and steals our hearts. So Jeroboam and Israel too doubtless said, that those prohibitions of idolatry were necessary, when the heathen were still in the land, or while their forefathers were just fresh out of Egypt; that it was, after all, God, who was worshipped under the calves; that state-policy required it; that Jeroboam was appointed by God, and must needs carry out that appointment as he best could. With these, or the like excuses, he must doubtless have excused himself, as though God's law were good, but *foreign to them*. God counts such excuses, not as a plea, but as a sin.'

The comment upon verse 1, of chapter x., is another good example:—

'According to the multitude of his fruit, or, more strictly, as his fruit was multiplied, he multiplied altars; as his land was made good, they made goodly their images. The more of outward prosperity God bestowed upon them, the more they abused His gifts, referring them to their idols; the more God lavished His mercies on them, the more profuse they were in adoring their idols. The superabundance of God's goodness became the occasion of the superabundance of their wickedness. They rivalled and competed with, and outdid the goodness of God, so that He could bestow upon them no good, which they did not turn to evil. Men think this strange. Strange it is, as is all perversion of God's goodness; yet so it is now. Men's sins are either the abuse of what God gives, or rebellion, because He withholds. In the time of prosperity, wealth, health, strength, powers of mind, wit, men sin in a way in which they could not sin, unless God continually supplied them with those gifts which they turn to sin. The more God gives, the more opportunity and ability they have to sin, and the more they sin. They are *evil*, not only in despite of God's goodness, but because He is *good*.'

For our own part we like this general kind of appeal to the private conscience far better than some more particular allusions to modern politics, which are to be found in certain places of these commentaries on Joel and Amos. The latter seem to us somewhat out of place in a book which has in no respect an

ephemeral character. Human nature remaining the same, warnings and exhortations addressed to the individual conscience may suit all countries and all times. But is it not dangerous ground, in a work of this kind, to trench upon subjects of the day in which there may be much allowable difference of opinion? Such, for example, seems to us to be the following passage, on the prophecy of Amos (chap. v. ver. 26), quoted by S. Stephen in the Acts. The caution in the first sentence has scarcely been observed by the writer. Without denying that there is a certain truth in the passage, yet it is obvious that people may well differ as to the pertinence of the illustration and of the implied warning. It is fair to add, however, that this passage occurs incidentally in an argument which is meant to show the difference between an inspired and an uninspired prophecy.

'It has been well said by a thoughtful observer of the world's history, "Who-soever attempts to prophecy, not being inspired, is a fool." We English know our own sins, many and grievous; we know of a vast reign of violence, murder, blasphemy, theft, uncleanness, covetousness, dishonest dealing, unrighteousness, and of the breach of every commandment of God: we know well now of an instrument in God's hands, not far off, like the Assyrian, but within two hours of our coast; armaments have been collected; a harbour is being formed; our own coast openly examined; iron-sheeted vessels prepared; night-signals provided; some of our own alienated population organised, with a view to our invasion. We recognise the likelihood of the invasion, fortify our coast, arm, not as a profession, but for security. Our preparations testify how wide-spread is our expectation. No one scarcely doubts that it will be. Yet who dare predict the issue? Will God permit that scourge to come? Will he prevail? What would be the extent of our sufferings or loss? How would our commerce or our empire be impaired? Would it be dismembered? Since no man can affirm anything as to this which is close at hand, since none of us would dare to affirm in God's name in regard to any one stage of all this future, that this or that would or could not happen, then let men have at least the modesty of the magicians of Egypt, and seeing in God's prophets these absolute predictions of a future, such as their own wisdom, under circumstances far more favourable, could not dare to make, own, *This is the finger of God*. Not we alone. We see all Europe shaken; we see powers of all sorts heaving to and fro; we see the Turkish power ready to dissolve; stayed up, like a dead man, only by un-Christian jealousies of Christians.'

We will quote one more passage which seems open to the same criticism, but which we are more inclined to pardon for the sake of its eloquence and earnestness. It comes from the exposition of Joel i. 2.

'Wealthy, busy, restless, intellectual, degraded London, sender forth of missionaries, but, save in China, the largest heathen city in the world; converter of the isles of the sea, but thyself unconverted; fullest of riches and of misery, of civilisation and of savage life, of refinements and debasements; heart, whose pulses are felt in every continent, but thyself diseased and feeble,—wilt thou, in this thy day, anticipate by thy conversion the day of the Lord, or will It come upon thee, *as hath never been the like, nor shall be, for the*

years of many generations? Shalt thou win thy lost ones to Christ, or be thyself the birthplace or abode of anti-Christ? O Lord God, Thou knowest.

It is almost unnecessary to say that a work of this kind would afford, in every page, matter for endless disquisition. It is impossible, within any reasonable limits, to touch upon more than one or two points, taken almost at random. We confess to being a little disappointed with the commentary on Hosea xi. 1, the passage quoted by S. Matthew (ii. 15), as prophetic of our Lord's return from Egypt in His infancy:—'Out of Egypt have I called My Son.' The fact that Strauss, in his *Leben Jesu*, following Julian the Apostate, declares that this is a false citation by the Evangelist, would seem to have justified a more laboured treatment of the verse: especially as we observe that, in the introduction to Amos, the commentator notices Professor Jowett's sneer, in 'Essays and Reviews,' that the prediction in Amos vii. 10—17 has never been fulfilled. Of that sceptical objection Dr. Pusey disposes with a quiet irony. But the alleged difficulty as to the false citation of Hosea by S. Matthew is not noticed. It will be sufficient to refer our readers to the exhaustive discussion of this question in Dr. Mill's *Christian Advocate Publications*, lately republished, in which the accuracy of the Evangelist's quotation from the Hebrew text, though not from the LXX. version, is vindicated with almost superfluous learning.¹

But the general question of prophecy is one of the points most fully and satisfactorily handled in the present Commentary. It would require far more space than we have at our disposal to enter at large upon this subject. Dr. Pusey seems to us to have paid even more attention to the fulfilment of prophecy in the second part of his Commentary than in the part first published. Probably, the importance of the subject grew in his estimation, in proportion to the ventilation of the sceptical views about prophecy, propounded in 'Essays and Reviews.' We can do little more now than call attention to the ample notes on the famous prophecies of Hosea (viii. 8, and ix. 17), about the scattering of the Jews and their low esteem among all nations. As to the latter of these Dr. Pusey well observes that, though 'individuals have risen to eminence in philosophy, medicine, finance; yet the race has not gained through the credit of its members; rather these have, for the most part, risen to reputation for intellect amid the wreck of their own faith.' And as to the dispersion—*διασποράν*,—we are very glad to see him pointing out so clearly that the belief that the Ten Tribes are yet

¹ Mill on the Mythical Interpretation of the Gospels. 2d edition, pp. 327—333. Cambridge. 1861.

to be found somewhere or other, is a mere delusion. Other nations or tribes of antiquity may have been transplanted bodily by their conquerors to new homes, where they may have settled themselves; but the doom of the Israelites was, that they were to be wanderers as an abiding condition. The prophet does not say that *they shall wander*, but *they shall be wanderers*: not יָדְדוּ but יִהְיוּ נֹדִדִים בְּנוֹיָם (as it is pointed out in a foot-note). The commentary reminds us of the fictions of the Rabbins, and the fancies of Christians, as to the present seat of the lost tribes; and of the wild speculations of ethnologists as to the origin of the Affghans, the Yezides, the North-American Indians, and the Nestorians of Kurdistan. But Hosea's prophecy after 2,600 years is still in course of fulfilment; and the Jews are, to this day, a dispersed people, dwelling in every country of the world, with no polity of their own. Dr. Pusey quotes, in illustration of this, an admirable passage from Pococke. 'Still remains unreversed this irrevocable sentence as to their temporal state and face of an earthly kingdom, that they remain still *wanderers*, or dispersed among the nations, and have never been restored, nor are in likelihood of ever being restored to their own land, so as to call it their own. If ever any of them hath returned thither, it hath been but as strangers, and all, as to any propriety that they should challenge in it, to hear the ruins and waste heaps of their ancient cities to echo in their ears the prophet's words, *Arise ye, and depart, for this is not your rest*. Your ancestors polluted it, and ye shall never return as a people thither, to inhabit it, as in your former condition.'

In like manner the commentator has evidently taken especial pains with the great prophecies about the outpouring of the Spirit at the close of Joel's second chapter, and with the predictions of the desolation of Egypt and Edom in chapter iii. verse 19, of the same prophet. He observes that when Joel wrote, there were no symptoms visible to man of Egypt's speedy decay. How complete its desolation has been is shown in a very interesting dissertation, from the evidence of numerous writers, of all sorts of beliefs and opinions. Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and Dr. Bowring, Colonel Jacotin, Volney, Lepsius, Mengin, and Le Père are, among others, cited as witnesses. We may quote the concluding paragraph.

'No one doubts that man's abiding misgovernment is the cause of Egypt's desolation. Under their native princes they were happy and prosperous. Alexander, some of the Ptolemies, the Romans, saw, at least, the value of Egypt. The great conception of its Greek conqueror, Alexandria, has been a source of prosperity to strangers for above 2,000 years. Prosperity has hovered around Egypt. Minds the most different are at one in thinking, that,

with a good government, internal prosperity and its far-famed richness of production might at once be restored. Conquerors of varied nations, Persians, Macedonians, Romans, Greeks, Arabs, Georgians, Tartars, or Turks, have tried their hands upon Egypt. Strange that selfishness or powerlessness for good should have rested upon all; strange that no one should have developed its inherent powers! Strange contrast. One long prosperity, and one long adversity. One scarcely broken day, and one troubled night. And that doom foretold in the midday of its prosperity, by those three words, *Egypt shall be a desolation.*'

The predicted desolation of Edom, that is Petra, in the same verse of Joel, is also followed out in a very interesting and conclusive manner. But it is probable, considering the special 'burthen' of Obadiah, that the third part of the Commentary (which is understood to be on the eve of appearing, and which will contain the books of that prophet and of Jonah) will pursue the fulfilment of the prophecies against Petra with still more detail.

There is one more discussion in these pages, which we welcome with great pleasure, and upon which we may say a few words. It concerns the Incommunicable Name, and is based on Hosea xii. 5, which we give in the original Hebrew:—

יְיָהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַצְבָּאוֹת יְהוָה זָכָרוּ

'Even the LORD God of hosts, the LORD is his memorial.'

It is familiar to all well-informed persons that the word LORD, printed in capital letters in our Authorized Version, stands for the Sacred Name which the Jews never pronounced, and the disuse of which, among Christians, our Blessed Lord not so much sanctioned as enjoined by His own example, inasmuch as in quoting passages of the Old Testament in which it occurs (*e.g.* Deut. vi. 16, in S. Matt. iv. 7) He adopted instead of it the reverent ὁ Κύριος of the Alexandrine interpreters. And yet in popular hymns, and popular sermons, Christian ears are too often shocked by the use of the word 'Jehovah,' as though it were a proper name of Almighty God, in the same way and sense as names are given to human beings to distinguish them one from another, or as the false Gods of heathen mythology have each a distinctive appellation of their own. Sometimes this is merely the vulgar familiarity of ignorance and bad taste; but it is too often allied to, at least, implicit heresy. We forbear to pursue a subject so disagreeable; but we refer, with extreme satisfaction, to Dr. Pusey's learned and reverent explanation of what the Name Jehovah (as it is commonly pronounced) really is. He reminds his readers that Almighty God, when He revealed this name to Moses (Exod. iii. 14, 15), authoritatively explained its meaning. 'And God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM: and He

‘ said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM
 ‘ (EHYeH) hath sent me unto you. And God said moreover
 ‘ unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel,
 ‘ The LORD (YeHeVeH) God of your fathers, the God of
 ‘ Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent
 ‘ me unto you. This is My name for ever, and this is My
 ‘ memorial unto all generations.’

An enormous amount of learning has been expended on this sacred tetragrammaton of the Hebrews. In Gesenius the word is made the subject of a formal essay; and Reland collected a *Decas Dissertationum* by distinguished scholars, on its right punctuation and pronunciation. A dry and jejune article, summing up the facts of the case, is to be found in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, and Dr. Pusey, in his notes, condenses the chief points of philological importance. The latter, we are glad to see, not only declares the ordinary pronunciation, namely *Jehovah*, to be altogether a mistake, but dissuades from its use. ‘ When,’ he says, ‘ a word in the text is not read by the Jews (and this ‘ ceased to be read before the vowels were written), the vowels ‘ belong not to the word itself, but to another which is to be ‘ substituted for it. Those placed under this word, יהוה, vary. ‘ They direct mostly that the *Adonai*, LORD, is to be read for it. ‘ But if this has just occurred, other vowels are placed, directing ‘ that it should be read *Elohim*, God. The placing of the ‘ vowels under the word are an indication not that they *are* to ‘ be used with the word, but that they *are not* to be used with it. ‘ The vowels of a textual reading, when there is also a marginal ‘ reading, are always to be supplied by conjecture. It is better ‘ to own ignorance, how this Name of God is pronounced, than ‘ to use the name of *Jehovah*, which is certainly wrong, or ‘ any other which can only be conjectural.’

He goes on to point out gravely how serious the error is by which some people use the name of *Jehovah*, as though the belief in God under the Old Testament differed from that of the New; and even suggests that God may have allowed the proper pronunciation of the word to be lost, that people might not use it familiarly, or irreverently, or anti-Christianly. We only regret that he has not spoken still more plainly on this subject. A pious instinct will guard most religious people from a misuse of this name, to say nothing of our Lord’s example in the Gospels, of the constant practice of the Apostles, and of the discouragement which the offices of our own Church give to this evil custom.

But all these reasons have not prevailed even with learned and pious writers, such, for example, as Bishops Lowth and Horsley in their translations of Isaiah and the Psalms respectively. To

our mind, the way in which the LXX. rendered Exod. iii. 14, 15, and again such a passage as that in Isa. xlii. 8,—אֲנִי יְהוָה אֲנִי שְׁמִי—'Εγὼ κύριος ὁ Θεός, τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα—ought to be enough to settle the question. And independently of this, Dr. Pusey might have spoken with authority in pointing out how low a conception of the Divine Being is involved in the habit of distinguishing Him from any other beings by a mere proper name, such as they bear. Rather, the Name which He revealed to Moses expresses His essential distinction from all other creatures who bear names—in fact from all created beings whatever.

The Introductions to Joel and to Amos seem to us in some respects better than that to Hosea. This, perhaps, is because these two prophets embrace a wider field than the one whose book precedes them among 'the twelve.' Consequently, the comments upon their writings require not only a description of the topography of Jerusalem, but many interesting notices of the neighbouring countries. Tyre, Sidon, Egypt, Edom, the 'northern army' (interpreted by Dr. Pusey of the Assyrians), accordingly suggest much important matter for annotation. So, too, the special sin, shared by Tyre, Sidon, and the Philistines, of selling the Hebrews into Gentile slavery, denounced so solemnly by Joel and Amos, introduces a very curious historical inquiry; while the plagues of locusts, &c. in Joel, require and receive very full illustration from natural history. With respect to the real meaning of the plague of locusts, our author follows Hengstenberg in interpreting this judgment of God to mean more than the mere visitation of these winged creatures, and primarily the Assyrian invasion.

Not scrupling to use a phrase which is very familiar to us all in a modern application, Dr. Pusey speaks, after S. Augustine, of the 'unadorned eloquence' of Amos, the herdsman-prophet of Tekoah. In a very striking and graphic way he sets before us the mission of this unlearned man—a mere day-labourer (as it would seem)—who was called to go from his native village of Judah to the royal but idolatrous sanctuary, and the proud capital of the rival kingdom of Samaria, with his message of awful denunciation. The earthquake in the days of Uzziah, and the notices of Damascus, Ammon, and Moab, in the book of Amos, afford matter for especially interesting research.

We must borrow one more quotation from the Introduction to Amos. Our readers will pardon its length for the sake of the additional proof which it affords that the present commentator has not neglected the minutiae of philological criticism in the examination of his authors; and also for the sake of the

further light which it throws upon the religious practices and the ecclesiastical polity which were maintained in the schismatic kingdom of Israel:—

‘Some variation of dialect, or some influence of his shepherd-life on his pronunciation, has been imagined in Amos. But it relates to five words only. In three, his orthography differs by a single letter from that found elsewhere in Hebrew. In two cases, the variation consists in the use of a different sibilant; the third, in the use of a weaker guttural. Besides these, he uses a softer sound of the name Isaac, which also occurs in Jeremiah and a Psalm; and in another word, he, in common with two Psalms, employs a root with a guttural, instead of that common in Hebrew, which has a strong sibilant. In four of these cases, Amos uses the softer form; in the fifth, we only know that the two sibilants were pronounced differently once, but cannot guess what the distinction was. The two sibilants are interchanged in several Hebrew words, and on no rule, that we can discover. In another of the sibilants, the change made by Amos is just the reverse of that of the Ephraimites, who had only the pronunciation of *s* for *sh*; “*sibboleth*” for “*shibboleth*.” But the Ephraimites could not pronounce the *sh* at all: the variation in Amos is limited to a single word. The like variations to these instances in Amos are also found in other words in the Bible. On the whole, we may suspect the existence of a softer pronunciation in the south of Judæa, where Amos lived; but the only safe inference is, the extreme care with which the words have been handed down to us, just as the prophet spoke and wrote them.

It has been noticed already that Amos and Hosea together show, that all the Mosaic festivals and sacrifices, priests, prophets, a temple, were retained in Israel, only distorted to calf-worship. Even the third-year's tithes they had not ventured to get rid of. Amos supplies some yet more minute traits of ritual; that they had the same rules in regard to leaven; that their altar, too, had horns (as prescribed in the law), on which the blood of the sacrifices was to be sprinkled; they had the altar-bowls, whence the blood of the victim was sprinkled, such as the princes of the congregation offered in the time of Moses, and *their* rich men, at times at least, plundered to drink wine from. They had also true Nazarites, raised up among them, as well as true prophets; and they felt the weight of the influence of these religious against them, since they tried, by fraud or violence, to make them break their vow. Amos, while upbraiding their rich men for breaking the law between man and man, presupposes that the law of Moses was, in this respect also, acknowledged among them. . . . There are other verbal reminiscences of the Pentateuch, interwoven with the words of Amos, which presuppose that it was in the memory of both the Prophet and his hearers in Israel. Indeed, after that long slavery of four hundred years in Egypt, the traditions of the spots, hallowed by God's intercourse with the Patriarchs, probably even their relation to “Edom their brother,” must have been lost. The book of Genesis did not embody popular existing traditions of this sort, but must have revived them. The idolatry of Beersheba, as well as that of Gilcad, alluded to by Hosea, as also Jeroboam's choice of Bethel itself for the calf-worship, imply, on the part of the idolaters, a knowledge and belief of the history, which they must have learnt from the Pentateuch. Doubtless, it had been a part of Jeroboam's policy to set up over against the exclusive claim for the temple at Jerusalem, rival places of traditional holiness from the mercies of God to their forefathers, much as Mohammed availed himself of the memory of Abraham, to found his claim for an interest in Jerusalem. But these traditions, too, must have been received by the people, not derived from them. They were not brought with them from Egypt. The people, enslaved, degraded, sensualized, idolatry-loving, had

no hearts to cherish the memories of the pure religion of their great forefathers, who worshipped the un-imaged, self-existing God.'

Here we close our observations on a book which has, doubtless, long before this been studied with profit and admiration by most of our readers. We need only repeat, that in this Commentary we recognize Dr. Pusey's most precious gift to the Church. It were trifling, when we reflect on the solid advantages of a book of this sort—so much wanted, and so well executed—to do more than notice, by way of saving our reputation as literary critics, that the style is often involved and inelegant, and even ungrammatical ; that strange words—such as 'subdual'—are occasionally employed, and that the punctuation is generally bad and confused. The latter blemish is due, perhaps, to the fact, upon which the author enlarges with some pardonable pride, that the book has been printed entirely by women, in a charitable institution founded at Devonport. But whom to blame for the most awkward form in which the book appears—that of a cumbrous quarto, with double columns—we know not. It is difficult to exaggerate the practical inconvenience of this shape, especially so long as the work, owing to its serial method of publication, shall remain in a series of unbound brochures. Still, this is but a small price to pay for a work which, we may fairly say, has no rival in modern devotional exegesis.

ART. VII.—*Memorials of the Rev. Joseph Sortain.* Nisbet: London.

MR. SORTAIN, whose name will be familiar to some of our readers, stood, while he lived and preached, in a singular relation to the Church of which he was not a member, and his Life now before us increases the singularity of his position, by showing us how little cause there was for this estrangement, or we should say separation, for estrangement there was none. How it arose that a man whose heart and friendships all lay in our Church, laboured and preached in a sectarian communion, affords a constant stimulus to the perusal of this memoir, a stimulus which might otherwise be sometimes wanting; for the life of an orator must necessarily fail in imparting the secret of his power, while the records of a student's career do not often furnish much exciting incident. Besides, we will frankly own that the experiences of dissenting ministers, after the first curiosity is satisfied by a cursory glance, are too far removed from our own range of observation, and are often couched in language too remote from our sympathies to awake other than a languid interest, so that it needs some extraneous inducement to bring us to throw our mind into his position. Mr. Sortain's memoir, however, has not much in common with the class of biography to which it professedly belongs, and it has many distinctive and marked differences. How far, indeed, it will be acceptable to the Society of which he chose to be a member, or to the dissenting interest generally, we cannot guess. Our own experience shows us that no sympathies are absolutely diffusive; that if men strain them in one direction, they inevitably contract in another. Thus, clergymen of the Church of England, who are anxious to prove their liberality by close and open alliance with 'their dissenting brethren,' seem, in spite of themselves, to be absorbed into this foreign connexion, and all their cravings for fellow-feeling satisfied in it; so that they have not room for much active show of brotherhood for their fellow-clergy; and it strikes us that the ministers of the 'three orthodox denominations,' as well as Lady Huntingdon's Society, may have experienced something of the same impediment to mutual confidence and joint action in their eloquent Brighton brother, 'my jewel of a Nonconformist,' as Bishop Copleston called him. We think they would have something to say for themselves too, if while Mr. Sortain's eloquence drew

Churchmen from their prescribed pastures to his meeting-house, thus acting as a sort of persuasive to Dissent, by destroying that barrier which habit, public opinion, and even fashion (we are not speaking now of higher motives) set up between the National Church and Dissent, he used his powerful influence so coldly and laxly for the cause to which he devoted his energies—we may even say his life—that he never willingly listened to the teaching of a brother minister, but uniformly, when at a distance from the scene of his own ministrations, and often at considerable trouble and exertion, frequented the churches and services of the Church. It involves a logical inconsistency of which they cannot fail to take hold. However, there are many things better in fallible mortals than logical consistency to views and opinions; we willingly, therefore, leave this point for them to debate, holding a dissenting minister unquestionably more attractive and more interesting to ourselves, who commits the anomaly of loving the Church he does not join, instead of hating and opposing it out of respect to a rigid consistency. Every one who came within his influence, seems to have made allowances for Mr. Sortain; which, no doubt, tells much for his amiable qualities. Churchmen seem to have agreed that Dissent in him was something quite different from its development in the stiffer Nonconformist organization. He was a Dissenter *sui generis* by a sort of hitch or accident, but on whom the dissenting virus could not act. If Churchmen are ever accused of uncharitable repulsion and exclusiveness, Mr. Sortain's life ought surely to relieve us from the charge, for all parties seem to have agreed to take his differences from us as a sort of harmless peculiarity, just a pity and no more, which it was permissible to overlook and even to ignore. To those who have never been under the spell, it may appear a little strange and perplexing, and, perhaps, partial; but we accept it as a testimony, to Mr. Sortain's excellencies, and also to the overmastering power over all prejudice and prepossession of certain sweet and engaging human qualities. We may even plead, from this example, that no one ought to charge Churchmen with intolerance. Let dissenting ministers only be as amiable and make themselves as agreeable as Mr. Sortain, and they shall receive the like treatment; the onus lies with them. In a certain sense, it tells highly for the integrity of Mr. Sortain's character that he remained a Dissenter; there were no antipathies, either personal or hereditary, to hold him where he was, and it would evidently have been an indulgence of taste, and even of feeling, to join our Church. He felt very little leaning towards Nonconformity as he saw it, and its working upon himself was injudicious, if not unfavourable. All his intellectual aspirations

looked towards the Church as their most appropriate field; the friends of his own choice were Churchmen, and the Church, from the first, opened her arms to receive him in tender invitation. It was a scruple of conscience which alone held him back, to his own consciousness at least; but we think we detect in the same impulses that made him an orator the real ground and motive for his remaining where he was, and holding by the principles of his parents and ancestors; the principles of Nonconformity, under whatever profession it declared itself. He somewhere quotes from Coleridge the saying, that it is the province of genius to keep ever green and fresh First Impressions. And first impressions, which in his case happened to be of a nature deeply to affect an imaginative child, always kept a lasting hold on himself. It was evidently one main secret of his eloquence: what had once impressed his mind, those simple or romantic ideas which, when congenial to a child's mind, direct it into certain channels of thought, retained their first hold with a lasting tenacity, not to be shaken off. Simple truths did not grow stale or trite with him, he could always conjure them up in their original vigour and impart them in all their freshness to his hearers.

The link that seems to us to have bound him to Nonconformity was his Huguenot ancestry, a fact very strongly and carefully impressed upon his infant mind. His father was one of the congregation of Lady Huntingdon's chapel, at Bristol, of which he was also a principal manager. His grandfather, a man eminent for piety, was deeply imbued with Huguenot family traditions; he laboured to impress on the child's mind that his ancestors had suffered for their religion; he prayed that his grandson might emulate their courage and faith. He gave him, when very young, a copy of Fox's 'Book of Martyrs,' with the inscription: 'My son, remember thou the God of thy fathers.' The book was dutifully, reverentially preserved by the future preacher, who was pleased to observe some family customs derived from a Huguenot source.

'He also adhered to what he always said was the Huguenot custom of reading the 23rd Psalm every Saturday evening at family prayers. When asked by guests, who happened to be present on these occasions, why he always read this Psalm, he used to reply, "It was a custom of my Huguenot forefathers, and I wish to gain inspiration for my Sunday's duties by the associations it thus calls up."—P. 3.

His first teacher was minister of his father's chapel, who, in his turn, endeavoured to inspire him 'with love to the God of his fathers.' Young Sortain was an amiable and interesting child, attracting attention by his 'lovely countenance and engaging manners,' and no doubt an intelligent recipient of all

these counsels; for the pride of ancestry is a sentiment very congenial to childhood, and especially to a nature alive to every display, whether of heroism or splendour. From his birth he was devoted to the ministry: it was his father's first prayer that he should be either a missionary abroad, or a minister of the Gospel at home; a dedication congenial to his early turn for study, and which his docile temper accepted at once as a call. He writes:—

“The heads of my family were eminently pious. At my birth they both solemnly dedicated me to God, and to the service of His Church, should it appear to be His will. With this design solely I was educated, and they gave the preference to the ministry of the established Church. Nurtured and trained with these views, no other pursuit of life for a moment attracted my notice; and, though at first I only looked forward to their accomplishment with the prospect of literary cultivation, the ministry was yet my decided choice.”—P. 5.

It is strange, and was certainly injudicious, that, with these ultimate views, his parents should commit his education to Dissenters. He was put under the care of Dr. Ryland and Mr. Crisp, heads of the Baptist College at Bristol; and his very teachableness, and the favour he found in the eyes of all who had to do with him, rendered him an especial subject for influence. Mr. Crisp writes:—

‘I remember vividly the impression produced on my mind by young Sortain's whole demeanour. His piety was then conspicuous, and during forty-two years of tutorship I never met with a student displaying a more delicate sense of propriety, more ingenuousness of disposition, or greater amiableness and modesty; and I have known but few possessing an equal measure of those traits of character. His manners were so peculiarly winning, that it was scarcely possible not to feel attached to him; and it is a source of uncommon pleasure to me to learn that he held me and my revered aged colleague, Dr. Ryland, in affectionate remembrance. The mental capacity which he manifested during the short period of his studies here, led me to look forward to his becoming a more than ordinarily excellent and acceptable minister of the Gospel.’—P. 7.

Two things are recorded of his childhood: that he committed the whole book of Proverbs to memory; a feat, one must think, almost unprecedented; and that he gave way to a paroxysm of grief on being disappointed in a promised visit to Tintern Abbey, in prospect of which he had been getting up architecture, and wrought himself into an excitement that would not allow him to sleep. He was one of the people we see in the world who are made to be petted; his troubles, and he had great ones, never arose from the severe handling either of friends or enemies. On this occasion, his passion of childish tears was first checked by his father's question, ‘Do you aspire to be a man, and do you cry for a disappointment?’ and next soothed by the promise:—

“‘If you will go into your room for one half-hour and think of this, that you should never anticipate anything too eagerly, you shall go to Tintern Abbey to-morrow, and to Raglan Castle too, if it does not rain.’ I went up to my room, and a mighty struggle I had, for it was a very difficult lesson to learn; and I believe I have never thoroughly learnt it yet. But I shall never forget the circumstance.” He adds—“There is *one* thing you and I may hope about, without fear of disappointment, and that is, the hope connected with our heavenly home.”—Pp. 8, 9.

If an orator, like a poet, is made as well as born, we suspect this gentle method is the right system. He received no checks; every effusion of heart was fostered; and being naturally open to the class of influences which sway the majority of mankind, his tastes and feelings coinciding with those of the greatest number—an indispensable condition for the orator—his power of setting forth his own line of thought was developed into eloquence by uniform encouragement. The influences brought to bear in infancy and boyhood told so effectually upon him, that we find him, at sixteen, almost equally impressed by the scruples and objections of his teachers, and the ultimate designs of his parents: the first of whom would naturally dissuade from our Church, while the last, for some not very consistent reason, wished him eventually to minister in it, though adopting very unwise means towards their end.

‘At the age of sixteen Joseph Sortain went to Cheshunt College, in Hertfordshire, a college founded by the pious Countess of Huntingdon for educating young men as ministers of the Gospel. His objections to the baptismal service of the Church of England, to reading the damnable clauses of the Athanasian Creed, and, in short, the impossibility he felt in declaring his agreement with *everything* contained in the Book of Common Prayer—prevented his acquiescing in the wishes of his parents, and going to the University of Cambridge, preparatory to becoming a clergyman of the Church of England. To the Liturgy of that Church he was much attached. From the general character of her doctrines and her Articles he did not dissent; nor did he, at all events in later years, object to the Episcopal form of government. Through life he honoured and loved the Church of England, as a chief instrument for spreading the Gospel at home and abroad. He always declared that, as a layman, he could have made a good Churchman. He often regretted that he could not conscientiously regard some of her services in the same light as did so many of the most eminent Christians, for whose opinions he yet cherished the highest respect, and whose piety he venerated.

‘It appears to have been in consequence of these scruples he entered Cheshunt College. He remained there between two and three years.’—Pp. 9, 10.

There is some mysterious connexion between the gift of flowing talk, rising or not to eloquence, and keeping a diary. Whether the impulse of addressing others and addressing self proceeds from the same sources, or one prepares for the other, we cannot tell; but the diary has, unquestionably, a part to play with minds of this order. It seems essential, as it were, to give a certain balance and support to the efforts of the

tongue. Intellectual persons like to go through a certain amount of writing; but in this case writing is not their instrument with others; so they accept it as the most obvious and effective mode of bringing their didactic powers to bear on themselves, and also of strengthening that sense of weight which belongs to some minds, and which is, perhaps, among the essentials of influence. In many respects Mr. Sortain's religious experience differs from the received types; he recalled no moment of conversion, but was probably sensible of having been always subject to, and in a degree of having always listened to, Divine teaching. But the wisdom and uses of keeping a diary were very early pressed upon him. At the age of sixteen, he thus inaugurates his own:—

“*May 5th, 1826.*—Influenced by the example of some great and good men, I now determine to keep a diary. The following records will be not only of a religious, but moral nature; since the cultivation of the intellectual powers, though inferior to religious training, is yet very desirable. As a student for the Christian ministry, and I humbly trust a genuine disciple of Christ, my diary will, I hope, embrace many things which may hereafter be very useful to me. Oh, my Master, my God, my Instructor, grant that in what I write I may be so divested of prejudice, that I may be able to scrutinize my feelings with an unbiassed determination! Take from me any principle of self-deception which may exist within. Search me and try me, and lead me in the way everlasting.”—P. 11.

A fortnight later, the influences of the place begin to tell upon him, and he received ‘impressions’ which, however modified by the gentleness of his own nature, served to unite him for life to the cause of Dissent.

“On May 17th, 1826, he writes:—“At a meeting for the protection of religious liberty, I found my mind extravagantly excited. I was led to feel that the cause of Dissent is the cause of God, and that He raised up the eminent Non-conformists as examples of suffering for conscience' sake. Liberty is a name which appears to possess some magic charm, exciting, animating the liveliest energies of our nature. Oh, that liberty of soul from the manacles of Satan, and the temptations and allurements of sense, were a subject lying nearer to my heart!”

“Again he writes, on the 19th of May:—“My attention has lately been occupied by the annual meetings in London, and I have now returned, only I am afraid to vex myself by adopting resolutions never to be performed, and anticipating pleasures never to be realised. I have been reviewing the feelings which I experienced at those meetings, and I grieve to find that I have but little, very little, of the simplicity of godliness. I fear that I have listened to speeches with a far greater desire for the gratification of my intellect (if I may dignify it with such a name), than for spiritual benefit of my soul.”—Pp. 12, 13.

The diary is sustained with great perseverance, with much thought and careful writing. The alternations and vicissitudes of feeling are accurately recorded, and a very earnest desire is apparent throughout to be true to himself, to express really

what he felt and experienced; there is contrition, humility, misgiving, confession of periods of unbelief, but through all, a sense of power, of looking forward to having a place in the world. He talks of having prostituted to the world innumerable hours, valuable talents, and ardent affections, which really belonged to God. He owns to having fostered the romantic idea, of being 'born to be somewhat of importance' in the world, and that fame, happiness, and glory 'must belong to him.' He is disgusted with himself for foolish conversation, as though beneath him, and is afraid the volubility of his tongue, and the senseless, useless rubbish he is often talking will lay him under Solomon's description of a fool; though really a boy of seventeen, working out his thoughts in voluble, ill-ordered, but ardent discourse, is learning to play his part in the world better than by making too much haste to be a man. But at this age Sortain was preaching. His diary has confessions of vanity about his style, his tropes, his illustrations; he had the weight of responsibility and the necessity of a deportment of becoming gravity pressing on his young shoulders. These early sermons, however, are only alluded to for the lasting mischief they did his voice, which in manhood is described as painfully weak and inadequate, till excitement developed some degree of strength and sound. In the meanwhile, he was conscious that the education of his intellect was making no way at Cheshunt. With many misgivings as to his motives for wishing a change, he announced to his friends that he was not getting on. Some one, we suspect an old tutor, told him 'he was too conscious of superiority,' and he owns to being elevated rather than humbled by the reproof. His father left him to his own judgment whether to choose a Scotch university or Trinity College, Dublin. To the last, he had a misgiving that, in forsaking Cheshunt, he was giving up spiritual for carnal advantages; and, in deciding on Dublin, which in most men circumstanced as he was, would have led inevitably to his joining the Church, he still surrounded himself with the old influences. He lodged, while in Dublin, with a dissenting minister; and even at the close of his career at Trinity, when the question of Church or Dissent was balancing in the scale, he accepts as a leading of Providence towards Dissent, what we still trace to a first impression, that he had been first sent to Cheshunt.

Yet he found it an immense effort to avow himself a Dissenter in the new society in which he was thrown. His manners were good; there does not seem to have been anything in him to betray the boy-preacher. He was welcomed with cordiality, and was soon involved in all the employments and interests of the scene. He was great at debating in the 'Literary Society,' sought

as an agreeable companion, and introduced by his friends to their homes. Under these circumstances, we can feel for the position in which his religious differences sometimes placed him.

“No one can tell the struggle I have had to bring my mind to profess myself a Dissenter. It was painful when I had to avow it to my beloved tutor, himself a clergyman, and before all my class-mates, themselves Episcopalians. It was painful, especially as I am wavering, undecided. I feel, and am conscious, that I am far too young and inexperienced to decide on a question which agitates men of such piety and wisdom. But I was forced to it by the thought that I was conscientiously more of a Dissenter than an Episcopalian, and therefore, until I decide more definitely, I must pray to God for direction and support. Once more I say, ‘Guide me by thy counsel.’”—P. 69.

And again :—

“I am likewise very much distressed by my reluctance to confess my peculiarity of religious sentiments. I do, from *principle*, regret that I ever engaged in preaching as yet, because I think it to have been injurious—nay, uncalled for. But I defer too much to the opinions of others, whom I highly regard. I fear ridicule too keenly.”—P. 72.

His new life was a very congenial one. His diary is full of the struggle between its pleasures, ambitions, and literary interests and the final destination he felt marked out for himself. The very moderation of his views, and the absence of bitterness, rendered his self-questionings more perplexing. There is throughout a most engaging freedom from censure of others, either expressed or implied; not, indeed, that he had anything to complain of, or any just ground for censure, but it is common in experiences of this nature to see a scrupulous conscience indemnify itself, under self-imposed strictness and privations, by severe judgments on those who subject themselves to an easier rule. His own manner was evidently winning and conciliating, and even when his scruples led him to reject kindnesses, he did not lose friends by it.

“A little trial has occurred to me. A collegian, scholar of Trinity College, has heard me speak at our Literary Society, and has manifested much kindness to me, and has invited me in the ensuing week to a fashionable party, which I suppose will terminate in a ball. Now I am resolved not to go, yet I have an attachment to this gentleman, and feel gratitude to him, he is so very agreeable to me; and therefore I find it no easy task to write to him, stating my reasons for declining his invitation, perhaps thus to offend and lose his friendship, and, it may be, to lose the acquaintance also of some others I highly value. However, with God’s aid, I am determined to disregard all this, and leave the event to Him.”—Pp. 92, 93.

a page or two later we read :—

“Another circumstance has occurred of a pleasurable character. The collegian who invited me to the party, in answer to the letter I wrote him, stating my reasons for declining his invitation, has, in the kindest manner,

assured me of his greater esteem. This has been most interesting to me, for he has endeared himself to me by kindness, and it was one of my first declarations of religious principle to those whom I have reason to think may respect, but cannot appreciate, my peculiar feelings. God has been very good to me in this. Oh, may I recommend the Gospel, by integrity and humility of mind, to those dear and kind friends with whom I associate here so constantly!"—P. 94.

The consciousness of religious differences, no doubt, stood greatly in the way of the best use of the friendships formed at this period, as interfering with the freedom of speech and discussion on each side. There could not be full sympathy when he and his friends got beyond the range of college interests, and public and general topics. And the singularity of this posture of affairs was enhanced, by there being no real occasion for it; to dissent without grounds of dissent, or at any rate, without full conviction of such grounds, was his position now as it was throughout his life; and certain prepossessions hindered him from facing the evil and danger of separation, or rather from once realizing what a breach of visible union implies. If he had not been in boyhood committed to a course, we cannot suppose he would have resisted the influences now brought to bear upon him. He had the privilege of Archer Butler's warm friendship, of whom we find this mention:—

"Last night I had some very interesting conversation with a young collegian who has honoured me with his friendship. He, Archer Butler, is one whom, if I mistake not, the world will hear of both as a good and a great man. But I cannot see as he sees on the question which disturbs my mind so much, and I must follow the dictates of conscience, or woe betide me! for I should be unutterably miserable."—P. 101.

and in summing up the college friends, who had assisted in rendering his residence in Dublin the happiest period of his life, his name again occurs:—

"The names of his College friends—the Otways, West, Archer Butler, Bell, the amiable and lamented Dr. Sadleir, and many others, were "familiar in his mouth as household words." He fully appreciated Mr. Butler's high intellectual powers and social gifts, and greatly valued his friendship. Not only did he peruse with admiration and interest the two volumes of Sermons by this gifted College friend, published after his death, but he delighted in pointing out their merits and beauties to others. He felt deeply that friend's premature removal from earth as a loss to the cause of religion."—Pp. 119, 120.

The avowed ground of his decision for Dissent, was the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, as taught by the Church of England, with some scruples on the point of the, so-called, damnable clauses in the Athanasian Creed; but there is nothing in his whole line either of thought or action to make us recognise these as the absolutely influential reasons, which we believe to have been that he considered himself marked out from his

birth to be a Dissenter. It was avowedly a ground for deliberation which 'Christian body' he should join, but here again habit and first impressions decided him, rather than any exercise of reason, which would scarcely incline a man in his position to decide for a small obscure sect, which seems to have no element of growth, which bears a woman's name, and takes no line, except the inconsistent and illogical and untenable one of being at once Church and No-Church. This indeed was, probably, its recommendation. If it was not the Church, it did not vigorously oppose the Church, and used its formularies, and thus offered a sort of asylum for a mind in his particular posture of doubt and suspended deliberation. His avowed reasons are thus sated :—

"I am now, however, determined to throw in my lot with the Dissenters, and, after serious consideration, I think I must continue with that body of Christians with whom I have been mostly associated. I prefer their anxiety to win souls to the Saviour by acting on the principle which I feel persuaded the Apostle Paul adopted, when he conformed to some circumstances of the Jewish Ritual, though he felt convinced of the abrogation of the whole. I like the Church Liturgy, after one or two excisions : and I have seen and felt the advantages of it."—Pp. 104, 105.

While still undetermined, he was brought to a final decision by an offer from the 'trustees of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion,' who were, probably, anxious to secure such a support, and his course was thus settled for him, a course about which he never afterwards seems to have felt doubt or solicitude. In accepting their offer he writes :—

"It would certainly be uncandid in me to say that, surrounded as I have been by Episcopalians, and constantly assailed by Episcopalian arguments, I have never doubted, never wavered ; but I trust that you will not think it inappropriate to the present circumstances if I add, that the only effect I can now discover is the loss of some prejudices and violence which may encircle, but can never strengthen, principles."—P. 132.

We do not recognise it as a temptation, that he was subsequently offered a living of some value if he would conform to the Church ; though the effort of refusing 700*l.* a year by a man who at the time is receiving only 300*l.*, will be regarded as something disinterested and even heroic, by people who look only at the difference of the two sums, and the difference of social position between a clergyman and a dissenting minister. The offer was made him by a country squire at the time when his popularity at Brighton was at its height, and of a sort most congenial to his temper, and most flattering to any ambition. What would such a man have felt in exchanging his congregation of men of picked intellects, who crowded in their seaside leisure to listen to his Christian oratory, for a rustic audience, on whom all the graces of rhetoric would be thrown away,

with, probably, only the squire and his wife able to follow his periods or enter into his arguments, to be dazzled and hurried along by his eloquence? We may wonder at the squire for making the proposal to such a man of changing his religious position, if not his religion, for pecuniary and worldly gain; but the proposal was not one for a person who regarded his credit to entertain for a moment.

So far as Mr. Sortain's name was a well-known and familiar one it was due to his eloquence, which does seem to have been, to judge from various testimonies, remarkable. He probably from childhood had felt the impulses and ambitions of an orator. He complains in his diary of a tendency, which we suspect is inseparable from eloquence, to 'adopt extravagant expressions on whatever subject he might be discoursing,' that is, probably the subject, when on his tongue, did assume undue proportions; it seemed to him more important, greater, of more universal interest than before or after: and to see things large and bright is as great a secret, no doubt, of fine speaking as it is of vivid and attractive painting. One of his college friends has written for Mrs. Sortain his recollections of his first speech at the Debating Society, which shows that, either by nature or study, he had already attained to some knowledge of speaking as an art.

It is Mr. Otway who writes:—

'He spoke soon after he became a member. I was present, and remember the effect on those who heard him. I cannot recollect any of the sentences, nor am I sure of the subject, but I do recollect that every one felt that the new member was no ordinary man, and would add to the reputation of the Society. He was then very young,—not twenty—but his speech had none of the usual vices of a young man's speech; there was no efflorescence, no redundancy of figure, no effort after fine words; there was great vigour of thought and felicity of phrase, logical precision in the arrangement of his topics, and continued indications of a philosophic and reflective mind. His presence was not commanding, there was no robustness in person, no vehemence or loudness of voice, yet his whole body seemed energised by mind. His eye would flash, his voice would tremble and thrill; its tones, always high, yet never strictly discordant, fell, when he really rose to his argument, with electric power on his hearers, and you could not withhold attention and admiration from the seemingly spiritualised being, who was addressing you with vigorous words, conveying lofty thoughts, and free from all meretricious ornament. Such attention and admiration he ever commanded in "The College Historical Society." That Society had then among its members young men of considerable scholarship, great acuteness of intellect, and promise of future reputation and success. One of these became Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University, and his profound reasonings, his glowing pulpit oratory, full of all that was graceful and enchanting, lives, and will live, beyond the College he adorned and the country he loved. He, Archer Butler, was a warm friend of Sortain's. Others became distinguished in the various professions they adopted. I speak only of those who were members at the time I allude to. Some are dignitaries of the Church, one is a judge of the Superior Courts—all knew and honoured Sortain.'—Pp. 123, 124.

His first sphere of ministerial labour shows that his reputation was already high. He was sent to preach at Brighton, and was immediately offered the 'co-pastorate of North Street,' where he remained till his death. His ordination created great interest, and his address on that occasion justified his election. We always notice on these occasions the charm which youth is supposed to throw over eloquence and piety.

'The newly-elected minister, who was to be invested with the pastoral office, was, as may well be supposed, the prominent object of interest. His youthful aspect, his speaking countenance, expressive of deep humility and intense devotion, attracted the attention and sympathy of every beholder. He stood surrounded by a numerous company of ministers. The chapel was densely crowded.'

At this time, his warm family feeling was much tried. He had, very recently, lost his father; and now one of the first sermons he was called on to preach was, on occasion of the death of a young and interesting sister. His affectionate biographer, in recording this, adds, 'It was the first time she who afterwards became his wife ever heard her future husband preach.' An orator turns all things to account, and in this case grief was made subservient to the purpose of the hour. 'With singular mastery over the feelings of a heart peculiarly sensitive and tender, he was able to repress sufficiently every outward sign of emotion, except the thrilling pathos of his tones, which sank deep in the breasts of his hearers.' In the same page we read the simple announcement: 'He entered upon his ministry April, 1832;' in September, 1833, he married Bridget Margaret, third daughter of the late Sir Patrick Macgregor, Bart., who was residing with her family at Brighton when he became acquainted with her.'

This lady has now undertaken to give to the world some record of a life and labours which were distinguished in their day, having been determined in her task by hearing that unauthorized persons were already engaged in the same work. In both taste and feeling, her book is a most favourable specimen of religious biography. Its spirit is throughout unpretending and strictly truthful, there is not a word that can offend the living; and the gentle spirit, which engaged universal sympathy and made everybody indulgent, still lives in its pages. But it is of the essence of oratory that it cannot survive; meaning by oratory, the power of swaying and holding in breathless attention a mixed assembly; and those who know Mr. Sortain only by this book have very little insight into the secret of his powers. There is abundant evidence that he was a great preacher and orator; plenty of real testimonies to his eloquence; but though an indefatigable student, his written compositions,

either as seen in the extracts given from his writings, in his diary, or his letters—whether these are of the more formal and didactic class, or written in the familiarity of family intercourse—give us no clue to his extraordinary popularity, especially with men of fastidious tastes, accustomed to criticise and analyse. There seems to have been a rush, a force, a fire in his words, and with these, a body of thought and meaning, which must have set him high among the public speakers of his day. That his written style gives us no idea of the real man is, indeed, confessed by his admirers. We are told from a private source we must respect, that ‘Sortain was a thinker, and a wonderful orator when the powers of the great deep seemed to break up; but he could not write as he could speak.’ One thing we learn indeed, that he was not narrow, or what is understood by sectarian in his tastes or views. He had both a wide range of interests, and a sympathy with all ordinary common likings. He never required agreement with his own religious sentiments in his friends. He found something in common with most men, and they, of course, in their turn, with him. He had also, which is a valuable oratorical quality, a taste for externals, for show, splendour, glitter, whatever attracts the eye; and his fame and prestige made him fearless, in expressing a pleasure which other men are often ashamed to own.

Thus not only was he excited by whatever excited the people about him or the world at large; not only was he a diligent reader of the *Times*, and a warm advocate, when their time came, of Volunteer Corps; but spectacles of every sort stimulated him. His enthusiasm was roused by the scene of the Coronation. He came home in a fever of loyalty, and also of ‘extreme admiration’ for the beauty of the maids of honour. He was capable of immense conscious acknowledged enjoyment at such times. He was enchanted with the Crystal Palace. Processions and show scenes, if in any way connected with romantic feeling, delighted him. In his first journey to Paris, after satisfying his leading curiosity to visit the scenes where his Huguenot ancestors acted and suffered, he witnessed the opening of Louis Philippe’s first Parliament, and expressed a vast disappointment to his sister-in-law at the common-place dress of the ladies. ‘With this I was disappointed and vexed. I confess I did want to see waving plumes and the light of diamonds.’ Everything invested with the prestige of general popularity was more interesting to him—excited him more—from this cause. Thus the sight of a S. Bernard’s dog roused him in a state of utter debility. He accepted without a question of disbelief and with childlike eagerness, all the traditions which made it and its race interesting. These are all ties, and ties

generally wanting or unacknowledged between what are called philosophic superior people and the rest of mankind; which, however, are most useful in bringing together minds of wide range and deep serious thought, and the class they seek to instruct and interest. The mass of mankind have such tastes, students and thinkers are generally independent of, and perhaps feel themselves above them: their curiosity and interest go out in another direction, or they are too busy and preoccupied to attend to them. An eye always open to popular impressions, and an observation at liberty to take in their import, must unquestionably assist fervent thought, and ready eloquent expression, with a mass of material—familiar in a certain sense—but new in another, to ears little used to hear subjects of this sort treated in the grand impressive heroic style, and invested with the moral significance which thought finds in them. The memoir, then, shows some points of character which may very well belong to an orator, and it exhibits also a mind constantly busy in keeping up its stores and powers. And wherever he was, whatever he thought, whatever he might be seeing or doing, his sermons were constantly in his mind. These were the occasions for which he lived—which he felt were his work. That he was ill, feeble, paralysed; that he could not stand in his pulpit; that his voice failed him, and could scarcely be heard till the concentrated energies summoned by the occasion overcame its weakness and natural defects, were none of them reasons with himself for foregoing his preaching; nor do we suppose he would have desired to live if his infirmities had reached a pass to incapacitate him for this outpouring, which had become a necessity of his nature. Thus the habit of his thoughts—the language in which they framed themselves—was a spoken, not a written one; yet not colloquial. He seems to have always been constructing oratorical sentences. It was a second nature to do so.

‘Mr. Sortain’s sermons, though delivered extempore, were never the result of a short and hurried preparation. They were long and carefully thought over.

‘The selection of texts and subjects for his sermons was the absorbing theme, to which his mind reverted on all occasions and in all circumstances. While travelling abroad, when on board a steamer, or in a foreign railway, he would suddenly, after a long silence, remark to his wife, “I have, since I entered this railway (or this steamer), got one or more texts, and, what is more, one or more sermons.” On one of these occasions he could not help exclaiming, “Oh! how thankful I am for the power of abstracting my thoughts from these passing scenes, when I desire so to do.”

‘He made, during one tour abroad, a course of sermons, and on his return home he preached them, he said, almost exactly as he composed them while he was travelling, without a note to aid his memory.

‘A great political event affecting any portion of the human family—a new *discovery in science*, such as the planet brought before the world’s observation

by Adams and Le Verrier—or the submarine telegraph—or the interesting results of antiquarian research in the discovery of the ruins of Nineveh by Layard—occasionally gave him subjects for sermons. Even an incident in which a beneficent Providence was peculiarly apparent, or a national tendency to some one social evil, or theological error, suggested themes for the pulpit. He has left a large number of pocket-books, which, on different occasions, he carried with him on his tours, filled with notes, showing how he gleaned suggestions from all he saw and heard, to be made useful in illustrating some doctrinal statement of Scripture, or in enforcing a practical truth.

‘As an illustration of this habit, in one of these pocket-books, of a recent date, is written:—

“*Mem.—The ship ‘Arctic.’*—It is said that a passenger offered 30,000*l.* if the boats would put back to save him: they turned to do so, but before they reached him he sunk! To be commented on, when occasion offers for doing so appropriately.”

‘He introduced this circumstance into a sermon he preached at the time of the catastrophe, and on it grounded a very solemn warning.’—Pp. 315—317.

That the effect was more than commensurate to the labour we must believe from varied testimony; and also that his sermons exhibited so much thought as to suggest to every one the idea of power as a writer. Thus Mr. Empson, Law Professor of Haileybury, after hearing him preach for a season—having secured himself a sitting at his chapel, and sought his acquaintance—proposed to him, as editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, to become one of its staff, which he did. But his reviews seem to give little idea of his power. His style in the extracts given strikes us as dry and inharmonious. We read without our curiosity being roused, or our attention strongly arrested, and the ear is caught and soothed by no pleasant periods. Nor did he write only in the *Edinburgh*. His warm friend, Mr. Harvey, Rector of Hornsey, having introduced him to Mr. Le Bas and Mr. Boone, then (in 1834) editor of the *British Critic*, he was requested to become a contributor, taking the subject of Geology. The pages of this Review have, in its Magazine state, received, we are assured, contributions from Mr. Sortain. To Mr. Boone, in connexion with the *British Critic*, he writes with visible gratification in reply:—

“MY DEAR SIR,—I cordially return you my best thanks for your very kind interest in my welfare; and as you wish to hear from me by to-morrow’s post, I write to say, that I will do my utmost not to discredit your and Mr. Le Bas’ recommendation. Lyall’s volumes will require immense attention. . . .

‘As to my writing in the *British Critic*, I think I can most conscientiously co-operate. For, much as I respect the Dissenters, I do most thoroughly disavow many of their sentiments, and much of their spirit. You, my dear sir, to whom I have disclosed more of my sentiments, on the great question between us, than I have to almost any other human being, will know that all my relation towards the Church of England, as a seceder, has been attended with the sincerest sorrow. If her antiquity be a plea, my earliest fancy and imagination would entwine around her. The single-mindedness of many of her ministers—some especially whom I have lately seen at Hornsey—would shame me for opposing. But, at the same time I feel so, I know I am bound to follow the dictates of con-

science. I fully wash my hands of any such spirit as you allude to, and tremble lest it should eventually predominate. Let me end this by saying, that I will immediately set about the review. Will you send me word, as soon as you can, when my paper will be expected? I am at present very poorly, but I hope to rally with the spring. I will visit Hornsey, if possible, to see you and Mrs. Harvey, and, in addition, though subordinately, Mr. Raikes. To perpetuate your kind friendship will be my constant aim.—Believe me, my dear Sir, yours most faithfully, JOSEPH SORTAIN."—Pp. 149, 150.

The connexion was certainly a singular, perhaps, an unprecedented one; but it proves the exception that Sortain was held to be, and it proves, we must also think, that the Churchmen with whom he associated regarded his position more as an accident—the working of what some might call a crotchet—which they were always hoping might give way, than any settled conviction of reason, even on the points on which he took his stand.

As his composition gives us little notion of his speaking powers, so his letters are disappointing in style and matter, though not in feeling, which is unexceptionable and always to his honour; but they are wanting in ease and nature. He has the manner in letter-writing which does sometimes surprise us in men who speak well. The words will not come in natural right order—a sort of formality and triteness pervades them, a want of taste, a touch of self-education, as if the ear were not trained to the easy freedom of society. Even to his wife and his sister-in-law, we observe phrases and a turn of expression which strike ears as strange that are accustomed to the light easy assumption of mutual sympathy and common feeling belonging to absolute intimacy, and which renders all deliberate exposition of views or even of sentiment superfluous. He uses interjections, and set phrases and book-words, and has in fact no colloquial style. We suspect writing journals of feelings and experiences bad for the style as inducing formality. People do not really know how to write to themselves. Nature suggests no rule. Who is one addressing? It is, as we see it, the most ceremonious of all proceedings. Very stiff people are ceremonious to their near relations; but this looks like being on distant visiting terms with oneself, and constructing phrases and modes of expression to convey what oneself feels and thinks. The following little outburst to his sister-in-law, is at once an example of his tendency to rhetoric in his letter-writing, and a proof of that excitability and openness to popular impressions, which are so valuable an ally, perhaps we should say, so indispensable to the orator.

'I have, since I wrote to your mamma, been gloriously excited: I have gloried, with British pride, at Waterloo. Oh! how I felt when the wretched guide endeavoured to prove to our party that the English were beaten—down—

right beaten—till Blücher appeared. I left the whole party to walk the fields by myself—to commune alone with the spirits of the brave dead! Till then I never understood the full force of the sublime oath of Demosthenes by the manes of the plains of Plataea.

'To tell the truth—though I have been absorbed in antiquities, in beauty of art and scenery—I have not yet felt the magic hand of association to have a broader and a more giant force than at Waterloo. If I could afford it, and had the means of compulsion, I would make every young British soldier pass a night at Waterloo, and alone. If I had been well enough, I would have done so. But, adieu to the brave dead! What a step between the sublime and the ridiculous in the monument to Lord Anglesea's leg!'—P. 196.

The fact we suppose is, that he could not be nervous and emphatic without being high-strung; wanting this supreme excitement, we see feebleness. 'I so love that charity, it is so unexceptionable,' he writes to his wife. This sentiment in a sermon for the Hospital would, doubtless, have been wrought up into something persuasive and impressive, opening men's hearts and purses. Some extracts are given from lectures which certainly convince us that his lectures would be interesting, and there are one or two addresses to children which we see were admirably adapted to attract their attention. But turning from written examples, let us see those testimonies to his one predominating gift which leave no doubt that his powers were rare and remarkable—that, whatever may be said of his writing, he could certainly speak. Sir James Stephen wrote of him, when recommending him for the Professorship of English History at University College:—

'In the character of a preacher, Mr. Sortain is well known to me. His powers as a public speaker and expositor of abstruse, or of popular truths, are exceedingly remarkable. He has, in an eminent degree, the rare talent of always exciting and keeping alive the interest of his auditors, not excepting those of them who can hardly be supposed to be qualified to follow the course of his argument, or entirely to understand his illustrations. This felicity of style is not attained by any vulgar arts, or by ministering to a corrupt taste for rhetorical ornaments. On the contrary, his discourse is uniformly chaste and simple. The power of it, considered as mere oratory, consists in the habit of descending sufficiently below the surface of things to awaken attention, without going so far as to reach the region of obscurity—in always employing indigenous thoughts on topics in which it is impossible to be original—in great histrionic skill, as far as the gravity of the pulpit allows it—and in a constant earnestness and sincerity, without which the powers I have mentioned would be ineffectual and worthless in the hands of a clergyman. It is my firm belief that, as a lecturer on any subject within the range of his studies and knowledge, Mr. Sortain would be distinguished by exercising the most powerful attraction, and by riveting the attention of his pupils.'—Pp. 317, 318.

We are told that Lord Lansdowne always attended his chapel when at Brighton, and it was an unusual feature of his congregation, to be mainly composed of men. One reason of this is, however, stated in candour to have been, that he never

preached long sermons, and was jealously careful not to weary attention. Mr. Justice Talfourd, in a characteristic letter, writes to Mr. Sortain himself:—

‘REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Although personally a stranger to you, I venture to offer you the expression of my thanks for the noble and generous eloquence with which you have to-day thrilled me, and with it to seek your acceptance of a copy of the recent edition of efforts by which I have sought to manifest a love of literature, without pretending to participate in its power. The fortunate accident of remaining for a Sunday at Brighton has enabled me to renew the intellectual enjoyment which I received last autumn on a similar occasion in your chapel, and to feel the influence of eloquence, which, even to one who has heard Robert Hall, is wholly unsurpassed. The only drawback from perfect gratification arises from a fear lest effort so great of the intellect and the feeling should exhaust too much the physical energies of the frame which contains them, and the restoration of which to perfect health must be an object of earnest desire to all who wish the long continuance of the first powers devoted to the holiest uses. I therefore venture, as one deeply interested in their preservation, to echo entreaties you must often hear, that you would not, by too lavish an employment of your energies, allow them so to injure the tenement in which they are enshrined as to risk their long continuance with us.

‘With earnest wishes for your perfect health, all I can desire for you, I remain, rev. and dear Sir, faithfully yours, T. N. TALFOURD.’—Pp. 321, 322.

And Mr. Thackeray, who had heard him lecture for the benefit of the Brighton Athenæum, and introduced himself at the close of it, writes on the receipt of a volume of sermons:—

‘MY DEAR SIR,—I shall value your book very much, not only as the work of the most accomplished orator I have ever heard in my life, but, if you will let me so take it, as a token of goodwill and interest on your part in my own literary pursuits. I want, too, to say in my way, that love and truth are the greatest of Heaven’s commandments and blessings to us; that the best of us, the many especially who pride themselves on their virtue most, are wretchedly weak, vain, and selfish, and to preach such a charity at least as a common sense of our shame and unworthiness might inspire to us poor people. I hope men of my profession do no harm who talk this doctrine out of doors to people in drawing-rooms and in the world. Your duty in church takes them a step higher, that awful step beyond Ethics, which leads you up to God’s revealed truth. What a tremendous responsibility is his who has that mystery to explain! What a boon the faith which makes it clear to him! I am glad to have kind thoughts from you, and to have the opportunity of offering you my sincere respect and regard.—Believe me most truly yours, my dear Sir, W. M. THACKERAY.’—Pp. 322, 323.

And notices after his death are reprinted, which endeavour to give some analysis of his speaking, and wherein consisted the secret of his power. The *Brighton Guardian*, July, 1860, writes:—

‘No man was ever born like to another man; and the individuality of Sortain was of the most decided kind. Men have been with wider range of intellect, of greater knowledge and wisdom—nay, of finer oratorical talents; but safely may it be averred that there never has been, or, alas! that there

never will be again, *such* an one. . . . It was a talent and a power not to be described by precedent, parallel, or comparison. Genius undoubtedly it was; and in this peculiarly a special gift, for it was what no man could attempt to imitate or even emulate; what none by culture could attain to, or by learning find out. Who that scarcely heard the feeble and vibrating tones that first issued from his lips did not wonder often how interest could be educed from that bare, meaningless text, or eloquence from that tame, effeminate speaker? And who that has so doubted has not presently been affected with surprise and admiration? That Mr. Sortain possessed the faculty of speaking extemporaneously and fluently, that he had rich resources of language and a happy appropriateness in expression, may indeed be truly affirmed; but as much may be said of many among preachers who have lived before and who survive him. If that were all, enough would be to record that he was "an eloquent preacher and a good man." It is, however, beyond those qualities that he was great, and a very remarkable man. His specialty was to detect distinctions between things seemingly alike, to divine that which is occult, to evolve a momentous meaning from words which to the general mind bear but small import, to interpret the difficult and dark as with a ray from Heaven. This was his *genius*. . . .

Although Mr. Sortain was so richly endowed with the talent of extemporaneous preaching, he entirely composed and wrote his principal sermons during the first eight years of his ministry; and he believed that by doing so he had greatly strengthened his memory, and enlarged his command of language. After that time he relied wholly upon study, and it is known that some of his most powerful sermons were delivered without the aid of a single note. What that effort was, those only who have heard his preaching when he was in the vigour of his powers can adequately estimate. It was, indeed, an astonishing manifestation of abstruse "thinking aloud," of inductive reasoning and subtle analysis, of splendid imagery, of graceful and fervid rhetoric. Those to whom his preaching was new would despair of him, and think that he must inevitably be lost in the mazes of his argument; but, however involved or complicated his propositions, he escaped from them like a giant from the toils, or as the sun, after some time struggling with the mists and clouds, breaks forth at length unobscured into full effulgence.—Pp. 416—418.

Perhaps the art of *escaping* from propositions is not so rare as the writer here seems to imagine; but we see his meaning, and the passage altogether brings a real person before us, and conveys an idea. We do not doubt that the visible expenditure of strength, the evident pouring out of something which was not replaced, that the actual consumption of life which his preaching caused, gave force to his eloquence. It was that notion of danger which imparts a sense of joy and appreciation to the spectator in all feats of skill involving risk. For he preached at a certain risk, he preached when most men would think exertion absolutely impossible. His mind and body never agreed, so to say; and the undue labour of brain, which, first from inclination and then from an accident, was never tempered and relieved by sufficient exercise and labour of body, ended in paralysis. For long periods, indeed, he was absolutely disabled. Bleeding from the throat and stomach, sleeplessness, restlessness, rheumatic gout, paralysis—gradually creeping over the lower limbs up to his hands—rendering him almost wholly

helpless, and at length threatened loss of sight, were the trials which prostrated him for long months together, and which only an indomitable will could have surmounted in the latter years of his ministry, so as to permit him the exercise of his great faculty:—

‘It was very affecting to see a man still in the prime of life at forty-three, almost deprived of the power of moving, or doing anything for himself. But though the cloud that now overshadowed him was dark and heavy, yet it was fringed with a light visible to all around him—a light shed by the cheerful resignation with which he bore his afflictions.’—P. 352.

‘In July, 1854, he was able to recommence preaching in Brighton on the Sunday mornings. The first time he made the attempt, he could hardly ascend the pulpit-stairs. It was remarked by some of his hearers, that he looked so ill and wasted, that his words seemed almost like a message from another world. He used to say, that his recovery being so very gradual, he was strongly tempted to feel impatient, when wishing to resume duties to which he found his strength unequal. In a sermon he had preached many years before his illness, he described this temptation, which his pastoral experience had rendered familiar to him. He says, “I know that God’s deliverances are often sudden and unexpected; but I know, too, that ordinarily ‘light is sown for the righteous.’ It is sown, and it has all the gradual advance of vegetation. And I may make the remark, that our patience, our submission, our temper, are more severely tried *after* deliverance is begun, in consequence of the slowness of its consummation, than at the darkest and deadliest influence of the sorrow. O! how natural is it. There is silence in the neighbourhood of despair:—there is fretfulness in the dim twilight of awakened hope.”’—Pp. 360, 361.

Though his affectionate biographer rarely alludes to her own feelings, or to self in any way, we can well believe the trial these times must have brought with them, to one who had to watch over and defend his health against such terrible experiments. She writes:—

‘Mr. Sortain continued to preach every Sunday morning, during the autumn and winter of 1854 and the spring of 1855. He was now obliged to sit in the pulpit, on a high stool, but he managed so well that this was hardly perceptible. He had always esteemed it to be his highest honour, faithfully and earnestly to deliver the Gospel message of love and mercy to man. But the triumph of mind over matter was strikingly manifested at the season of bodily weakness.

‘Often on the Sunday morning, it seemed to those who lived with him impossible for him to preach an extempore sermon, for which he had, perhaps, not a single note to aid his memory; for, weary from pain and want of sleep on the Saturday night, he appeared so unfit, physically, for what he undertook, that his wife and intimate friends were often sadly tried, lest he should be taken ill in the pulpit, and have to be carried out.

‘He always replied calmly and quietly to all remonstrances, “That he did not attempt it in his own strength, or rather weakness, but he was sure that God would help him to get through the service.” And God did help His servant. For never, perhaps, during the whole course of his ministry, were his discourses clearer in argument, brighter in illustrations of his favourite theme, Christ’s love for man, or richer in the Christian experience derived from affliction, than were his sermons at this period. One Sunday, when he had been very suffering

before going to his chapel, his wife remarked to him in the afternoon that, when in the pulpit, he seemed to forget all pain and weakness.

"Why should I not?" he answered. "I hope that I can humbly say, 'Trouble and anguish have taken hold on me, yet God's commandments—His word, His revelation, His promises—are my delight.' And why should they not be? Who delights in his home so much as in the storm? who in his best friend so much as in difficulty?"—Pp. 361—363.

We do not expect, or desire, absolute candour from a wife. It is impossible that the real conditions of a truthful, comprehensive biography can be fulfilled when a woman undertakes to give the world all the particulars it is to receive of her husband. But there is an admission in the following passage which satisfies our demand for fairness, our natural rebellion against unqualified praise, while it secures our confidence and confirms our faith in the substantial truth of the testimony which accompanies it:—

'He had long been exposed to the ordeal of great popularity. The union in him of rare mental powers, with manners so unassuming and gentle, caused him, wherever he went, and with whomsoever he associated, to be generally regarded with feelings of love and admiration. He never seemed to think highly of himself, which induced his friends, and even strangers, to express unreservedly their sentiments towards him. In conversation he did not appear to suppose that his opinions must be right, but always listened with candour and the greatest patience to all that others had to say. It has been well said of him, that "to honour all men was the law of his being." His courteous bearing to all, whether rich or poor, young or old, made his companionship much sought after. Of course, such popularity as he had long enjoyed, both in the pulpit and in society, was not without its dangers to the character of the Christian man. He would have been the first to own that, partaking of the infirmities and weaknesses of our fallen nature, he could not expect to pass through this trial quite uninjured. But during the long years of ill health with which, from 1850 to his death, it pleased his heavenly Father to visit him, he certainly was a very bright example of the Christian graces he had inculcated from the pulpit. No murmur was ever heard to escape his lips.'—P. 353.

We have already spoken of the living offered to Mr. Sortain, if he would give up his dissenting scruples: he was somewhat early (1838) in his ministerial career tried with another difficulty. He was invited to London by Lady Huntingdon's trustees to undertake the pastorate of the large and, at that time, important Chapel of Spa Fields, with the tutorship of Cheshunt College. This was nominally a sphere of greater importance, and unquestionably offered a large increase of income. His diary regards it in the light of a temptation, or perhaps affects so to regard it. He recapitulates the advantages of Spa Fields. He has the face, we might almost say, to enumerate amongst these, 'more ministerial companionship; I have so little here.' Now we beg to say, that the eager, anxious writer in the

British Critic is not likely to have longed in his heart of hearts for more ministerial companionship with his brother ministers of the Huntingtonian connexion, whose ministrations he carefully avoided whenever he left his own chapel; evincing sometimes an even more than clerical resolve to go to church in out-of-the-way places and under extraordinary impediments. We can even imagine another inducement, the 'greater influence over Cheshunt than by merely lecturing there,' an embarrassing possession; for the question must have presented itself, how to use that influence. He decided wisely in declining the proposal, for which his health would have rendered him wholly unfit. This plea generally gives a pang to an active mind, where it realizes hopeless physical incapacity; but the pain would probably be considerably softened in this case as justifying him in refusing a position which, however apparently influential, would have broken his half-alliance with our Church and his intercourse with its clergy. In London, he would have been regarded simply as a leading popular dissenting preacher, with a congregation no longer of lords and ladies, who would for ever have passed out of his sphere, nor yet of the men of literature of the day, but of respectable, well-to-do, middle-class Dissenters.

The question, as he handles it, has no touch of these motives, however. It is treated in the grand manner, and with that sense of being important, of being a considerable instrument in carrying out great providential schemes, which belong to his class of mind. Mr. Sortain could ask for a sign from heaven.

'What shall I do about leaving Brighton? My congregation implore me to remain. Ah! know you, my friend, where the Urim and Thummim of the Sanctuary lie concealed? Has the Almighty taken from the more glorious dispensation such a blessed and safe mode of finding out His will? Sometimes my conviction as to the path of duty inclines to London—my heart clings to my people here.'—P. 244.

But no doubt popularity arising from eloquence must do this for a man. He knew himself all in all to his people. 'My congregation,' he writes, 'has been in a terrible state; I could not leave them.' When men know that their congregations would make no startling outcry at their departure, they are learning a necessary lesson in humility. It is not difficult for a good many honest, painstaking, and devout ministers too, to take a very moderate view of their necessity to the great economy. Whatever Mr. Sortain's sense of his worth, however, his manner seems to have been wholly free from pretension, and sometimes characterised by an ingenuous boyish simplicity. It is evident that he was never forbidding, and he does not seem to have preached out of the pulpit; he believed that everybody had a good side, and his appeals to that were not

made dictatorially, but with real fellow-feeling. In illustration of this, we will conclude our extracts with an anecdote:—

‘An incident, which occurred before the railroad to Brighton was made, may be mentioned here, to show the good effects occasionally resulting from his gentle unobtrusive way of suggesting religious or moral reflections, on which he desired the individuals to whom he made the suggestion should act. He was in the habit of going up and down from Brighton to Cheshunt by the fast coaches, and delighted in getting, if possible, the coveted box-seat. He had a natural love of animals, and the sight of the fine horses in motion was a real pleasure to him. While travelling one day from Brighton he was accosted by a gentleman sitting near him, who, in the course of conversation, informed him that he was an actor, and present lessee of a well-known theatre. He was (he said) about to bring out a new pantomime for the Christmas holidays, and showed a long Greek name for it, on the correctness of which he requested to have an opinion. Mr. Sortain did as he was asked, and revised the name. He then seized this opportunity of broaching a subject, on which he felt an interest for the cause of public morals. At this theatre a piece was then being constantly performed in which the hero was a robber, and one of those daring spirits whose evil exploits are likely to captivate the imagination of the young and unreflecting, and thus do much harm. Mr. Sortain’s perception of the ill results of this sort of representation had been awakened by his having had to exert any little influence he might possess to try and get the term of imprisonment, in the House of Correction, shortened, for a youth to attend his excellent mother’s death-bed. This poor lad had declared that his ideas of right and wrong had been first confounded by seeing this piece acted. “Why, sir,” he said, “I found that, while thieving on a small scale made a man a felon, robbery on a large scale made him a hero, if he was a daring fellow.”

‘Mr. Sortain mentioned this fact to his acquaintance on the coach, and spoke strongly of the poor mother’s misery, caused by her boy’s depravity. The gentleman said but little at the time. Some weeks afterwards they met again, on the top of “the Age” coach. Mr. Sortain had found out meanwhile that he was a well-known comedian, who bore a high character for morality.

‘He addressed Mr. Sortain immediately by name. “Mr. Sortain,” he said, “I have been thinking over what you told me. You will be pleased to hear that the piece of which you spoke will not, I have determined, at some loss to myself, be acted again while I manage the affairs of the theatre. Your kind and courteous manner of supposing what is quite true—that I would not do anything willingly to injure public morals—has had its effect. I wish all gentlemen of your cloth spoke with as much consideration for the feelings of those from whom they may differ as you do. I have heard you preach since,” he added, “and I do believe you are sincere in wishing to do good.”—Pp. 264—266.

He was a lover of the country, and could enjoy a holiday of complete relaxation, which some men of busy brains cannot. He did not grudge, on such occasions as he could compass them, a week of trout-fishing or salmon-fishing, which was his special sport. He could take his part in amusing and light conversation, and he played at blind-man’s buff with his school-children. We see an engaging, even simple character portrayed. It was probably his line not to be austere; he always advocated amusement for mind and body; but he also acted in conformity with his nature, for no efforts against nature

can make men attractive, however we may approve and esteem them. He had one great trial, ill-health; but this apart, his was a wonderfully happy and prosperous life. Perhaps not the least uninfluential circumstance, both in his social and especially in his quasi-clerical life, was his independence and comfortable position in money matters. But his personal qualifications must have had an influence superior even to his social standing. He incurred no ill-will. All men were tender, admiring, indulgent, sympathising to him, as if they had agreed to lay aside the most cherished prepossessions, if they threatened perfect community of intercourse and companionship with him; and somehow, it was settled amongst the wisest, most judicious men, that in his case schism lost its nature, because it was maintained in an amiable spirit, without adequate reason; though theory seems to go quite the other way. But there is, in fact, no standing against personal influence; and as a case of personal influence shown in its fullest play, Mr. Sortain's life is both curious and interesting.

ART. VIII.—*Novels by Eminent Hands, and Character Sketches.*
By W. M. THACKERAY. London, 1856.

It has been long remarked that our leading novelists have given up the idea of merely amusing us. They aim at more than this; they are, in their own way, instructors. Nor is their field a limited one; lessons in art, lessons in politics, lessons in morality, in religion, and in the philosophy of life, are all offered to us by our writers of fiction. Under these circumstances we cannot think it wholly alien from the purpose of this review, if we bestow a brief glance at the views put forth by some of our most popular authors on a single theme; that, namely, which is indicated by the title at the head of this article. Hasty and imperfect as this notice must necessarily be, it may yet prove not wholly useless or unsuggestive.

The social creed of the world, as such, is a creed two-fold in form, but in either case identical in essence. It is short, simple, and not very difficult to practise. For it amounts (when reduced from theoretic belief into that practical exhortation which all creeds involve) to the maxim, 'Worship wealth, worship rank, worship success,' or else to the opposite precept, 'Hate and envy wealth, hate and envy rank, hate and envy success.'

Far different, we need hardly say, is the teaching of Christianity. Its code in these matters is not short, nor simple, nor in anywise easy of attainment in the actual intercourse of life. For it inculcates glad obedience and dutiful respect, unmixed with any tinge of servility and adulation on the one hand, of envy and covetousness on the other; a self-respect which is not to spring from pride, but to be co-existent and entwined with true humility; a full recognition of the importance of the world's system of prizes as one of the means and conditions of its order and governance, unalloyed by any discontent at their non-possession, or any wish to use them, if attained in the course of duty, save as instruments of influence for the welfare of others. Very saintly, or else very self-satisfied, must that man be, who can persuade himself that such is the aspect in which these much-sought advantages invariably present themselves to his own inward sight.

We have no right to expect that our literature, especially our light literature, should attain to this lofty standard. Nevertheless, as it does, in the hands of many of its masters, aspire to *some* standard, it may fairly be questioned upon this score.

A large proportion indeed of our novels simply, whether consciously or unconsciously, reflect the world's judgments in their most unrestrained expression. Their bias is generally towards an almost prostrate adoration of rank, wealth, and worldly success. The great people depicted in such pages live almost entirely for themselves; like quasi-Epicurean deities, they are careless of the troubles, nay, almost ignorant of the existence, of any who do not belong to 'the upper ten thousand.' If any members of the middle class are introduced, they are not merely inferior, but almost utterly deficient in grace and refinement, and they are willing, nay, eager, to accept any amount of patronizing condescension at the hands of the great people whom they meet. Are not the leading characters of the *beau monde* in Owen Meredith's 'Lucile' (a novel in verse), very justly arraigned as belonging to this order of beings?

But especially, as we might expect, is this tendency conspicuous in many of the tales composed by our lady writers. 'A love of precedence and title,' says Hartley Coleridge, 'is the besetting sin of womanhood.' Not, we believe, that women are essentially more worldly or more ambitious than men: but that civilized society accords them but one avenue to distinction. It takes but little account, in a social point of view, of feminine talent or mental culture; no, nor even of personal grace and beauty, excepting in so far as these gifts, singly or in combination, give a prospect or assurance of higher station through matrimony. It is far otherwise with men. Young Mr. Gresham (to borrow an illustration from Mr. Trollope), may have to yield the *pas* in the drawing-room to his cousin, the Honourable John; but he knows that the next day in the hunting-field the rank of an Earl's son will not in the least avail to help that cousin over the fences, while he himself is safe to show the way, and to occupy a good place at the finish of the run. The baronet, who to-day gives place to the heir to a dukedom, may the next night tear his rival's speech to ribbons in the House of Commons. In the army, at the bar, in almost every walk of life, the possession of peculiar personal gifts may go far to diminish, or even overcome, the special advantages of birth or wealth. But women have no such chance conceded to them; and hence, we believe, rather than from any more deeply-seated worldliness, arises their frequently keen passion for rank and its gilding of money.

This taste, as we have intimated, frequently comes to view in their novels. Is it not apparent in those of the late Mrs. Gore? Or turn to those of the author of the 'Semi-Detached House.' That numbers of the higher classes should be pleased with descriptions, which are on the whole so favourable to them, is natural

enough; but that members of the great middle class—and we write as belonging to it—should be so well satisfied with their position in this lady's representations of society, is to us surprising in the extreme. We cannot help thinking that the name of the great lady, sister of one cabinet minister and wife of another, who edited it, had much to do with the success of the first of Miss ——'s publications. Had it appeared without such sanction, it would have run the risk of being pronounced not only unfair in its portraiture, but likewise so minute in its description of events requiring great delicacy of touch, that no lady could, without confusion, accomplish the task of reading it aloud in the family circle. An admirable caricature of such novels (exaggerated, of course, as all caricatures must be, but based upon a real foundation of truth), may be found in the 'Lords and Liveries,' and the 'Fashionable Authoress,' contained in the brilliant little volume which we have placed at the head of this article.

But there is a class of ladies, headed by the authors of 'Amy Herbert' and the 'Heir of Redclyffe,' who aim at a far higher flight than is attempted by those whom we have last named. Are they unimpeachable on the score of their social creed? It has been hinted in this review on a former occasion (and we have seen nothing to induce a belief that the suggestion was wrong), that Miss Sewell all but totally ignores the question, whether anything so vulgar as commerce is in the slightest degree connected with the greatness and influence of England. If any foreigner were to judge of Great Britain by her representations, he would surely imagine that there existed no distinct order of society, except perhaps the clergy, between tradesmen and the titled or untitled *noblesse*. The intellect, and refinement, and power of the country would seem to reside *wholly* in the aristocracy and landed gentry. And her gifted compeer—is there no truth in the gibes of the satirist, such as that the spectacle of a *young lord* on his way towards a better world is peculiarly fascinating to her, that her tales inculcate the love of piety and the love of rank on something like equal terms, and that they are calculated to suggest to the minds of young lady readers an ideal future *sposo*, who shall be a real and religious baronet, with a real park, and (hard by) a real church and schools, that he himself has built?

‘And this figure he added yet thereto,
That if gold ruste, what shuld iron do?’

So said Chaucer's priest, and we would humbly follow in his wake. If our religious writers lead us astray, what can we expect from our worldly ones?

One result we must certainly expect. Extremes beget ex-

tremes; and so long as a large proportion of our novels represent the upper classes as specially—we had well-nigh said exclusively—endowed with the best of principles and tempers, so long will there co-exist with such tales an opposite class, in which a duke is depicted as all but necessarily wicked, and a peasant almost with equal necessity virtuous. Such is, we understand, the general tone of certain novels, with which we are not acquainted further than by name; to wit, those of Mr. Augustus Sala; and echoes of the same notes may probably be heard from time to time in the columns of the *Family Herald* and similar publications.

Now, a deceased lecturer on history, Professor Smyth, has wisely remarked, with reference to the French Revolution, that we ought to study the history of that tremendous crisis with a watchful eye upon our own bias; so that, if too much inclined to the side of authority and despotism, we may learn what unchecked autocracy like that of Louis XIV. ultimately leads to; that if too favourable to the cause of the many, we may see in the Reign of Terror what popular power may become. We would say the same of novels; and in this way, as in many others, they may become no unimportant part of our education.

And in which direction may we suppose the inclination of our readers to be bent? Granting, as they all would, that there is such a thing as undue jealousy of, and opposition to, earthly grandeur and success; and likewise such a thing as undue deference to the same, we suppose that for *one* who is tempted to be too rough, too independent, in the presence of greatness, there are at least *fifty* who, if honest to themselves, must be conscious that their peril lies in precisely the opposite extreme.

For suppose that the eye now alighting on these pages be that of a clerical reader. Let us call to mind what Dr. Arnold thought upon this head. Exaggerated his description may be in respect of clerical practice, as it certainly is with regard to his date of the origin of the English Church; but it is well worth consideration by those whose office it is to teach:—

‘Our Church bears, and has ever borne, the marks of her birth; the child of regal and aristocratical selfishness and unprincipled tyranny; she has never dared to speak boldly to the great, but has contented herself with lecturing the poor. “I will speak of thy testimonies even before kings, and will not be ashamed,” is a text which the Anglican Church, as a national institution, seems never to have caught the spirit of. Folly, and worse than folly is it, to think that preaching what are called orthodox doctrines before the great is really preaching to them the Gospel. Unless the particular conclusions which they should derive from those doctrines be impressed upon them; unless they are warned against the particular sins to which they are tempted by their station in society, and urged to the particular duties which their political and social, state requires of them, the Gospel will be heard without offence, and, *therefore* *one* may almost say, without benefit. Of course I do not mean offence at the

manner in which it is preached, nor offence indeed, at all in the common sense of the word; but a feeling of soreness that they are touched by what they hear, a feeling which makes the conscience uneasy because it cannot conceal from itself that its own practice is faulty.¹

We, for our part, shall venture, at this point, to assume, that the upper classes have, like all other classes, some special temptations, and that it is well that they should, both on the highest and the lowest grounds, be warned of them. Had such warnings been uttered in France some eighty years since, their overthrow might never have been accomplished. But just because we do believe this, we are the more anxious to examine whether the lectures read to us by our novel-writing teachers are based upon sound principles or the contrary. Perhaps we are unreasonable and hard to please; but we must frankly aver that the grounds of reproof seem to us often radically wrong, and often, even when partially true, to be disfigured by some serious admixture of extravagance and error.

Take, for example, the tale of 'John Halifax, Gentleman.' The epoch of the story is one in which the oligarchical element was, no doubt, very strong in the British constitution; and it is perfectly fair for an opponent of that element to write against it. But how is this design carried out? We have an earl who is very wicked, and an earl's daughter who is very foolish as well as wicked. A grossly improbable, not to say impossible, plot introduces, however, to us a worthy baronet and an earl's son, who abjures his title and calls himself plain Mr. But the chief impression left on our minds is this—that the proper and Christian way (in the opinion of the author) to meet the pride of high birth is to confront it with the pride of low birth! The hero, John Halifax, is as proud with respect to the suffix of 'Gentleman,' as any prince of the blood could possibly be of the prefix H. R. H. Nor let it be thought that Mr. Halifax's particular kind of pride is a mere creation of the fancy. On the authority of a man of genius and of rare impartiality, we venture to affirm that the pride of low birth is a reality, which has not unfrequently been witnessed; that has been occasionally seen, for instance, in Edinburgh, in the persons of men so eminent as Robert Burns and Hugh Miller. We protest, then, against this lady's teaching on this ground—that pride, being a sin, is equally odious in a peasant and in a peer, and that it is not consistent with *true* independence. And, further, if we ourselves are to come across it in the intercourse of life, we would just as soon meet with it in the person of a *Duc de Saint-Simon* as of a John Halifax; indeed, rather sooner; for it is probable

¹ Arnold's Life and Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 386. Fifth Edition.

that the haughtiness of the French noble might be tempered by very considerable grace and courtesy, whereas we should have no confidence in the existence of a similarly softening element in the insufferable pride displayed by Mr. Halifax.

We turn to Mr. Thackeray's 'Book of Snobs.' Here there is certainly much that is valuable in the way of suggestion; many a searching query which we should do well to put to ourselves. Nevertheless, at the risk of seeming paradoxical, we will venture to affirm that a part of the writer's caustic satire amounts in reality to this—that the bulk of even worthy people are not saints, and that they are herein lashed for not being so.

Let us try to explain our meaning. The love of praise is one of the most widely spread and deep-seated of human 'propensions. When it is *mere* earthly praise and honour which is thus sought, great injury arises from such a principle of action, and faith becomes ultimately well-nigh impossible. 'How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another, and seek 'not the honour that cometh from God only?'¹ But as there does not exist in us any propension which is *essentially* bad, this desire of praise must, like all similar desires, be capable of a right direction. We *ought* to desire the honour given to those 'whose praise is not of men, but of God.'² And the praise of good men, in the highest sense of the words, *laudari à laudato viro*,—is of real value, in so far, and in so far only, as it may cheer us onward with the hope that it is a foretaste of a far loftier eulogy and acceptance. Now, honours accorded by the State are really intended to be the expressions of praise for merit. If, even under a Nero, it could be written, 'do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same,'³ it may fairly be assumed that in no Christian state has the sad frequency of perversion been so great, as to render these aids to good government absolutely meaningless. In our own day assuredly it would be easy to make out a list of those whose elevation to places of honour and trust has been welcomed by all good men; while, on the other hand, the bestowal of office upon a nobleman of deeply-blemished reputation, has gone far to upset a ministry.

It may indeed be quite true, that the highest of all tempers would be that which should prove content simply to do its duty without regard to any manner of reward whatever. Mr. Thackeray seems to us to imply, by inference, that if *he* had won the battle of the Nile, or turned the tide of the Sepoy revolt, he would never have dreamed of desiring any mark of

¹ S. John v. 44.

² Romans ii. 29.

³ Romans xiii. 3.

distinction; for that all such desire is essentially snobbish. Are we really prepared to accept this teaching? Nelson, if common rumour be correct,¹ had grievous faults of character; but was it merely the part of a snob to look forward, on the eve of his great contest, to 'a peerage or Westminster Abbey?' Havelock was not only a soldier who had most diligently studied the 'bookish theoric' of his profession, as well as its practice, but likewise a man of deeply religious principle; is he likewise to be classed among Mr. Thackeray's 'snobs,' because, in his latest hours, he was anxious to see the formal ratification of the baronetcy that was promised him? If not, if Nelson and Havelock do not belong to this contemptible class, then the greater part of Mr. Thackeray's reasoning on the subject of titles falls to the ground, and his social creed is a mistaken one.

It must also be remarked, that while this pungent satirist so effectively exposes the danger of a servile cringing to the few, he never says a single word about the danger of flattering the many. Yet surely the risk is, in our age and country, at least equally great, in many instances far greater. A Presbyterian minister who preached before the Queen in Scotland displayed great dignity, and employed respectful freedom of speech. But it was the very same personage, if we mistake not, who, at a city feast in Glasgow, exhibited an apparent adulation of wealth that perfectly astonished us. He could be bold before an individual person, but not, it would seem, before an assemblage. And yet of all places to choose for anything approaching to an eulogium of the spirit of money-making, Glasgow was about the very worst. It is not good to flatter a ruling passion. To praise the love of war in Paris, to encourage respect for birth in Edinburgh, to denounce democracies before a princely audience at Baden, to hold up kings to ridicule in New York—all this is surely to carry owls to Athens, coals to Newcastle, and what is worse, it is a pandering to the ruling passion of those who are addressed, which is surely as essentially snobbish as any which Mr. Thackeray has thus stigmatized.

Mr. Thackeray is a great denouncer of what our lately deceased poetess has called

'the pleasant old conventions
Of our false humanity.'

They are no doubt very often a fair mark for such shafts as his. Yet it may be questioned whether a deeper philosophy would

¹ We put this hypothetically, because we have heard a Benchman of one of the Inns of Court (and consequently a member of a profession not usually inclined to the more lenient view) bring forward elaborate arguments against the correctness of the popular estimate of Nelson's conduct in private life.

not teach us, with Smyth, Henry Taylor, and others, to see in them some of our safeguards against mob law and the despotism of the many.¹ It also deserves deep consideration, whether many acts, which at the first glance look like mere unreasoning worship of rank and wealth, do not often spring from very different motives. Mr. John Stuart Mill (and it would be hard to name a writer less likely to flatter mere social position for its own sake) has illustrated this point in his new book on 'Representative Government.' And if any of our readers are desirous of being reminded how unconsciously men who declaim against one set of conventions may fall into another quite as bad, they need only turn to that inimitable scene in 'Martin Chuzzlewit,' where the General discourses of the 'con-ven-tion-alities of that a-ma-zin Europe,' and is presently, together with his hostess and her daughter, frightened out of all propriety on the discovery that they have been hospitably entertaining a steerage passenger. Mr. Thackeray has his points of superiority over his brother novelist: he has probably less belief in mere natural goodness, and more belief in the existence of Divine grace than Mr. Dickens; but as in 'Vanity Fair,' so, too, in some of his latest 'Roundabout Papers,' he seems to pride himself on detecting the slightest blemish, especially one of this kind, in reputations hitherto unstained. We had always thought that Dr. Johnson exhibited towards the great of this world a felicitous combination of self-respect with a free and generous deference. Witness, for the one side of the picture, his celebrated letter to Lord Chesterfield; for the other, his good-humoured badinage with the high-bred lady whom he called a dunce. But Mr. Thackeray has lately pronounced Johnson, as well as almost all the rest of mankind, to have been at heart a tuft-hunter. His great argument is that Dr. Johnson went out for a night's fun with Topham Beauclerk; and that he, the Editor of the *Cornhill Magazine*, believes that *probably* the Doctor would not have done as much, if he had been wakened up by Goldsmith. The actual facts are, it seems, to be as nothing in the presence of a pure hypothesis.

If we seem, however, to be subjecting our living English novelists to the test of too severe a standard, let us thankfully

¹ 'Perhaps the state
And royal splendour I affect, is deemed
A proof of pride,—yet they that these contemn
Know little of the springs that move mankind.
'Tis but a juvenile philosophy
That casts such things aside,
Which, be they in themselves or vile or precious,
Are means to govern.'—*Philip Van Artevelde*, part ii.

Admit that we adopt that standard, because their real merits are so high an order. Compared with a Guerazzi, or an Eugene Sue or Georges Sand, they are excellence itself. It is because the author of the 'Newcomes' has shown himself capable of such sympathy with all that is generous and even religious, that we complain of the re-appearance of his old faults of trying to detect, not 'the soul of goodness in things evil,' but continually the presence of evil in things good. But we must not suffer ourselves to go astray from our main subject into the general question of Mr. Thackeray's tone. So we here take leave of this very remarkable writer, for the present, with the beautiful poem of Miss Procter's, entitled 'The Dark Side;' a poem which we have never been able to avoid applying to the author of 'Vanity Fair.'

'Thou hast done well, perhaps,
To lift the bright disguise,
And lay the bitter truth
Before our shrinking eyes;
When evil crawls below
What seems so pure and fair,
Thine eyes are keen and true
To find the serpent there:
And yet—I turn away,
Thy task is not divine,
The evil angels look
On earth with eyes like thine.

'Thou hast done well, perhaps,
To show how closely wound
Dark threads of sin and self
With our best deeds are found;
How great and noble hearts,
Striving for lofty aims,
Have still some earthly cord
A meaner spirit claims:
And yet—although thy task
Is well and fairly done,
Methinks for such as thou
There is a holier one.

'Shadows there are who dwell
Among us, yet apart,
Deaf to the claim of God,
Or kindly human heart;
Voices of earth and heaven
Call, but they turn away,
And Love, through such black night,
Can see no hope of day:
And yet—our eyes are dim,
And thine are keener far;
Then gaze till thou canst see
The glimmer of some star.

'The black stream flows along,
 Whose waters we despise—
 Show us reflected there
 - Some fragment of the skies;
 'Neath tangled thorns and briars,
 (The task is fit for thee,)
 Seek for the hidden flowers
 We are too blind to see;
 Then will I thy great gift
 A crown and blessing call;
 Angels look thus on men,
 And God sees good in all!'¹

We turn to Mr. Trollope. Mr. Trollope is certainly one of the most genial of our writers. His social creed is not likely to be an ill-natured one. He does not, indeed, introduce among his grandees any representatives of its more gifted members, any persons at all corresponding to such men as the late Lord Ellesmere, or to Lords Derby, Rosse, Lindsay, Caernarvon, or the like; nor has he created (perhaps no other writer has) such a pair as Audley Egerton and Lord L'Estrange, in Sir E. B. Lytton's '*My Novel*.' But, on the whole, the author of '*Dr. Thorne*' (we name what we are inclined to think his most brilliant production) seems to have no very particular quarrel with the state of English society; and probably thinks that, even if the peerage were abolished to-morrow, people who were inclined to toady others would somehow manage to accomplish the process. No one probably has drawn more good-tempered portraits of the various classes, though perhaps the less ornamental members of each, but especially of the highest, are a little unduly prominent. But will his chapter in '*Dr. Thorne*,' headed '*What the world says about blood*,' stand the test of examination? Not for a moment; for on the writer's own showing, we scarcely know where to find a more complete specimen of illogical argument. The conclusion sought to be enforced is this, that where there is money, the question of birth is wholly disregarded. And the method of proof is, that the son and heir of the first family of commoners in a county—an earl's grandson by the mother's side to boot—may, without loss of caste, wed a young lady of humble and even questionable parentage, provided she has a large fortune. But surely this is to admit that the position of this newly-wedded couple requires blood on *one* side. Unless Mr. Trollope is prepared to show that a young pair, with the same wealth as Mr. and Mrs. Gresham, but no birth on *either* side, could hold the same position in Bassetshire (a conclusion entirely at variance with every picture of life that

¹ *Legends and Lyrics*. By Adelaide Anne Procter. First Series, p. 121. London: Bell and Daldy.

he has drawn), his case entirely falls to the ground. All that he *has* proved is a position that Mr. Dickens has elsewhere laid down, that ancient descent on one side, especially on the masculine side, is allowed to cover a very considerable defect upon the other. A doctrine this not unintelligible nor irrational in itself, either on moral or physiological grounds; although we are far from denying that Mr. Trollope has a perfect right to satirize, with keenness and justice, the immense difference made in such cases by the presence or absence of a wealthy dower.

We turn to Mr. Dickens. This popular writer has undoubtedly, both in 'Little Dorrit' and in other works, attacked with considerable severity, and even bitterness, the governing classes of Great Britain. But then it must be borne in mind that in 'Hard Times' he is fully as severe on millocrats, and in 'Martin Chuzzlewit,' on American democracy. Indeed we hardly know of any state of society or any government that he *has* praised, if we except the favourable allusions made in 'Little Dorrit' to the empire of Russia; a somewhat singular country for a liberal novelist to select as the object of his admiration.

Nor is this universal (or nearly universal) satire the only element to be taken into account in estimating the intensity of Mr. Dickens's attack upon aristocracy. 'Bleak House' is well worthy of consideration from the point of view we are now striving to occupy. Can it be denied that the assault upon the most obvious temptations of the upper classes in a land like ours is not wholly groundless? Those temptations we conceive to be two. Firstly, there is the difficulty—great to all of us, but greatest probably to the highly born—of realising the solemn truth that social superiority, like every other superiority of mere earthly texture, is for this life only. The danger of half unconsciously inbibing a contrary notion is pointed out in that striking passage where Sir Leicester Dedlock is represented as dimly fancying that the decease of members of his house is announced by the angel of death with becoming dignity to other departed lords and gentlemen. The second danger to this class we imagine to be a refined species of selfishness, a tendency to look upon government as an institution made not 'for the glory of God and the relief of man's estate,' but for the advantage of those who administer it. Dr. Arnold's indignation at *this sort* of conservatism, at the temper of mind which, after a hearty meal, expresses wonder why the hungry are discontented, is well known. Perhaps, however, as agreement between minds of decidedly opposite tendencies is always allowed to possess peculiar weight, some of our readers may be interested in seeing a similar view as expressed in a recent

work by Dr. Newman. Here is that writer's description of a Conservative:—

'It means a man who is at the top of the tree, and knows it, and means never to come down, whatever it may cost him to keep his place there. It means a man who upholds government, and society, and the existing state of things,—not because it exists,—not because it is good and desirable, because it is established, because it is a benefit to the population, because it is full of promise for the future,—but rather because he himself is well off in consequence of it, and because to take care of number one is his main political principle. It means a man who defends religion, not for religion's sake, but for the sake of its accidents and externals.'¹

An exact comment upon these words of Dr. Newman's may be seen in that chapter of 'Bleak House' which describes the party assembled at Chesney Wold; a brilliant assemblage represented as not destitute either of courage, refinement, education, or wit; but in conjunction with all these endowments, a pervading sentiment that government meant the possession of office by one great family with its dependents, to be alternately exchanged into the hands of one or two rival leading politicians with *their* dependents.

And yet those who would speak of the social creed promulgated by Mr. Dickens as bearing entirely in one direction, and that the democratic, may well pause in the presence of some of his portraits. Not only do the *nouveaux riches* come in for their share of his lash,—as, for instance, the people who hire Ruth Pinch as a governess, in 'Martin Chuzzlewit,'—but the effect of the representation of the two classes in 'Bleak House' is something marvellous. It may be that in sitting down to compose his work, Mr. Dickens intended to engage our sympathies rather on the side of the self-made man, the iron-master, than on that of the country gentleman of ancient heritage. Yet whether from some innate fairness, from the grace which Cassandra sung of as clinging to the homes of such masters,² or from the insensible needs of his own composition, we will venture to say that, in the case of ninety-nine readers out of every hundred, the result is entirely opposite. The vigour and independence of the iron-master, however justly deserving of respect, however valuable as an element in the mental and material progress of the country, yet fails to touch the heart. But the image of Sir Leicester, in whom the might of a deep affection triumphs over all haughtiness, over all reasonable indignation at the blot upon his escutcheon, and the sad secret that has been withheld, takes captive the imagination, and dims all other impressions. We are almost reminded of the solemn forgiveness bestowed on that soul that loved much; and it remains a problem unsolved,

¹ The Office and Work of Universities, p. 198.

² δοναιοπλοῦτων δεσποτῶν πολλὰ γάροι.—Æsch. Agamemnon.

whether such pathos could easily be thrown around the fate of one who did not belong to one of the two extremes of society.

For it must, we think, be confessed that the great middle class—and we have said that we write as belonging to it—does not (despite splendid and brilliant exceptions) produce a per centage proportionate to its numbers in the annals of heroism, genius, or sanctity. The very fact that it enjoys much happiness and comfort may be against it. We do not, indeed, wish to forget the noble and munificent institutions of various dates, that owe their existence to the profuse expenditure of money gained in commercial pursuits;—where would be the College of S. Peter's, Radley, the Church of All Saints, Margaret Street, or that near Halifax, without such munificence? But the striking and romantic, the poetry of life, seems somehow to hover rather around the humbly and the highly born than those between: whose virtues, most admirable in themselves, and as necessary as any for the good governance of society, are apt to be of a solid rather than a showy character. It is not easy, for example, to imagine a finer specimen of his class than the late Joshua Watson, 'the benefactor of all his brethren.' Yet we can easily imagine a novelist of the very best intentions finding it much more easy to introduce into a story a person of far inferior character. And this may, perhaps, be one palliation of the charge brought against Sir E. B. Lytton, namely, that he displays sympathy with the upper and lower classes, rather than with the middle class. For we see even in Mr. Dickens, that he wins our regret more perhaps for little Nell and Sir Leicester than for any intermediate personages; and it is therefore no wonder that in 'My Novel,' our interest should in like manner be evoked on behalf of Riccabocca and the English grandees on one side, or the rise of the (seemingly) humbly born Leonard Fairfield on the other, rather than on behalf of any personage of intermediate condition. At the same time we fully admit that there does exist a real temptation in the minds of all of us to show favour to those who are decidedly below us, rather than to those who are only a degree or two inferior; a topic well handled in Mr. Henry Taylor's excellent essay on 'Humility and Independence.'¹

We have to apologise to our readers for the brief and fragmentary character of these scattered hints. It must be remembered that we only pretend to illustrate a single feature in the teaching of our novelists. This necessarily excludes the consideration of some of the most eminent. We see, for example, nothing objectionable in the social creed of the writer who employs the *pseudonym* of George Eliot; but we feel the full

¹ 'Notes on Life,' by Henry Taylor.

force of the singularly beautiful paper in a recent number of *Macmillan's Magazine*, which points out the dangerous tendency, in a religious aspect, of the teaching contained in the 'Mill on the Floss.' In like manner, we have made but slight allusion to the meritorious features of Mr. Thackeray's stories, such as 'Pendennis,' or the 'Newcomes;' and to that charm of *bonhomie* in Mr. Dickens, which makes many even of those who do not in anywise commit themselves to his views, whether social or political, admit that they seldom lay down his works without feeling themselves better disposed towards their fellow-creatures.

Similarly, in noticing the last of the authors to whom we shall refer, we shall touch upon one topic only, and that a topic which involves difference between ourselves and him. But let us not, on that account, be supposed to be blind to the many excellencies of the author of 'Tom Brown.' Declining, as we do, to enrol ourselves among the disciples of his school of thought, either in religion or in politics, we are yet deeply conscious of the debt that we owe to him for the production of works so healthy, manly, and sincerely pious; works, of which the dangers, if any, must be considered as merged and lost amidst the abundance of good that they have already done and are yet to do.¹

But as we are unable to adopt more than a portion of his social creed, it becomes necessary to make a few general statements, in order that the nature of our agreement and of our divergence may become the more apparent.

We have already admitted, we trust in no grudging terms, that the existence of high social position does carry with it its own peculiar temptations, both to its possessors and to those who in any way come across their path. These admissions we repeat; but it seems to us best to do so in the words of one who cannot be suspected of a prejudice against ancestral claims, the heir to one of the oldest (perhaps the premier) of the earldoms of Scotland. Thus speaks the author of the 'Lives of the Lindsays,' to the cousins for whom he compiled his admirable family history:—

'Be grateful, then, for your descent from religious, as well as from noble ancestors; it is your duty to be so, and this is the only worthy tribute you can now pay to their ashes. Yet, at the same time, be most jealously on your

¹ *En passant*, we should like to enter a protest against the notion that all young men, who take part in manly exercises, must necessarily, if religious, be more or less disciples of Mr. Kingsley. The writer was a member of his College racing crew for four seasons (a crew that in the last of those seasons was head of the river), and his experience convinces him that such a notion is a mistaken one. He is also inclined to think that Tom Brown's description of the Oxford of that day is in some respects tinted with too sombre shades of colour; but it must be owned that on this point it is very difficult to form a correct judgment.

guard lest this lawful satisfaction degenerate into arrogance, or a fancied superiority over those nobles of God's creation, who, endowed in other respects with every exalted quality, cannot point to a long line of ancestry. Pride is of all sins the most hateful in the sight of God; and, of the proud, who is so mean, who so despicable as he that values himself on the merits of others?—And were they all so meritorious, these boasted ancestors? were they all Christians?—Remember, remember—if some of them have deserved praise, others have equally merited censure,—if there have been “stainless knights,” never yet was there a stainless family since Adam's fall. “Where then is boasting?” For we would not, I hope, glory in iniquity.

“Only the actions of the just

Smell sweet and blossom in the dust.”

And, after all, what little reason has Europe to plume herself on ancestral antiquity! Not one of our most venerable pedigrees can vie with that of a Rajpoot of India, or a Rechabite of the desert: nor is it but to our Christian birth that we owe a temporary superiority to the “dispersed of Judah” and the “outcasts of Israel,” whose fathers bent before the Ark of the Covenant when ours were nameless idolaters.²

But respect for birth, in itself, we have learnt to look upon (with one of our best historians, the late Sir Francis Palgrave) as simply a fact in human nature. The author of ‘Tom Brown,’ and Mr. Thackeray seem to imagine that such respect, and the desire for personal honours and decorations, would die out with the extinction of an hereditary peerage. History and experience teach a very different lesson. Mr. Grote can tell us, in that part of his History which treats of Alcibiades, how great was the influence of birth in Athens. Dr. Arnold, in his first and second volumes of the ‘History of Rome,’ proves its excessive power in that republic, and, if he was severe on the Roman aristocracy at first, in the posthumous volume he does full justice to the true nobleness that it displayed in the contest against Hannibal. For a proof of the continuous, possibly exaggerated, influence of such feeling under the Empire, we have only to turn to the famous satire of Juvenal. In the only democratic country of any size in Europe, we mean Switzerland, birth is allowed a *very* considerable social influence, and in some places, as Bern, no inconsiderable political sway. The cantons of that federation contain some families which may fairly take rank among the oldest in Europe, and we can answer for the great consideration they enjoy. As regards Americans, the excitement caused by the visit of the Prince of Wales showed their high appreciation of the poetry that lies in titles that connect the past with the present. Nor is it easy to study American books of fiction and of travel with any attention, nor to inquire of the most sober travellers, without arriving at the conviction that the satire of ‘Martin Chuzzlewit,’ on this head, is scarcely, if at all exaggerated.¹ And if any would imagine

¹ The following is a specimen that might easily be matched, of American regard for title, as described by an American:—

‘But a few days before the fancy ball, a new fly was cast into the fashionable

that hereditary distinctions are the sole and sufficient cause of the aristocratic bias of British officers, let him read the following account, from an evidently well-informed writer, of the tone of the officers at the United States Military Academy at West Point. 'Though generally gentlemanly and considerate towards their subordinates, the aristocratic proclivities of these officers have estranged the affections of the soldiery. Thus custom, if not regulation, enjoins a slavish mode of addressing the officers in the *third* person, altogether foreign to the genius of our common language; and an infringement of this formula is always noticed by a glance of stern displeasure. Thus also such is their punctiliousness as to the due recognition of their rank, that even when in *mufti*, and therefore, according to military etiquette, not entitled thereto, a salute is frequently exacted from the guards. Yet the prevalent tone of feeling is neither chivalrous nor manly, for many instances might be cited of officers who unscrupulously availed themselves of political influence to remain absent from their corps during the entire Mexican war; a procedure susceptible of the worst construction, but which was unnoticed by their comrades otherwise than by a covert sarcasm.'¹ This description looks like an exaggeration of the English system without its attendant benefits.

We must add that regard to birth flourishes amidst dissimilarities of race and creed. The Hindoos, who revolted against us, make much of ancient descent in their gentry. Ireland is at variance with England to a great extent, both in creed and blood: yet Ireland exhibits (*teste* Mr. Thackeray's Note-Book)

current that quite eclipsed anything that had appeared before. An English earl, fresh from the Continent, came up to Saratoga one day in a train from New York, and would be present at the fancy ball.

'Here was new cause for strife between the Nashes and the Sykeses, which of these ladies should secure the nobleman for the fancy ball. True, the earl was very young, awkward as the schoolboy he was, and really looked more like a juvenile horse-jockey than a civilized gentleman. But he was an *earl*; would assuredly have a seat in the House of Lords if ever he became old enough; besides, he had already lost thirty thousand dollars at the gambling table, and bore it like a prince.

'Here was an object worth contending for. What American lady would be immortalised by leaning upon the arm of an earl, as she entered the assembly room? No minor claims could be put in here. The earl undoubtedly belonged to Mrs. Nash or Mrs. Sykes—which should it be? This was the question that agitated all fashionable life at the Springs to its centre. Partisans were brought into active operation. Private ambassadors went and came from the gambling saloons to the drawing-rooms, looking more portentous than any messenger ever sent from the allied powers to the Czar.

'The innocent young lord who had escaped from his Tutor for a lark at the Springs, was terribly embarrassed by so many attentions.'—*Fashion and Famine, or Contrasts in Society*, p. 152. By Mrs. Ann Stephens. (Eng. Edit.) Bentley, 1854.

¹ 'Once a Week,' for June 22, 1861 (page 710). Art. 'America Militant.'

this same characteristic in an intensified form. And indeed, as has been again and again remarked, those who profess a total indifference to birth ought, if consistent, to welcome to their homes the son of a man who has suffered the extreme penalty of the law, as willingly as the son of the most estimable personage. Now so far is such a notion from commending itself to the popular view, that the children of a malefactor have been known to change their names as a necessary condition of peace and success in life; and a *gène* has been thrown over a tea-table by a mere idle jest which created an utterly false suspicion that the nephew of a murderer was one of the guests. Physiologists (such as Mr. Lewes and the brilliant author of 'Elsie Venner') agree with historians and biographers in believing in the characteristics of particular families as well as races, and scout Mr. Buckle's absurd attempt to ignore the influence of parentage. It might diminish the extreme sensitiveness of Mr. Hughes on this subject if he could once bring himself to regard the temptation, against which he so rightly warns us in its excess, as one that is common to man, and capable, like other temptations, of being turned to good. Let it be added that if the peerage were abolished to-morrow, family names would still remain. Nothing, it has been justly remarked, is more aristocratic than a name: and though the French Convention did with stern consistency meditate the putting down of names, yet few will be found, we imagine, either in the old world or the new, to suggest that we should all adopt the name of Brown.

The author of 'Tom Brown' would probably argue thus:—A given personage, A. B., may be found, who shall be clever, well informed, munificent, equitable, and even religious; but there is a dead fly in the sweet ointment; all is marred by an over-weening sense of his rank. Such a case is, no doubt, perfectly possible. But is it not equally true that the temptations of personal beauty, of great wealth, or brilliant talents may stand in precisely the same relation to the general character of other men? We believe that it is impossible to rid the world of any one of these temptations. At certain periods, indeed, the cry is raised that blood is henceforth to be nothing. But these cries are very old. Pindar and Theognis regret the ascendancy being gained by wealth over birth. Their regrets were surely premature. Paris, at the close of the last century, sends all aristocrats to the guillotine; and in 1861 we find the *Times* correspondent declaring that for some years past the influence of the Faubourg S. Germain has been steadily increasing, and is at the present moment very great.

In the case of the other temptations above named, it is readily seen that they may form part of the character, and be the main-

spring of much of its good as well as of something of its faultiness. Will any impartial observer deny that this holds good of the influence of birth both in individuals and in society at large? Hardly, we think, so candid a witness as 'Tom Brown.'

It is common for these writers against the pretensions of birth to assure us that they have never winced under the scorn of the *ingenuè nati*, nor been in anywise fascinated by its attentions. It is worthy of the freshness and honesty of Mr. Hughes's tales that his heroes pretend nothing of the kind. They admit how the *nonchalance* of an aristocrat wounded their self-love; how the courtesy of a good specimen of the order delighted them. These admissions are large; they seem to us to grant the existence of a special refinement in the class referred to—a refinement capable, no doubt, of great abuse, but almost, if not entirely, unattainable in a country which should destroy the institution of aristocracy. For, as has been well said, to this institution 'we look for preserving among us those fine social characteristics which are generated by high cultivation acting 'on manly activity—characteristics which are crushed and beaten 'down in a democracy, and feebly luxuriate under a despotism.'¹ If some of our novelists unduly honour the institution, it does not follow that their opponents in the realm of fiction are not equally extreme in their depreciation.

We must not omit to observe that Mr. Hughes, among his many merits, warns us equally against worship of wealth; and is as strong as his teacher, Dr. Arnold, against supposing that majorities are a safe guide in matters of principle. We must part with him by making a brief comment on the following passage from 'Tom Brown's School-Days':—

'I never came across but two of you [Lords], who could value a man wholly and solely for what was in him; who thought themselves verily and indeed of the same flesh and blood as John Jones the attorney's clerk, and Bill Smith the costermonger, and could act as if they thought so.'—Chap. ii.

Granting, as we have granted, that the latter of the two temptations here specified, is *intensified* in the case of the nobles of the land; we are totally unable to see that it is in any way peculiar to them. We believe that in the case of the humblest person who keeps a servant, it requires an act of faith to realise thoroughly the truth, that if by Divine mercy both are hereafter among the redeemed, that servant may occupy by an unspeakable degree the higher place in heaven. And as for the first fault, the tendency not to value men for their proper worth, being thought a *special* characteristic of the aristocracy: the notion is to us truly astonishing; nor do we understand how it could have

¹ *Guardian* Newspaper, for October 15, 1856. Art. 'Barrack Manners.'

entered into the head of any one who was not under the dominion of a strong and deeply-seated prejudice. To 'value a man *wholly and solely* for what is in him,' has always seemed to us one of the greatest and rarest triumphs of matured Christian principle that we can conceive : and if our author is acquainted with two nobles who had attained to this most lofty standard, his intercourse with peers ought to be very large, not to make this a considerable per-centage. To say nothing of the fact that the phrase admits of some ambiguity : for if 'what was in him,' includes intellectual gifts, it must be remembered that these are in themselves no more meritorious than the gifts of birth, or beauty, or strength ; and that though the idolatry of rank is bad, yet the idolatry of genius is not good.

If any of our readers are desirous of pursuing these trains of thought, they may find aid in the works we have quoted, and in Lord Bacon's Essays. But above all let them study the fourth of Dr. Mill's invaluable Sermons on the Temptation : a mass of solid gold which might be beaten out into a sheet of vast extent.

In the old fable the fox had many wiles and yet was caught ; the cat knew but one, but that one insured her safety. Our novelists give us many plans for defence against these social snares. We know but of one, the abiding and ever deepening sense that all these earthly distinctions, beauty, birth, wealth, genius, are but things of this perishing world, and have no place in the world to come. In really believing this, and in gaining grace to act upon our belief, lies surely the great one safeguard of our frail, but redeemed, humanity.

- ART. IX.—1. *Ecclesiastical Gazette* (Monthly). Cox.
 2. *Colonial Church Chronicle* (Monthly). Rivingtons.
 3. *Church Journal* (Weekly). New York.
 4. *The Sword of the Lord*. A Sermon preached at Newark, New Jersey, September 26, 1861. By J. E. STEARNS, A.M.

It is two years since we gave a sketch of the growth and actual attitude of the Church cause and the Church party. In the interval which has elapsed, various Church questions have, more or less, shifted their ground, so it will not be unprofitable to review their present condition under the additional light of recent events. At that time the S. George's-in-the-East scandal was at its height, and the theatre-preachings had not arisen to stimulate the sated palate of religious emotionists; while 'Essays and Reviews' were still unpublished and unanticipated. The Convocation of York was not yet a deliberative body, and those frequent conglomerate meetings of clergy and laity combining the two sides of Church politics—never acknowledged, but always felt within them—which had grown out of the revival of regular synods and the decay of Church Unions, were new to their equally useful and diplomatic mission. Lord Ebury's raid on the Prayer-Book had not yet got into straits between the solid opposition of the ten thousand clergy and the hardly less damaging burlesque of his own offspring, on his own showing, yawning over the Good-Friday Collects. The House of Commons had not yet acted out that immortal series of Wednesdays which, in scattering right and left the various anti-Church projects of many liberal members, inflicted a grave repulse on the marriage-law amendment intrigue, snubbed the 'liberation' aggression on churchyards and endowed schools extinguished Mr. Locke King's attempts to introduce universal disorder, and placed the church-rate controversy in a position which has imposed its equitable compromise as a duty upon Churchmen, and branded the rejection by Dissenters of any fair proposition as an anti-social offence. The Education Commissioners' verdict was still an object of anxious speculation; and the new education minute had not yet exploded like a shell in the middle of our quiet village schools.

The chief vicissitudes in secular affairs which have checkered these twenty-four months, have been the union of Italy, minus Rome and Venice, under one sovereign, with constitutional institutions; in England, the formal abandonment by politicians of simulated zeal for parliamentary reform as an engine of political

offence and defence, and the great National Loss; in France, commercial experiments and financial dangers; in America, the bursting of the bubble of democracy—the foundering in the deep seas, by its own unwieldiness, of that tall menacing galleon which had so long hovered round the shores of the Old World.

If we are asked whether we think the account sums up with profit or loss to the Church, we have no hesitation in replying, with profit. Indeed, of all the items of the balance-sheet which we have recapitulated, the only one which, upon the face of it, seems detrimental, is that of ‘Essays and Reviews.’ We grant to the fullest the dangerous character of that pernicious volume; we recognise to the utmost the signal run which it has had among sensation readers, cumulating in its reprint in the *feuilletons* of Australian newspapers; but we reckon on the other side, the valuable shock which it has given to that large class of floating respectability, which nothing but such a revelation of ulterior intentions would have strung up to a more manly confession of a faith which was always implicit with them. Estimating at its right weight the frothiness of that popularity which the book has yet attained, we believe that all its success will, in the long run—and not a very long one either—prove most detrimental to that party, self-named of progress, who thought to set up their Koran in the prosy lucubrations of the ‘Seven Champions of un-Christendom.’ Two years ago, speaking of the Broad Church (so-called) party, we divided it into two classes, as follows:—

‘The High Church cause combines the different sections of its followers in the belief of an apostolic ministry and sacramental grace. Low Churchmen have their Shibboleths. But the definition of a Broad Churchman as such is merely the negative one, that he does not choose to be called either High or Low. There are persons using the name who consider “Church” merely as an expletive, and in whose eyes “Broad” is pretty well synonymous with indistinct and undefined, “Christians unattached,” in short, who have not openly left the Establishment. But it is most unjust to impute this character to Broad Churchmen as a class, for we are convinced that under that vocable are included many men really zealous for the Church cause, and for the *bene esse* of the actual Prayer-Book Church, but to whom the name and idea of party, in connexion with religious affairs, is peculiarly offensive, and who, accordingly, take refuge in an appellation which they consider has come into existence as a protest against the High and the Low Church parties.’

We appeal to the divergence of thought evolved in the authorship on one side, and reception on the other, of ‘Essays and Reviews’ in proof of the justness of our antecedent estimate. As we have said so much on this subject, which has now travelled out of the stage of controversy into that of a judicial decision, our silence on the subject just now will not be misconstrued.

The general result of the two years of Church progress within which we confine our present investigation, has been to

confirm that tendency towards conservative consolidation, of which, in our former article, we indicated the beginnings. Bright aspirations of universal peace, Catholic consent really in operation, dissent self-immolated, prelates leading senates, and adjudicating from the heights of the world's tribunals, have faded into the evening twilight. A much humbler, more prosaic line of duty has been opened out, if not to our ambition, at least to our persistent exertions. Keeping things well at home has been acknowledged as an aim not unworthy even of unspotted holiness, high intellect, and practical indefatigability. There are those who will attack this open acceptance of a more confined sphere of activity, this abdication of a lively hope of ever beholding in the flesh any extraordinary manifestation of the long prayed-for *salutare Israel* in our generation, as a proof of blunted faith, debased motives of action, or even of incipient worldliness. We are prepared for the imputations, which we can only meet by an appeal to the providential order of the world's course, as a standing protest against the lawfulness of expecting extraordinary manifestations; and as a proof that those who do their duty most straightforwardly under ordinary circumstances are the best prepared to grapple effectively with unexpected contingencies. A few years ago we seemed to be playing double or quits; now the preservation of the Church being assured, we may more confidently exert ourselves in strengthening its bulwarks. If there is no great hope of any abnormal amelioration of the Church of England in our time, so there is no great fear of any hopeless deterioration. We are neither likely to hear the call to assemble in universal council, nor yet the warning voice to go hence and abandon our desecrated altars. The battle of Church life is incessant, and it covers a wide field, and so our pickets must be both numerous and vigilant. We are not for the moment discussing the accidents of the ceaseless conflict with the visible powers of evil; we are merely look to those exertions which are destined to maintain the *bene esse* of the existing English Church, as a movement towards the most hopeful evangelization of our masses. The sustentation of a learned and well-trained, and therefore influential clergy, is not the least difficult or least needful of these endeavours. The necessity of learning and of training is now theoretically acknowledged. R. H. Froude's crude sally in favour of a 'snob clergy' is no longer appealed to as a prophetic utterance. But the broad fact remains behind, that the heedless subdivision of parishes, and the scant endowment of district churches, has lowered the standard of requirements for the Christian ministry, and rendered reconstructive reformation

more difficult than it would have been, had the problem of missionary development in populous places been put before the Church, with the enlarged lights of its actual experience. We place this peril in the front, because we esteem it the most dangerous, because insidious, foe of the Church. It is very closely allied to that delusion of the day, which confounds scenic self-abasement with self-denying Christian humility; which says that Apostles are commissioned to serve tables, and applauds the histrionic enthusiasm which would abandon the study or the cathedral, to harangue cadgers from the steps of an omnibus, as though this were the beginning and end of the Church's work. Theatre preaching is, after all, but the abuse of this way of thinking, and as its abuse, it has its utility in startling worthy persons, who might otherwise have continued bound in the entanglements of the specious delusion.

Apart from this danger, the Church of England is, just now, as far as we can judge, in that condition of an arrested chronic change, which promises permanence, and renders amelioration possible. Recent appointments to the episcopate, made by the *ci-devant* 'man of God,' indicate the tardily-attained conviction that the function of the Church is not to ape the conventicle; for certainly Wigram, Philpott, and Thomson, are not names which we connect with platform clap-trap. The appointment of Dean Ellicott is also a recognition of the right functions of a cathedral. To be sure, the throne of S. Cuthbert, Cosin, and Butler, has just been mounted by a prelate, who alone among the Episcopate has pronounced himself favourable to an alteration of the Prayer-Book. But it remains to be seen whether this ill-judged charge of Bishop Baring, at Gloucester, is to be accepted as a policy for the future, or the laboured renunciation of an impossible theory. The anti-Prayer-Book agitation may still simmer on, but in the meanwhile its discomfiture is safe so long as its advocacy continues to be the apanage of the amiable but not judicious peer who stands identified with that hopeless cause. The world's politics have grown too serious for people to run gratuitously into any such entanglement of minute disputations as a Prayer-Book Reform Bill, or Commission of Revision, would infallibly produce, and Lord Ebury is too compromised to have any great prospect of persuading any influential body to listen to his alternative schemes of petty disturbance. In the meanwhile, the real inconvenience which he blunderingly strove to rectify, is reforming itself, in the ever increasing, and now officially permitted system of dividing services, and of having separate litanies and communions.

Of course a necessary accident of this settling down of Church

difficulties is the apparent blurring of the sharp lines of Church party warfare. A Church conservative reaction as much implies that the zeal of ardent Church ameliorators is modified, as that the indefatigability of Church pseudo-reformers is restrained. This condition of things has undoubtedly its disappointing and disappointed side. It involves an acquiescence in a medium level of general moderation which would have seemed intolerable to the ardent spirits of fifteen years ago. But it equally implies what those ardent, because more youthful Churchmen, did not sufficiently appreciate—the superior advantages of a wide area of modified success over a steep and desperately defended vantage ground of limited area. The Church movement at one moment ran the risk of being an ‘ism,’ and being guided by ‘ites.’ It has escaped this danger, and it may now confidently, in spite of multiplying Peel districts, expect to pass on the English Church, to a coming generation, as if not all, or by a great deal all, that the most moderate yet steadfast Churchman might wish it to be, at all events, a national institution, standing on a higher general level, doctrinal, practical, and national, than it did in our fathers’ and grandfathers’ days; appealing to nobler natures; more generally and more generously beloved and supported. It will be our children’s and our children’s children’s office to use the opportunity which we bequeath to them to advance their inheritance to some still higher and more secured position.

In our former article, we dwelt at considerable length upon the rise, decay, and downfall, of that system of Church representation—excellently contrived, as we maintain, for a very useful object—the Church Unions; voluntary and elastic bodies, recruited exclusively and avowedly out of the High Church ranks, and intended to sustain not only the Church establishment, but the genuine doctrines of the Church. We may assume that these Unions died out because they had accomplished a successful work. This work was the preservation, through a very anxious period, of that spirit of genuine Churchmanship which has become the habitual nature of so many persons of various stations and differing accomplishments, to which, under Providence, we owe our preservation from calamities which might otherwise have overwhelmed the English Church. We are now, we repeat, living in quieter times. Points that we used to fight about, with a half-unconscious pride in their partizan character, are now the rule of action of persons then most strongly antagonistic to us. In those days, for example, the advocacy of free Churches rested upon a resolute minority; now the apologist for pews has to excuse his own perversity or daring. The use of occasional litanies at

unusual periods, and still more of the holy Communion, as sanctifying occasional events, would have been remarked upon as a badge of extreme partizanship. It is now accepted on all sides as a seemly and wholesome thing. Journals to which we used to look with scared anxiety for the attacks which they made upon our exertions, are now half trusted as friends, half listened to as candid monitors.

We do not impute this change of feeling formally to the Church Unions—bodies of a defensive and not a legislative or missionary character. But we have a right of appeal to it as alike giving grounds for asserting that Church Unions have been very useful, and for explaining why they have now fallen into neglect. In their place has grown up a series of organizations, composed on different principles, and termed generally Church Defence Societies. The immediate cause of their rapid success was the notoriety which the blundering effrontery of some of their own leaders gave to a wide conspiracy against the Church in its political and proprietary aspects, under the specious appellation of the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Control and Patronage—more compendiously entitled the Liberation Society. Churchmen were fairly frightened and disgusted by the insolence of this association, and began to form Church Defence Societies, on the principle of uniting Churchmen of all shades of opinion for all such objects as they could combine in promoting, and particularly in antagonism to the assaults of the Liberation Society. The central body which undertakes to control the action of the local societies is that Church Institution of London, to whose first beginnings we alluded in our former article. We need not now recapitulate how this Institution was moulded out of Mr. Hoare's system of lay consultees, or explain its somewhat complex organization, by which an exclusively lay society in town acts as at once the mouthpiece and the adviser of clergy all over the country. It has certainly made its influence directly felt, and it has indirectly screwed up the clergy to better views of combined action, and more appreciation of systematic co-operation.

The congress of Rural Deans, assembled in London last spring under its auspices, was an evidence of the sort of influence which the Institution was able to bring to bear upon the country. The office of those who composed that meeting gave it a kind of synodical character; and the persons who were present at it were sufficiently pleased with their day's work to make it probable that the experiment would be repeated. If this were done, the often desiderated infusion of a larger proportion of the parochial clergy into the Church's synodical action would be some-

what irregularly, but still practically effected. Convocation could not fail to attach much weight to the judgment of such a body as a congress of the Rural Deans of England, and that congress would no doubt assemble in concert with the sessions of the constitutional synod. The influence of the Church Institution has, of course, its concomitant disadvantages, as it can only be worked at the expense of a perpetual compromise within the Society's own Committee-room, where many questions of vital interest, in various ways, to different members of the body, are never allowed to be broached. Yet this very compromise has its good side, in tending to bring together persons who, but for such an institution, would have gone on brooding over and exaggerating their points of difference, while now they are driven to seek joint action upon those matters in which they agree, and can co-operate together.

It is somewhat curious that the particular question—to which more than any other the Church institution owes its existence, should be the one on which it has to confine itself to generalities, and to repeated condemnations of Sir J. Trelawny's particular Bill. To be sure, at the recent congress of Church Defence Societies, holden at Cambridge, the same policy was adopted. The reason is obvious, namely, that there is unfortunately a division of opinion among Churchmen as to the best method of taking advantage of that remarkable turn of fortune which has converted the majority of seventy-four for the total abolition of Church-rates, into the Speaker's casting-vote against it. There on one side is a considerable body whom it is, perhaps, rather unfair to describe as the no-surrender men, for they are, most of them, willing to surrender all the constitutional safeguards, which place it in the power of a majority to defeat a rate, but who are wholly unwilling to offer any relief to the conscientious objector. The policy, generally speaking, of this section, is to assimilate the levying of the rate to that of the poor-rate, to emancipate districts from the control and Church taxation of the mother Church, and to allow the vestry itself, at its good pleasure, to excuse or else insist on payment from each objector. Another, and we should hope a larger party agrees with this one in the emancipation of districts and in the improvement of the method of levying, but offers in return the *quid pro quo* of excusing those from payment who object to the rate—some plans insisting on, and others dispensing with the assurance on the part of the objector that his scruples are conscientious or that he is a Dissenter. In compensation, they insist that the man who will not pay shall not have a seat at the Church vestry, but that its concerns be managed by *bond fide*

Churchmen, instead of its being the bull-ring where brawling Nonconformists are to bait the Church and its minister. A third party has happily died away, which attempted to compromise the question by abandoning that portion of the rate which related to worship expenses, and only retaining a fabric rate. The evils of this proposal were patent. If the Dissenter were expected to pay the rate cheerfully, because his rate was not meant to pay for surplice or Prayer-Book, but only for walls and roof, he would, if he were a logical man, be very willing to accept the proposition, and rejoin: 'Very well, here is my rate, now give me my share of the walls and roof. You demand the payment from me, because you tell me these churches are national edifices, devoted to the worship of the Almighty by the whole people. I am one of the people; the congregation with which I worship belongs to the nation; make it possible for us conscientiously to worship God, according to the form in which we can join, within that building.' This line of argument would have been perfectly unanswerable when addressed to persons who had purposely converted the Church-rate into a fabric-rate for the sake of netting the Dissenters' quota. There was the example also of the manner in which the Government had usurped the fabrics of the Churches in many continental States, to point a moral against a usurpation, which would have been precisely similar in character, though perpetrated by Demus, and not Tyrannus. Still, some people of great intelligence have been found to urge the scheme, but within the last year circumstances seem to have really startled them, and to have contributed to silence a proposition which would better never have been uttered. The indefensible and uncanonical concession of the Bishop of Calcutta, in permitting to Presbyterian ministers the joint occupation of Churches within his diocese, startled and shocked good Churchmen; and Sir Morton Peto, with that blundering audacity which the Liberation Society mistakes for bold policy, endeavoured to get in the point of the wedge with his Nonconformists' Burials Bill, and only succeeded in pinching his own fingers. He has thus fairly put Churchmen on their guard, and we shall be greatly surprised if any proposition tending towards the system of omnibus Churches can again win any favour in their eyes.

The first authoritative proclamation of the exemption policy synchronised remarkably with the turn of the tide in favour of the retention of the ancient custom of Church-rates, for it was contained in the report of that committee of the Duke of Marlborough, which sat during the sessions of 1859 and 1860, and which elicited those answers of Dr. Foster and Mr. Morley, out of which the detection of the Liberation Society

grew. Bills embodying its principles have been presented to the two Houses by the Duke of Marlborough himself, Mr. Hubbard and Mr. Cross, and it is certainly now the solution which offers the most reasonable hope of an enduring compromise to the minds of statesmen who wish well to the Church. Mr. Disraeli, it will not be forgotten, when he came out at the close of 1860 in the character of defender of the faith, embraced the no-surrender doctrine in its most extreme aspect. A year later, in his parallel speech, he dropped all allusion to it, and only denounced total abolition. The acceptance of it would be the most politic method by which Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell could mend that stupendous error of judgment, which led them at one bound to change from no surrender to total abolition at the instant of a turn of tide in favour of Church-rates; and we should hardly think that ministers, such as the Duke of Newcastle (whose antecedent reputation of good Churchmanship made his similar escapade less pardonable) and Sir George Lewis, would object to the same door of escape, now that recent events have given a fresh lease to the present administration. If they want a hint to guide them as to the irresistible stress of the popular side, they may find it in the significant fact that the Whig candidates for Finsbury and Nottingham, one of them a Cabinet Minister's heir, owe their ignominious defeat to the ostentatious and damaging patronage of the acknowledged champion of the Liberation Society who defeated Sir Morton Peto. Anyhow, it is generally acknowledged that any Church-rate settlement must proceed from the Government of the day, and the impression is every day being strengthened that the Church will go on putting itself more and more in the right, and Dissenters more and more in the wrong, if the former continues to offer a reasonable compromise, involving personal exemption, and Nonconformity persists in rejecting it. The detail of what dissent calls 'ticketing,' is one which, in condescension to their crotchettiness, must be carefully considered, especially since that strange outburst of simulated scrupulosity which led them to defeat the religious census of last year, and thereby reduced Mr. Mann's ponderous volume of religious statistics, with which we have for some seven years been pelted, into waste paper. If the result of the whole transaction would be to lay the whole Church question at rest with a tacit exemption of those who would not pay, there would be little cause for regret except on one ground, that some legislation is needed for district churches, and that if any legislation at all takes place it might as well be final. One thing is certain, that the party which endeavours to establish the perpetual liability of Dissenters

to pay on the score that a national Church implies the Church of every body, in defiance of the whole current of legislation since 1688, must, to be consistent, land us in principles which are wholly inconsistent with belief in the Church as a Divine inspiration independent of the civil polity within which it is situated.

The signal check given to the agitation for legalizing marriages which Christianity calls incestuous, must not be passed over, nor must it be forgotten. The cause so rebuffed is a very damaged cause, but those whose selfishness egged it on are still living and still suffering for their own misdeeds. It would be deep ignorance of human nature not to be prepared for attempts on their part to regain their lost ground, if they saw the opportunity, through the negligence of the defenders of the marriage law.

The refitting and reopening of Lichfield Cathedral, which took place at the close of October, is an event which calls for our grateful commemoration. It is not so much on account of the material beauty of the pile itself and of the fittings which Mr. Scott has created, that we dwell upon this event as one of great importance. For years past cathedrals have been on their trial. They have been overhauled and mutilated, and they seemed ready to perish. How then is it that the reopening of a cathedral in a small midland town presented the unwonted spectacle of an earnest crowd of reverential worshippers, which dispassionate reckoners estimated at five or six thousand? How came the thousand singers and hundreds of communicants? These circumstances point to a great change in public feeling. They do so the more because the rehabilitation of Lichfield cathedral is but one among many instances. Llandaff cathedral had also been reopened very few weeks before. Peterborough is being restored and popularized, and every one knows what is being done at S. Paul's. Dean Peacock's work at Ely is matter almost of history. Dean Goode is stirring up Yorkshire to a restoration of Ripon Cathedral. Choir gatherings have become a national institution—in one word, cathedral bodies have met the people half way, and the people accept their advances. We do not yet see more than the first glimmerings of what may come from this all-important event. Even in regard to external worship, the spectacle of Lichfield cathedral, so sumptuously and so correctly fitted, is a standing contradiction to the assertions of those who would degrade our churches to the type of the conventicle, on the pretext that dignified ritual is contrary to English feelings. How cathedral restoration is to grow into cathedral extension, is too wide a topic for this place.

The crowded meetings which have taken place in London under the presidency of Lord Brougham, and at Oxford under that of the Vice Chancellor, in favour of Mr. Woodard's third school for the lower middle classes, and the support which the *Times* has bestowed upon the scheme, are a solid proof that the simple earnest zeal of that good man is now bearing good fruit, and that his scheme of leavening the middle classes of society with sound education in Church principles is no longer an improbable dream. All who have looked into the matter know too well that it is those classes for whom Mr. Woodard is labouring who have hitherto proved the mainstay of Nonconformity; it stands to reason, accordingly, that a plan which tends to make them Churchmen and to give them some of those elevating feelings which the higher strata of society derive from a University education, must tend to advance the cause of the Church in those quarters where hitherto it has confessedly been the weakest.

The year 1861 will, we believe, be distinguished in the annals of our Reformed Communion as the year in which that Church emancipated herself from the connexion, which once seemed indissoluble, between the English ritual and the English flag. Up to the first day in 1861 there were, speaking generally, only two nationalities within which the English Church in its completeness could be said to exist. The one was the British empire, with its dependencies, and such adjacent countries as stood in terror of the reprisals of the British right arm. The other was the United States, on which depended missions in Africa and China. To whatever other triumphs the Church revival in our communion could point, that of enlarging the area of the really independent realms in which it was to be found could not be reckoned. The taunt of the Romanist and the Dissenter, that it was merely the Queen's Church, had still to be answered, not rebutted. But the year that has gone by has swelled the list with four additions. Its first week witnessed the consecration in Cape Town cathedral of the simple-hearted devout Mackenzie for the central parts of Africa. Whatever may be thought of the commercial prospects of his mission, of its Christian and civilizing value there can be no two opinions among Churchmen. A little later, Patteson was sent out to the dark islands of the South-Western Pacific, with the mission and the blessing of the apostolic Selwyn; and his honoured father lived long enough to have his last days cheered by the thoughts of his son's life-long self-sacrifice. The mournful third Sunday in Advent saw the consecration at Lambeth of Mr. Staley to the episcopal throne of that remarkable group of islands in the North Pacific, which have, while still governed monarchically under a native dynasty

—though in a great measure peopled by English and American settlers—grown up from a nest of heathen cannibals into a civilized, Christian, English-speaking, and constitutional commonwealth. Bishop Staley takes up his mission, not as an experiment, but on the invitation of the king himself, a Hawaiian *pur sang*, but an educated gentleman, and a Churchman by conviction. Who then can deny that this mission is one for which we may well auspicate good things in store?

The fourth instance of the English communion finding itself, during 1861, in contact with new independent governments differs from the three others. Two of those are missionary aggressions on the realms of darkness; the third the incorporation of the complete Church into a realm where Christianity and civilization had already penetrated. The fourth case is that of a great commonwealth splitting in twain, and the Church of the English communion in the seceding portion having at once the will and the way to recast itself in a Catholic spirit upon a national basis. Hitherto we have been able to look with pride upon the unestablished daughter Church in the United States. Henceforward we may be able to point with similar feelings to that which exists within the Confederate States.

There are, as we shall proceed further on to detail, some very interesting incidents of a strictly ecclesiastical nature which have grown out of the American secession. But, irrespective of these, the whole history of the sudden disruption of that menacing colossus of yesterday, which first came into existence four years after the birth, in still British Boston, of the living Nestor of Parliament, is so full of teaching of a moral character, bearing upon the Church's mission in the world, that we beg no pardon for a short digression on its aspects. In what we say we shall throw ourselves back into November, and assume for the moment that no *San Jacinto* and no *Trent* had ever navigated the ocean. The antecedents either of President Lincoln or of President Davis are not germane to our present inquiry. What, as Churchmen, we are concerned to observe is, the internal condition of the once great republic, mainly peopled by the descendants of British ancestors, which speaks the English language, and which is now rifted by a secession which one side calls a rebellion, and the other a resumption of sovereignty. The comparative statistics hitherto of our communion north and south of the Potomac form not the only or the first consideration which presses on us. The Episcopal Church in the Northern States may hitherto have been numerically and theologically stronger than in the Southern, and yet it may not have leavened the mass of their corruption. We have likewise, dealing as we are with mundane issues, to ask whether the influence which it has exercised on

the body politic and body social is proportionately stronger in comparison with its numbers. The air in one place may be so much thicker than in another, that a gaslight in the one may not show the traveller his path half so well as a candle in the other. As in theology there are theological virtues, so in politics and in social life there are political and social virtues, which act upon as they are reacted on by Christ's Church, with all the advantage which the comparative strength of the Church gives to the mutual influence. The Northern States may or may not be the seat of all that spirit of the world which it is the object of religion to counteract. Old Rome was very civilized, but S. Paul did not go there to praise and to admire.

After long deliberation and an attentive study of the bearings of the controversy, we assume the responsibility of saying that the cause on whose side the substantial justice of the struggle preponderates, and that for whose success in the interests of religion, and also of our communion, we ought, as English Churchmen, to wish, is the cause of the Confederate States. We make the assertion with our eyes open to the existence in those States of that monstrous 'institution,' as Southerners are wont to term it, slavery. But we do so with our eyes open to the further facts that slavery is a colonial bequest, not a republican invention, introduced into regions where the white man is often as exotic by birth as the black, and more so by nature; that the South, while as yet blindly refusing to acknowledge its inherent indefensibility, has in many respects mitigated its practical evils, and that it has in the Confederate constitution prohibited the slave-trade as a portion of the constitution itself, instead of leaving the prohibition, as in the United States, to be a merely legislative provision. We do so, recollecting that the violence of the abolitionist section in the North has driven back the South from further measures tending to the gradual extinction of the system; such as the measure which was proposed in the Virginian Legislature in 1833, for gradual emancipation, and which, having then been lost by only a single vote, has never since been renewed, thanks to the subsequent growth of the party of Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Theodore Parker, and Charles Sumner. As little can we shut our eyes to the fact that, with the exception of this knot of sincere abolitionists, the North is in reality more deeply involved in all the guilt of which slavery may be the fount than South Carolina or Georgia. The North traffics in it, makes it the basis of its own selfish commercial and manufacturing system, while it maintains an organized persecution of those pariahs of the Northern section, the free blacks, on which the slaveholding South cry shame. As far as the future of the

black race is concerned, we are convinced that the longest step ever taken, across the Atlantic, towards its complete though gradual emancipation, was the secession of the South. The political reasons connected with the balance of power in the two Houses of the old Federal Legislature, which induced the South not only to maintain slavery in the older States, but to force it on new States and territories whose climate repudiates the institution, have disappeared with the secession, and so the system is left to find its level, while the free trade, which the Confederacy proclaims, will every year open it more and more to English ways of thought and English influences. The result of these various powers in operation on each other, will, we believe and trust, be to insure *labentibus annis*, first internal amelioration, then serfdom, then villeinage, and ultimately a constitutional system for the black population of the South. This hopeful future could not be predicted for the South, if it were to be cannonaded and ravaged into reunion. Such a contingency would only lead to two results, either the sudden emancipation of millions wholly unfitted for immediate licence, or the riveting more closely and more hopelessly the chains of their servitude. Even now, Mr. Lincoln, in his recent message, has no better consolation to offer the free blacks of the United States than a forced deportation.

In short, if slavery had been the one real grievance, the South need not, and would not, have seceded. The intolerably unjust Navigation Laws and sordid protectionism of the North, which intentionally cut those vast rich provinces off from the remaining world in the interests of New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, was the shoe that really pinched. Their political allies in the Northern States would not, or could not, befriend them in their extremity. The election of a President by a minority of the primary votes of the whole Union, amounting to nearly a million, and against the unanimous voice of the South, was a strong intimation that the day of compromise had passed its eleventh hour. The North called what then took place, rebellion; but in using that ugly word it forgot its own origin as a power of the earth, and it affixed its own interpretation to a document which was, and was meant to be, ambiguous. The constitution of the United States (we call attention to the peculiarity of the very appellation), was emphatically a compromise between States which had recently promoted themselves by 'rebellion' from colonies to sovereignties, and statesmen, who looked to a strong central power. It was drawn up so as to favour either party at a time when the interests of the Union were homogeneous as compared with those of the present day, and when the area and population of the Federation were comparatively insignificant. Since 1787, its growth in extent and numbers, over

regions across which Providence has stamped the natural lines of demarcation, has made that impossible which then was barely possible. The South, reading the constitution according to the interpretation held, as it seems, even in 1787, by statesmen whom America calls illustrious, found there the doctrine of State sovereignty as the centre of loyal allegiance; and it found, according to its ideas of policy, that the time had come to give the practical preference to their State sovereignty, and on these principles it made Mr. Davis President of a Confederacy. The North read in the constitution that the Union had absorbed all State sovereignties, and it believed that its material interests favoured the absorption, and so it sustains Mr. Lincoln as President of a Union. But Mr. Davis is really no more a rebel from Mr. Lincoln, than Mr. Lincoln from Mr. Davis; they respectively and legitimately represent different readings of a document not meant to be straightforward by those who framed it, and who carried it with long delays, only in consequence of its ambiguity, through the legislatures of thirteen jealous sovereignties.

Dismissing, then, from our minds the natural and laudable prejudices which the apparent legitimacy of the Northern and rebellion of the Southern Government might have occasioned, we have to ask ourselves whether, as Churchmen, we see anything on either side which ought to bias our wishes that way. The good estate of the Church in the State of New York, not a little owing to the vast endowment which it possesses there, in consequence of the business district of the city being in a great measure owned by the corporation of Trinity Church, is, of course, a material consideration tending to influence our judgment. So, too, the orthodox complexion of the clergy in the dioceses of Seabury, Doane, and Whittingham, leads us to look at the fate of the commonwealth in those States with no little interest, and not the less so, because the facts are patent which indicate the possibility of the orthodoxy of Maryland being ere long ranged on the side of the Confederacy. But after we have made these admissions, we have said all. We believe it will be better for the orthodox party in the North to be so in a general convention of an exclusively Northern National Church. We shall give proofs that the prospects of Church progress in the 'councils,' general and diocesan, of a Southern National Church have been improved, and are likely still more to improve, by the separation. We believe, irrespective of the special accidents of either Republic, that the characteristics of the overgrown, ill-compacted old Federation were making themselves felt through the Church, which aped the civil organization in its constitution. In the General Convention of 1859, when a proposal for a

general Court of Appeal was brought forward, the measure was rejected, not on its intrinsic merits which seem to have been admitted, but because the members of the Convention, both North and South, foresaw the results which might have endangered the still existing unity of the Church which even then hung on a fragile thread. We are accordingly convinced, that there is better hope for the truth in two homogeneous National Churches, keeping each other in check, and stimulating each other to exertion, than in a body which would, in each successive reunion of the triennial Convention, have had to swallow world-wide differences of social feeling, reflected, whether the Bishops and delegates wished it or not, in its ecclesiastical action, or else be ever standing on the brink of a dissolution in most admired disorder.

It is a fact, however much we may wish to blind our eyes to it, that although the Church may be stronger in New York than in any other city of the ex-Union, all the powers of evil are also preponderating more strongly in that *colluvies gentium*. We could fill pages with proofs of the vice, the luxury, the infidelity, the materialism, and the rowdiness of that degraded city, but the painful recital would carry us away too far from our immediate object. It is sufficient to say, in one word, that everything which is disgraceful to the great capitals of the Old World, is found reproduced in a deteriorated form on Manhattan Island. The ill influence of New York spreads over the entire Union, as that of Paris pervades all France. The preternatural mendacity which has come to the surface in all which the North has said and written on the present war, finds its head-quarters in that 'sensation' town of turmoil and cabal. The unblest attempt of New York to erect itself into the artificial condition of being the commercial capital of all the New, if not of the Old World also, was, as we have indicated, a great motive cause of disruption, and its defeat, we trust for ever, would in itself stamp the secession as a blessing to all civilized nations. Boston, the Northern city next in influence though not in population, differs widely from New York in every respect, and not the least in its far greater outward respectability. How far the real advantage equals the outside show, is a question we had rather not solve. Materialism is the palpable form of evil in New York. The Church there, as we have shown, is powerful comparatively, and yet seems impotent to grapple with the rampant vice about it. In respectable Boston the Church is weak and Puritanised, compulsory secular education has had full swing, and the ground is divided between intellectual infidelity, and all those last, most hopeless, phases of superstition, which are engendered not of blind faith, but of sated scepticism.

We have recently fallen in with an illustration of the popular religion, as we must by courtesy term it, in Boston, so significant that we make no excuse for quoting it, painful as it is to recapitulate such blasphemies. In that refined and intellectual city which, be it always recollected, holds up its head in such lofty contempt at the rowdyism of New York, a magazine is published by a gentleman universally esteemed the most respectable publisher in all the United States, called the *Atlantic Monthly*, and the November number commences with an article on George Sand in that fast style of moral sensualism, ill-copied from French models, which has invaded so much of our own periodical literature. The article would not have struck us as more particularly offensive than many which we have come across on this side of the Atlantic till we reached the peroration. Here the writer, worked up to enthusiasm by his subject, predicts for Madame Dudevant a future in the Walhalla of great women, not without their faults as he considerably admits, but still worthy of Bostonian canonization: 'For there is a gallery of great women, great with and without sin, where thou must sit between Sappho and Cleopatra, the Magdalen thy neighbour — nor yet removed wholly out of sight the Mother of the Great Forgiveness of God.' Our readers will not require to be told who is intended by the last phrase. We confidently assert that no English periodical which was not published with the express intention of shocking morality, would venture upon such an apposition to Madame Dudevant. Yet the *Atlantic Monthly*, as far as we understand its scope, is the organ of the very cream of intellectual American society. We conclude, therefore, that this way of talking is considered religious in the city of Theodore Parker, Emerson, and Margaret Fuller Ossoli, and in the State where Andrew rules and Bigelow deals justice. One of the lights of Bostonian literature is Mr. Hildreth, the author of a popular history of the United States, and a prominent abolitionist. The most successful novel of that party, next to those of Mrs. Beecher Stowe, is Hildreth's 'White Slave,' a publication which, we believe, has had considerable vogue among religious circles both in this country and in the United States. Those of our readers who have not had the ill-luck to read it may be surprised when we tell them what is the plot of this eminently moral autobiographical romance. Mr. Hildreth, unlike Mrs. Stowe, starts by marrying his hero, the 'White Slave,' and leaves him, after many adventures, happy and prosperous. The 'White Slave' is, we need hardly say, depicted as the model of a Christian and gentleman; and yet the action on which the whole tale turns, and for which the author holds up his ideal creation to the reader's entire admiration, is that of

luring his own half-sister into an incestuous marriage, by concealing the relationship—'unwilling,' to quote the book, 'to harass Cassy with what I esteemed unnecessary scruples.' Mr. Hildreth's object in planning this loathsome plot was of course to create an unproven impression of promiscuous concubinage between masters and slaves.

The fruits testify to the tree. England and all Europe are ringing with the anger, the imbecility, the inconstancy, the greed for empire, the bloodthirsty animosity of the Northern Government. We are every day confronted by fresh instances of its neglect for laws, municipal, constitutional, or international; its determined purpose to win its end, in the words of one of its most popular generals, Butler of Boston, 'by the light of their smoking and rebellious cities.' The Church may be, as we have often been told, and are willing to believe, the most important denomination among the Northern 'upper ten thousand,' the men and women of refinement, wealth, and social culture. But in the Northern States the upper ten thousand are the disfranchised class of the community; and the man who belongs to it, but is ambitious, must forswear his antecedents, if he looks for power.

If we turn to the States which own the sway of Jefferson Davis, those who are living at a distance, and who only appreciate matters across the Atlantic by the lights which the American columns of their favourite newspaper may shed, must have noticed a remarkable intellectual, if not moral phenomenon. Of old, Englishmen used to connect those trains of thought, which the better citizens of the States would designate as 'spreadeagle' and 'bunkum,' and we should term vulgar ostentation and overweening national vanity, with the whole United States. Possibly the rifle-bearing, bowie-knife-wearing Southerner was looked upon as the greatest offender. How is it, then, that the instant the blister has been taken off, the moment that the healing knife has completed the amputation, the South, so far as we can judge of it by its official publications, has apparently cast off bunkum and exaggeration, spreadeagle and mendacity? How comes it that it writes and speaks in accents which would sound natural from English legislators, but which we do not somehow connect with Pogram and Brick, Knickerbocker and Biglow? Every newspaper in England has had, willingly or unwillingly, to certify to the genuine ring of President Davis's Message compared with the spongy, illiterate, carping, and extravagant periods through which Mr. Lincoln floundered. We have reasons for believing that this unwonted moderation of tone is not confined to the productions of the President, but that it pervades the entire system of the Southern government, free as it is at last from the pressure of Northern

mobs. If we examine the constitution of the Confederacy, we are confronted with instances of the spirit of conservative moderation which guided those statesmen who met in Montgomery to mould it upon that of the old United States. We have already pointed to the prohibition of the slave-trade which it contains. It also enacts that the tenure of the Presidentship shall be for four instead of six years, but without the premium on intrigue which the possibility of re-election involved. It gives ministers a seat and a voice on the floor of the Legislature, instead of isolating them in their offices, and handing the advocacy of ministerial measures over to private members clandestinely retained. It cuts off the most fruitful sources of corruption in declaring the permanence of all but the highest offices, and in limiting the objects to which Confederate taxes can be applied; thus, at one blow, abolishing that frightful system of universal electoral corruption, which had eaten into the very vitals of the United States. The union of feeling and corporate self-devotion which distinguishes the millions of the Southern States under the heavy privations of their isolated condition, may be laid to war excitement; their singular moderation and modesty cannot be. Ameliorations, like these, of language, and tone, and constitution so suddenly revealed, indicate an under-seam of goodness of which we must hitherto have been ignorant, while New York and Boston had constituted themselves the intermediaries of England and the South, mutually aggravating and misrepresenting the one and the other.

We have before us some remarkable American evidence on this head in a sermon which a clergyman of the diocese of Maryland, the Rev. E. J. Stearns, had the courage to deliver in the city of Newark in New Jersey (an almost suburb of New York) on the Fast Day, which President Lincoln appointed on the 26th of September, and for which he seems to have been all but prosecuted by the United States' district attorney. This preacher, speaking for himself, says, 'To me 'who know both parts of the country thoroughly, who know 'that while each has its virtues, each its faults, nine-tenths of 'all the divorces, nine-tenths of all the bribery of electors and 'legislators is at the North,' etc. The South, *κατὰ κόμας οἰκουμένην*, may be dull beside Boston, sluggish beside New York, given to slave-owning; but it holds, as we know from competent authority, the infidelity of those cities in abhorrence, and it is not, as Mr. Stearns testifies, to be taxed with that proclivity to divorce which has eaten into the purity and security of domestic life in those cities. Its system, no doubt, is very faulty, but the faults are on the surface.

If, as a recent writer, who uses five years' residence in New York as the foundation of an appeal to High Churchmen to side with the North, alleges, there are only 400 Episcopal clergymen in the South to 1,600 in the North, with only twice as large a population, then all we can say is, that the Southern clergy seem to have been beyond proportion successful in the way in which they have leavened their population. Of course it must not be forgotten that in Louisiana and elsewhere in the South, our Church has had to contend with the antecedent establishment of the Roman communion. But we are not pushed to inferential and secondary evidences as to the upward tendency of Churchmanship in the Confederate States.

The *New York Church Journal*, a paper honourably conspicuous for the silence on politics which it has, under the grievous difficulties of the last few months, continued with few exceptions to maintain, has lately furnished some valuable particulars of the action of the Church in the Confederacy, since it has been left to its own counsels, from which we venture to augur that any changes which may take place in its condition are likely to be in an upward direction. The Church in the Southern States, following the action of the Commonwealth, has naturally detached itself from the union of the Northern dioceses, and has, during the latter part of October, been holding a convention at Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, to settle a future constitution, at which, besides clerical and lay delegates, nine bishops attended; Bishop (and General!) Polk, of Louisiana, not being among the number. The convention seems to have debated together while voting by orders. Among the subjects under debate was the future style of the Church. Bishop Elliott, of Georgia, advocated the retention of the original appellation—Protestant Episcopal; founding his arguments on the inexpediency of making changes unless absolutely required, and fearing lest the identity of the Church might be called into question. Judge Phelan, of Alabama, contended that if the corporation remained the same, so would its rights and liabilities; and Mr. Trapier, a clergyman, took the same view. Bishop Green, of Mississippi, considered the name Protestant, unmeaning from its generality; and that it involved the Church in the odium of the follies and heresies of the various sects. He preferred 'The American Catholic Church.' Mr. Williams, of Virginia, gloried in the term Protestant. Mr. Hines, a clergyman of Tennessee, inquired if there were no errors to protest against but those of the Romanists; referred to the use of the term Catholic Church in the Creed, and wanted a name that would take them back to the days of the Saviour and Apostles. Mr. Fairbanks, of Florida, considered Protestant

as superfluous, and argued against expediency, as the lowest ground of action. Dr. Mason, of North Carolina, had never liked the title Protestant Episcopal. It had always seemed to him to be sectarian, but it was hard to get rid of. Bishop Elliott spoke again in favour of the old name. Bishop Atkinson, of North Carolina, urged that names should conform to things. He thought Reformed more expressive than Protestant; referred to the Jansenists, and preferred 'Reformed Catholic Church.' Bishop Davis, of South Carolina, dwelt on the inconvenience of change. Bishop Otey, of Tennessee, contended that Protestant was a term derived from Germany, and not originally directed against the errors of Rome. He considered the present disruption was the result of Ultra-Protestantism or Puritanism. The Rev. Dr. Crane, of Mississippi, also spoke in favour of Reformed Catholic; while Bishop Lay, of Arkansas, adhered to the present name; and Mr. Pearce, of Alabama, said that the term Protestant Episcopal, arose in Maryland by a mere accident. Ultimately the debate was adjourned, after an appeal from Bishop Meade, of Virginia, who desired to keep things as they were. On the next day the debate was again animated: Judge Phelan, of Alabama, said it was as well to talk of reformed sun and moon, as of reformed Catholic, and was content with "Episcopal Church." Bishop Elliott again pleaded for Protestant, while the Rev. Mr. Pinckney found fault both with that and with Catholic. Bishop Johns, Assistant of Virginia, was sure Virginia would not have sent delegates if she had thought this subject was to be discussed, and went on to assert that Protestant indicated a positive faith and worship. Bishop Atkinson considered the choice to be between Protestant and Reformed. Reformed expressed a fact, Protestant a spirit, and one that he could not approve of. Emerson, Beecher, Parker, Strauss, were all Protestants, yet Emerson believed the leaves of the forest were God. He then gave further reasons in favour of Catholic. Bishop Gregg, of Texas, agreed with him entirely as to the facts, but thought it wholly inexpedient to make any change. Ultimately 'Protestant Episcopal' was carried by six bishops to three, and a large majority of clergy and laity. But, as it will have been seen, the Catholicity of our communion was boldly brought forward, and the very fact of the question having been raised and discussed as it was, is very hopeful of the spirit of the Confederate dioceses. A later number of the *Church Journal* contains the constitution of the 'Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America,' as proposed in this convention, and sent down for approval to the various diocesan conventions. The first thing that strikes the reader accustomed to the proceedings of the

Church in the United States is, that the ugly term Convention, heretofore used for the synodical gatherings of the Church, is struck out, and the far more ecclesiastical word Council substituted. So there is to be a triennial General Council, which is first to meet in November, 1862, at Augusta, Georgia, and also Diocesan Councils. The lay representatives to this General Council are, we are glad to see, ordered to be communicants; an amelioration which is, of course, of great importance. There is also a somewhat ambiguous provision for erecting any State which shall divide itself into more than one diocese into an ecclesiastical province, and for creating a triennial Provincial Council. What, however, the relations of this Council are to be to the General Council are not defined, and cannot fail, we should think, to be embarrassing. In one of the latter clauses, they talk of the establishment of a Book of Common Prayer, &c., which, we trust, implies that the Southern Church intends to restore some of the omissions which the bad taste and worse theology of the closing eighteenth century made in the English Prayer-Book, as edited for the United States. If the book is taken in hand at all, it must, we believe, be altered for the better. Altogether, the details which we have given appear to establish that the prospects of the Church are more hopeful in the Confederate States than they were before the great disruption had thrown the Southerners on their own resources.

The *Church Journal* for December 4, which we have received since writing the above paragraph, extracts an article on this Convention, from the *Richmond Enquirer*, the chief paper of the Confederate Capital. It says, 'In taking the necessary steps to form an independent Church organization for the Confederate States, everything was done with harmony and good feeling. The Missionary fund and work of the Church in the South, it was found, had suffered no decline since the separation from the North, but both were on the increase even under a provisional arrangement.'

America has, for the present, almost driven Italy out of the minds of stay-at-home politicians. What will come of the consolidation of the Peninsula—an event which, by the way, seems to us just as much to be accepted as the bi-section of the United States—cannot yet be predicated. One thing is certain, that it is a providentially-ordered mutation, and we may add, that we cannot see how any one holding the Anglican view of the Papal usurpations can fail to look for good arising out of it; but we should be very cautious not to mar this good by meddling. For instance, the more books of sound English theology we print and throw upon the Italian markets the better, but the less we attempt direct influence, especially if it comes in the

person of one who can be taxed with change of side, the wiser it will be. The Italian reformation, when it comes, must be the work of Italy, wrought out at home by Italians, and shaped in an Italian mould.

Of the Colonial Church, properly speaking, we have not much to say. It seems, for the two last years, to have been quietly going on, holding its stated synods, and making a progress which may be all the surer because the less noisy. The chief notes of onwardness are in Canada, in which the Bishop of Montreal, after completing his cathedral, has, as first metropolitan, held the first Provincial Council, and where the new diocese of Ottawa has been constituted with, we understand, a very satisfactory choice of diocesan. Bishop Chapman has resigned Colombo, and has been succeeded by Bishop Claughton; and the Bahamas have been constituted an independent diocese. There is also a movement in progress to create a new see at Goulburn, in New South Wales, adjacent to which, the new Colony of Queensland has received its independent organization as the see of Brisbane. How far the miserable war in New Zealand may have affected the evangelization of that land, living, as we do, at a distance, we have no means of judging; but the results cannot fail to be disastrous.

Altogether, the Church at home and in the Colonies appears for the present to be safe. Present safety would a few years since have seemed a very slight object of congratulation; but, in the whirl and crash of mundane things, in this age of revolutions, stability is progress. Yet it is a safeness which must be guaranteed by the labourer going to his work with his weapon in his girdle. In the parish and in the provincial Convocation the same grounds of hope exist, and the same necessity of vigilance. The old Church of England enjoys advantages which may not be at first sight evident, but which are most real and powerful, in the manner in which its formularies, its ancient Catholic prayers and canticles, its forcible versions, its baptismal, marriage, and burial services, have sunk into the hearts of the general people, and moulded their tone of thought, even at second hand with those who voluntarily hold off from public communion with the Church. In the long run, its appeal to popular instincts against popular passions would, we believe, be successful; for, with the exception of Mr. Bright and the bigoted backers of the Liberation Society, Englishmen in general acquiesce in the Church of England, along with Queen, Lords, and Commons, and the judges in their scarlet gowns, as an institution of which it is the right thing to be proud. They may not, many of them, be very expert in the doctrines of that Church, but as long as the Church is there with its doctrines under its own

keeping, it occupies the vantage-ground. With all the discouragements and disappointments which we may have been suffering from of late years, we cannot honestly refuse to say that we have gained enormously. Convocation revived, a Colonial Church well-nigh created, religious institutions of all kinds set up, communions multiplied, occasions of worship infinitely increased, churches and the services in them beautified and rectified, in every district of the land, are some of the most salient items of the acknowledged gain.

Let us live to assure these blessings to our successors. Let us live to do so, not only as Churchmen but as Englishmen. In England, happily, the divorce between the Church feeling and the national feeling, if ever it were likely to have taken place, is now suspended, and will, we hope, by the continuance of quiet, be rendered impossible. At this moment we more particularly feel that we are Englishmen, partaking as we do in that immense grief which radiates from the most exalted of English homes, and penetrates the humblest. That grief will, in a few hours from the moment we are writing, be collected and sanctified in that solemn message of God's mercy which the Church claims as its own. The roof of Windsor Chapel will then resound with the aspiration, most rightly used over one who, among no common temptations, was ever faithful, virtuous, true, and pious, 'earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life.' These words have accompanied the highest of our race and our language, and the most forlorn and buffeted, to their last home; these words are the authentic voice of the English Church. To them, and to those which go before and which follow after, we commend the cause of the Church among a people of whom the preponderating majority has been accustomed to the burial of Christians, and who would not willingly, if the choice were offered, take in exchange the chance effusions of the fanatic or the godless indifference of a silent funeral.

NOTICES.

'LECTURES on the Office and Duties of Churchwardens, Chapelwardens, and Sidesmen, Parish Clerks, and Sextons,' by Mr. Chancellor Law (Rivingtons). These lectures were delivered to the students of the Theological College, Lichfield; and Mr. Law's long experience as Chancellor of the Diocese of Lichfield, and late special Commissary of the Diocese of Bath and Wells, renders him thoroughly competent to the discussion of his subject in all its bearings. He enters carefully and at length into the early history of the parish officers; explains the mode of election and appointment of churchwardens, their qualifications, their exemptions, and their duties on taking and quitting office; and concludes this branch of his subject by some judicious and practical hints as to Church-rates, and the conduct of the clergy on the subject. Parish clerks next come under discussion, and we are glad to see special attention drawn to 7 & 8 Victoria, which gives summary powers to archdeacons (and not, as Mr. Law justly observes, before it was wanted) for the removal of evil or incompetent parish clerks. Mr. Law concludes his lectures by a brief explanation of the duties of sextons. We must not omit to notice a carefully composed Appendix to the work, consisting of suggestions as to parish terriers; articles of inquiry proposed to be addressed to churchwardens, with a transcript of the canons which apply to their office, and a summary of their duties. In fact, Mr. Law has produced a little volume, of easy price and manageable bulk, which no young clergyman ought to be without, and which is capable, in a great measure, of superseding the more lengthy compilations, which are apt to deter readers who have not much time at their disposal.

Those who expect to find anything worth reading in M. Larcher's '*L'Angleterre, Londres et les Anglais*' (Paris: Dentu) will be grievously disappointed. We have waded through many trashy and ridiculous French accounts of England and its people, but this is, without exception, the trashiest and most ridiculous of all. It is even worse than the *Décadence de l'Angleterre* of the Red Republican, Ledru-Rollin, or the *Coup-d'œil sur l'Angleterre* of the Ultramontanist, Noël Le Mire. The notorious Emile de Girardin has added to it a commendatory introduction, which is on a par with the lucubrations of M. Larcher. The author of '*L'Angleterre, Londres et les Anglais*' may or may not have visited England; but, if he has, we very much doubt, judging from his knowledge of this country and its people, as exhibited in the book before us, whether he has ever proceeded much further than Leicester Square, and whether, in spite of the *bonne société* of which he complacently prattles, he has ever been admitted into any other society than that which is ordinarily to be met with in those dingy purlieus. We will give one or two extracts, taken almost at

random from M. Larcher's work; these will suffice to give an idea of his qualifications, natural and acquired, for the task he has undertaken. At p. 47 we read:—'Nous avons parlé de l'indulgence des dames anglaises pour l'ivrognerie; maintenant nous devons dire un mot de leur faible pour le cognac. Dans la bonne société, les femmes qui ont cette malheureuse passion se cachent soigneusement; elles ne boivent ordinairement que dans leur chambre à coucher, qui, on le sait, est chez les Anglais un lieu plus mystérieux que chez nous. Lorsqu'on a du monde à dîner, les femmes se retirent après avoir bu un petit verre de vin, et pendant que les hommes vident des bouteilles de porto, madère, bordeaux et champagne, il arrive souvent que les dames vident des bouteilles de cognac.' At p. 121 we are supplied with the following piece of information:—'Les sermons peuvent être improvisés ou préparés d'avance et lus par le prédicateur. Les femmes et les filles des ministres ne sont pas toujours étrangères à leur confection; ce qui ne les gêne nullement, car les Anglaises ont généralement plus d'esprit et de cœur que les Anglais: elles forment la partie libérale et avancée de la nation.' How this agrees with what we had been previously told of our fair countrywomen, we will not ask poor M. Larcher to explain. Once more, at p. 165, we have the following *morceau* on English inhumanity:—'L'inhumanité anglaise est en quelque sorte proverbiale. Tous ceux qui ont écrit sur Londres ont été frappés de l'indifférence des Anglais pour les malheurs d'autrui. . . . Leur brutalité contre les animaux n'est pas moins grande que leur indifférence pour la vie des hommes.' It has been asked whether M. Larcher is a lunatic. We believe not. The author of 'L'Angleterre, Londres et les Anglais,' of 'Les femmes jugées par les méchantes langues,' of the 'Anthologie Satirique,' and similar works, seems merely a ribald buffoon and impudent impostor.

The Abbé Bargès, Honorary Canon of Notre-Dame, and Professor of Arabic at the Sorbonne, has just published a Latin translation of the 'Book of Psalms' (Paris: Duprat) from the Arabic of Rabbi Yapheth, who died at the close of the tenth century. He is supposed, according to the Abbé, to have been born and educated at Bassorah; and the appendage to his name, ben Eli halevy, would lead to the belief that he was of Levitical or sacerdotal descent. He applied himself with great ardour to the study of sacred literature, and, for the purpose of increasing his store of knowledge, visited the principal cities of the East. After staying in different parts of Palestine, he at last settled in Jerusalem, where he devoted himself to study and to the composition of commentaries on Holy Scripture, and of books in explanation and vindication of the tenets of the class to which he belonged—that of the Karaites or Scripturalists, so designated from their rigid adherence to the sacred text, and their rejection of traditions unauthorised by the Word of God. In accordance with his principles, his translation of the Psalms from the Hebrew into Arabic is remarkable for its elaborate exactness and strict conformity to the original. The Latin version given of it by Dr. Bargès exhibits this rigid accuracy and fidelity, to which the learned Professor has so scrupulously adhered that, as he informs us in his able and scholarlike Latin preface, he has preferred in some instances sacrificing elegance to fidelity, in order to present as exact as possible a type of his author. Some fourteen or fifteen years ago, the Abbé had published, in the Arabic original, specimens of Rabbi Yapheth's commentaries on the Psalms,

accompanied by a Latin translation. The present translation, like the Arabic, seems admirably done, and is a valuable contribution to sacred literature. It is very appropriately dedicated to M. Garcin de Tassy, the eminent Professor of Hindostanee at the Institute, and member of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*.

'Sermons preached in Lincoln's Inn Chapel,' by the new Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, are characterised by soundness of theology, freshness and originality of conception, and perspicuity and vigour of language. They are altogether discourses of a high order, worthy the preacher as well as the distinguished auditory before which they were delivered.

The 'Esquisse historique sur l'Ancienne Eglise Catholique dans les Pays-Bas' (Paris: Johanneau) is an opportune and instructive—especially to French Churchmen—historical sketch of the Catholic Church, as distinguished from the Roman schism, established in that country. It is partly a translation from the Dutch, by C. H. V. V. . . , 'Prêtre Catholique et Curé de l'Ancienne Eglise Catholique à la Haye,' and it gives a short account of the origin, character, and present condition of this very interesting community, which has ever shown itself very jealous of Rome, and repudiated the new Dogma and the Papal supremacy, and whose sole desire and aim is to adhere to all that, both in doctrine and practice, is ancient and Catholic. The author forcibly denounces the machinations and intrigues carried on in Holland by the Jesuits, whom he regards as the cause of much evil, and as the successors of the ignorant, rapacious, and idle monks who did all they could to annihilate the Brothers of the Common Life, and bring the Church under subjection to the Roman Pontiff; he also deploras the 'Jesuitical spirit' which pervades the Roman Church. 'Depuis trois siècles,' says he, 'l'esprit du jésuitisme domine dans cette Eglise; il s'y est soutenu par l'erreur et la superstition; de nouvelles doctrines ont été enseignées à la place de l'ancienne vérité, et l'immense majorité des Catholiques qui croient l'être ne le sont pourtant plus. Ils ont perdu la vraie foi.' (Avant-Propos, p. 5.) Like Mr. Neale, the author of the unpretending *brochure* before us vindicates and establishes the right of this little community to be considered as a true branch of the Catholic Church. And he tells us that it is an 'objet de crainte pour les Ultramontains,' who stigmatise its members as Jansenists, which they are not, but 'faithful and obedient servants of the Church,' and 'qu'ils ont horreur de toute schisme et de toute hérésie.'

M. Sylvestre de Sacy's 'Variétés Littéraires morales et historiques' (Paris: Didier) is one of the most readable reprints from newspaper articles that we have seen for a long time. The papers contained in the two volumes before us appeared for the most part in the *Journal des Débats*, of which M. de Sacy has been chief editor since the death of M. Armand Bertin, and the rapid sale of a first and somewhat expensive edition testifies to their popularity. The subjects treated of are ranged under three heads, Literature, Morality, and History. Under the first head we have some excellent articles on Cicero's Dialogues, Amyot, Bossuet's Funeral Orations, Châteaubriand, Ampère, Féletz, Saint-Marc Girardin. Among the subjects treated of under the second head are Pascal's Thoughts, La Rochefoucauld's Maxims, Labruyère and Montaigne, Bacon and Descartes, Joubert,

Lamennais, Joseph de Maistre, Auguste Nicolas, de Tocqueville. The third head comprises some admirable articles on M. de Champagny's 'Cesars,' Theiner's 'Pontificate of Clement XIV.,' Artaud's 'History of Pius VII.,' Felice's 'History of the French Protestants,' Weiss' 'History of French Protestant Refugees,' Sainte-Beuve's 'History of Port-Royal,' Droz's 'History of the Reign of Louis XVI.,' and on various historical works of Thierry, Guizot, Villemain, Barante, Rémusat, and others. M. de Sacy has also included in this volume his *Discours de réception* at the French Academy. His style seems formed on that of the great authors of the time of Louis XIV. He is a graceful and vigorous writer, and possesses withal a very cultivated taste and considerable critical acumen. He is also—a by no means common character among the French newspaper writers of the time—a high-principled man.

'Red Snow and other Parables from Nature' (Bell and Daldy) is another—the third series—of Mrs. Gatty's original and graceful little volumes. It comprises seven parables, each of which possesses its own peculiar charm and unobtrusive teaching. Where all is good, it is difficult to determine which, in the series before us, merits most commendation, but the Parable which gives a title to the others, and that designated 'Inferior Animals,' seem to us particularly worthy of mention, as teaching a lesson most needed at the present time—viz. that if there is a limit to man's power in knowing the wonders of nature, how much greater must be the limit when the finite seeks to grasp and understand the infinite. We cordially recommend this little volume, which is in every way worthy its predecessors. All lovers of nature, with its countless hidden lessons,—all admirers of the true and beautiful, which all real poetry teaches, will feel instructed as well as delighted by the perusal of this new series of parables.

'Stories for Christmas-Tide' (Masters), by the author of 'The Sunbeam,' are nicely written and interesting, and they evince a sound religious feeling. They will make a very acceptable and useful present for young people during this holy season.

'Primeval Symbols,' by William Fetherston H. [*sic*] (Hodges, Smith & Co.), is, we would gladly hope, the work of one who ought to make the more intimate acquaintance of Mr. Commissioner Samuel Warren. In the *plusquam* Mahometan heaven which this gentleman excogitates for Christian men, he finds the blessed occupied, amongst other things, in theatrical representations, and in reading the newspaper. Heaven, he says, must carry on human pursuits. He considers that all the extant errors in theology arise from a spherical and chromatic refraction of the mind in contemplating spiritual doctrine.

Mr. G. G. Scott's Monograph on 'Westminster Abbey' (J. H. and J. Parker), will take rank with Professor Willis's 'Canterbury.' The illustrations are beautiful, and the remarks, supplied by various hands, are many of them new, and all valuable.

Among the many devotional works issued by Mr. Masters, we should like to particularize Mr. Carter's volume of 'Private Prayers,' taken from ancient sources.

Mr. Hyde's 'Exposition of the Church Catechism' (Masters) is full and generally correct.

A very handsome volume, 'Old Church Architecture of Scotland' (Edmonston and Douglas), is anonymous. It shows that, in spite of iconoclastic ravage, there is much to repay a diligent student of art even in the wildest spots. No ecclesiological education can be considered complete without some study of the Scotch remains.

Mr. Coventry Patmore's 'Children's Garland from the best Poets' (Macmillan), is an admirable Christmas book. It is an anthology of all such English poetry as is within a child's mind and taste, selected with great care and research.

Mr. Gordon's 'Letter to the Bishop of Aberdeen' (Masters), on the proposed Cathedral for Aberdeen, seems to show that, in spite of many hindrances and more scandals, there is in some at least of the Scotch laity both faith in their own position, and confidence in their spiritual rulers.

'Sermons on Important Subjects,' by D. J. Heath, M.A. Vicar of Brading (Ryde: Briddon). This is the volume which Dr. Lushington has recently condemned. As far as Mr. Heath's own theology is concerned, his teaching and views begin and end with himself. Or rather, his mode of stating his belief, and his mode of contradicting other people's belief, or rather, again, his mode of contradicting other people's mode of stating their belief, is quite peculiar to the Vicar of Brading. We express ourselves in this cumbrous way, and with a limitation at every clause of the proposition, because, after all, we might charitably doubt whether Mr. Heath's belief is so very different from other people's, if we could get at the core and kernel of it. What Mr. Heath dislikes is all the recognised and traditional phrases of theology; he quarrels with the terms guilt, satisfaction, merits, justification, immortality of the soul, going to heaven, &c. Just possibly he does not quarrel with the things themselves. He does not reject them, he only rejects their ideas. He is at great pains, even in a letter published subsequently to the judgment, to say that though he excepts to the 'idea of forgiveness of sins,' he believes substantially in 'the forgiveness of sins.' Dr. Lushington will not see these distinctions. Mr. Heath tells us that he does see them, and, perhaps, if we gave ourselves to the work, and spent the next twelve months in splitting hairs and in cutting matters even finer than the proverbial skin of the teeth, it is just possible that we might make out that though he had a very odd way of expressing himself, perhaps Mr. Heath did not mean to contradict the theology of the whole Christian world ever since there has been a theology and a Christian world. But Mr. Heath is a learned man, and a very remarkable man in many ways; yet he must, we fear, take the consequences of his originality in thinking, and still more of his originality and plain speaking, as well as of his putting his very refined distinctions into very offensive language, in the pulpit. The sermons for which he is prosecuted, though concerned with the most abstruse subjects, are couched in the most familiar and homely language. They were calculated to astonish the natives. The people of Brading were absolutely told that 'going to heaven' was an

objectionable phrase; and that they were to see the distinction between 'guilt' and 'guilt of sin,' and were to believe in 'guilt' and believe in 'sin,' but not in 'guilt of sin.' Really, if there is to be a Church and there are to be teachers in it, so very remarkable a teacher as Mr. Heath must count on being misunderstood: and being generally liable to be misunderstood to even a very fatal extent, why the consequences which have followed must follow, and ought to follow.

We can confidently recommend 'Notes on the Epistle to the Hebrews,' by the Rev. E. H. Knowles, to all students of the New Testament. The author has evidently given great attention to his subject, and is both a scholar and a divine. Reference is made to commentators of all kinds, ancient and modern, Catholic and Protestant, whilst it is evident that Mr. Knowles' own views have been founded upon, or at least moulded by careful study of the best theological writers of the Church of England. He makes frequent reference to Thorndike, who, we fear, is far better known by name as an orthodox divine, than by his writings, the obscurity of which deters students from reading his elaborate works.

Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου Ἐπισκόπου Νύσσης (ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου) τὰ εὐρισκόμενα πάντα. Sancti patris nostri Gregorii Nysseni, Basilii Magni fratris, quæ supersunt omnia, in unum corpus collegit, ad fidem codd. MSS. recensuit, Latinis versionibus quam accuratissimis instruxit, et genuina a supposititiis discrevit, Georgius H. Forbesius. Tomus Primus. Fasciculus secundus. (Burntisland: E Typographeo de Pitsligo. 1861.) It was our original intention to enter at some length into the works of the Father whom Mr. Forbes is editing with learning and carefulness which recall the days of S. Maur and the galaxy of French Benedictines. But the two *fasciculi* which have at present appeared contain such a very small portion of the whole works, that we shall content ourselves with a few observations on the way in which the editor has performed—thus far—his task.

Every scholar is aware, that of all Patristic writings, none have come down to us in so corrupt a state as S. Gregory Nyssen's. The first edition, in two volumes, which, however, does not contain many of the treatises, is that of Fronto Ducaeus, in 1615: a third volume was added by Gretser, in 1618; and there was a reprint of the three in 1638. The Benedictines had not turned their attention to S. Gregory when the crash came. Cardinal Mai published a few inedited pieces in the eighth volume of the 'Nova Collectio.' Mr. Forbes says, in very singular Latin: 'De textu edito, nihil decedendum necesse primum stampatum fuit' (he is referring to the 'Apology') 'edendo, anno 1618.'

The treatises which occupy the two *fasciculi* are: The Apology for the Hexaemeron—the treatise 'De Conditione Hominis,' and part of that 'De Vita Moysis.'

Mr. Forbes's diligence in the collation of MSS. is most indefatigable. For the Apology he particularises eleven, apparently hitherto uncollated. For the 'De Conditione' he had about twenty; but the MSS. of this work are so numerous, that, to avoid utterly perplexing the reader, he purposely

neglected others of inferior value. Six were collated at the expense of the Regius Professor of Hebrew. The ancient translation of Dionysius Exiguus is also given, and its various lections recorded. The 'Life of Moses' had but seven MSS.; but the editor consulted two catenæ; one, of the fourteenth century, was lent by Trinity College, Cambridge. Speaking of one of the MSS. Mr. Forbes observes:—

'Ipse contuli.

'b. Regius 584 in folio, membranaceus, sæculo xii. pulcherrimè scriptus. Parisiis degens, anno 1846 contuli. Hic autem silere non possum humanitatem quâ me exceperit doctissimus J. T. Renaud, qui ibi linguam Arabicam magnâ cum laude proficitur. Quodcumque Galliam inveni ad hoc opus perficiendum, multum me adjuvit, et quantum fieri potuit minuit mihi incommoditatem quam nostratibus infligit Comes de Cowley, Parisiis Reginæ M. Britannicæ legatus, qui viris literatis gentis nostræ obnixè negat eas literas commendatorias ad præfectos Bibliothecæ olim Regiæ, nunc autem Imperialis, quas omnium aliarum nationum legati suis liberè concedunt.'

This censure of our ambassador suggests unpleasant reflections.

The previous translation was so bad, that the editor resolved to make a new version: 'Opus improbum et a meis studiis plane alienum, ita ut lectoris veniam *precor* pro multis erratis quæ in eâ proculdubio inveniet.' Certainly, it would not be easy to find Latin written with a colour more completely English. The second *fasciculus* leaves off at sec. 49.

On the whole, this work is a remarkable specimen of industry, and learning, and perseverance. As our readers are probably aware, Mr. Forbes is his own printer; and the accuracy of the typography is not less praiseworthy than the erudition of the various readings. Besides the latter, there are no notes. We could have wished, indeed, that an author more interesting and valuable than S. Gregory Nyssen had been selected for such labour. Of all the Eastern Fathers, he appears to us to possess the least value; from the bombastic inflation of his language, and the philosophical, rather than religious, tone of his essays. Mr. Forbes, we see, considers the accusation of Origenism, which, coming from the great Photius, has puzzled learned men, explicable by a passage in 'Moses' now first inserted. We confess that we incline to the belief of modern Eastern critics, *e. g.* Contogonus, that such passages are spurious additions, inserted probably to preserve Origen from condemnation by the Fifth Ecumenical Council.

Mr. Lowder's 'Five Years in S. George's Mission' (Palmer; Masters) is a really affecting little narrative. It is written with modesty and simplicity, and contains a record, neither constrained nor sentimental, of solid practical work. The fruits of this mission, we trust, will outlive, as even the attempt outweighs, all the wickedness and depravity which has made the name of S. George's-in-the-East a scandal and a name of reproach, not only to the character and authority of those who have been intrusted with the guardianship of the Church in London, but to the cause of Christianity itself. Not the least, though an indirect, use of Mr. Lowder's present pamphlet, is the light which it throws upon life in

S. George's-in-the-East, and upon the character and religious susceptibilities of the pious parishioners who received the sympathies of the Protestant public during the riots of last year.

It is almost superfluous to say of any book published by Mr. Van Voorst that it is, whether viewed in a scientific or artistic light, brought up to the very highest pitch of our extant knowledge and the technical capacities of illustration. The series of works—for though varied in design and character they form a series—on Natural History, with which this enterprising publisher has enriched English literature, has not been surpassed; and Mr. Van Voorst is an instance of that skill and completeness which a tradesman attains by confining himself, as in the old days of Aldine, or Stephens, or the Elzevir, to a class literature. Among Professor Rymer Jones' various publications, his 'General Structure of the Animal Kingdom,' though not the most popular, is certainly one of the most complete. The third edition has reached us, brought down to the last discoveries of the German and French schools in the obscure studies of the lowest types of organized life. It is a full summary of comparative anatomy and of the philosophy of structure and adaptation, ranging in an ascending series from the most elementary and monadic form in which organization can be detected, the Protozoa, to the most developed mammals. It is a class-book, but much more: for even to the unscientific reader, the absence of pedantry, though without sacrificing technical accuracy, renders it a volume of general interest, and it is equally well adapted to the student of general literature as to the professional investigator.

'Angels, Cherubim, and Gods' (Wertheim), is a long and not very readable volume, the object of which seems to be to resolve, after a certain well-known German manner, all the 'Angelophany' both of the Old and New Dispensation into certain corporeal manifestations of the ever-blessed Trinity. In other words, most of the appearances of angels are got rid of. Under the affectation of spiritualism this theory involves the most decided materialism. The learning of the writer is shallow and superficial.

We shall probably have, or endeavour to make, occasion for a general review of the results of recent criticisms on the text, and of exegetic diligence on the interpretation, of the New Testament. Meanwhile we mention the publication of the second volume of 'Webster and Wilkinson's edition of the New Testament' (Parker, Son, and Bourn). Waiving the critical value of this edition, we may say of its doctrinal aspect that, though far from being what we could wish, it shows on the whole a fair and liberal intention in the associated commentators.

The 'Messiah' (Murray). The title is not very explicit, nor is it quite easy to describe the contents of this large and handsome volume. It is at once a diatessaron and a practical commentary on the Gospels; a harmony and an exegesis, weaving into a connected whole all which relates to the biography and ministerial character and life of our Lord; the plan of the work furnishes at the same time a catena of authorities who have in

various ages of the Church illustrated the sacred narrative. It differs from such books as Jeremy Taylor's 'Life of Christ,' in that it contains a vast range of patristic and other authorised explanations and reflections not incorporated into a connected commentary, as in Mr. Isaac Williams's works, but the passages are often given in full. Among the many merits of the book, apart from its ecclesiastical value as a repertory of collected thoughts, is its modest and unobtrusive tone. Though anonymous, its editor has been assisted by many, Mr. Geo. Williams, Mr. Heygate, Mr. Dumbleton, with whom it is an honour to be associated.

'Pauli's Pictures of Old England' (Macmillan) has been translated by Mr. E. C. Otté. It is something like a discredit to us that we are indebted to a foreigner for a sketch at once so faithful and so picturesque of our medieval life and manners. In plan the work is too desultory to be critical, but for a general view of the literature and state system of our country, of the rise and history of parliaments, together with a sufficiently minute description of our old social life, we hardly know any manual that excels the present. It seems to be well suited, not as a class book, but as a preparation for the competitive examinations.

Mr. George Huntington, a Manchester clergyman and clerk in orders at the Cathedral Church, has printed a second series of 'Parish Sermons,' (J. H. and J. Parker). They are directly sermons, not essays, and written in a vigorous style; quite readable, they are also preachable, or rather we should say that they are evidently composed for delivery and must have been effective. The doctrine is unimpeachable.

One of the most important, perhaps without qualification the most important publication of the quarter, is a reprint. The late Dr. Mill seems to have been the last of the Romans, the solitary relic of the old race of heavy armed champions of the faith, armed in the complete steel of erudition of an irresistible and ponderous weight. His son-in-law, Mr. Benjamin Webb, who edits this new edition, a clergyman though better known in other fields, in art and general literature, is himself a man of great learning and research; he possesses, therefore, other qualifications beside those of filial piety and respect, to edit Dr. Mill's great work. Dr. Mill's *Christian Advocate's* production, the famous criticism on Strauss, or, to adopt the sonorous title adopted by its respected author, 'Observations on the Attempted Application of Pantheistic Principles to the Theory and Historic Criticism of the Gospel,' has been republished by Deighton. It is but a theological torso; but certainly it is one of the publications of the century devoted to high theology which is destined to live. Our readers are probably acquainted with it in its old and disjected form of separate pamphlets. Such will welcome this handsome volume, enriched with corrections, notes, and an expansion and verification of the references. At the present moment, and to younger students, Dr. Mill's work has an especial value, since by anticipation it meets a good deal of the reasoning and a good many of the suppressed assumptions of the 'Essays and Reviews.' While we speak of Dr. Mill's learning we must not forget that his style is very remarkable; though redundant,

and at the same time artificial and cast in the mould of a past generation, it occasionally rises into an indignant eloquence which betrays a warmth of feeling and depth of earnest religious zeal which at first would not have been expected. Of all our losses, for Dr. Mill died before he was an old man, that of the late Hebrew Professor at Cambridge was among our greatest.

Mr. J. H. Parker's well-known 'Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture' (J. H. and J. Parker). This neat little portable 12mo. volume, which is so full of historical and artistic information, has been reprinted. After all, especially for its size, it is the best Gothic manual extant; best that is for the general run of country parsonages, and of educated persons, with whom architecture is only one branch of study among other pursuits.

'The Restoration of Apostles and Prophets in the Catholic Apostolic Church' (Bosworth and Harrison), is the best and latest account of that body, which, after all, we must call Irvingism, extant. It is rather historical than polemical, and as an authentic and contemporary picture of a curious chapter in Church history, it has a permanent value.

Dr. Monsell's volume of 'Sermons on the Beatitudes' (Parker, Son, and Bourn), composed and delivered under circumstances of great trial and affliction to the preacher, commend themselves by this single circumstance. But they have higher recommendations. Treading the path of the Cross, Dr. Monsell has practically learned, and as practically teaches, the doctrine of the Cross. In a small compass, but with great depth and earnestness, one who has more than falls to the common lot drank of the afflictions of the world, Dr. Monsell, here reads the same comforting lesson from affliction which he has—especially in a volume of religious poetry—elsewhere taught.

Mr. C. J. Heathcote's 'Last Sermons' (Rivingtons), delivered at the Stamford Hill Chapel, form an admirable epilogue—may they be as consoling *Nunc Dimittis*!—to the work of an amiable, able, and vigilant parish priest. Such a clergyman as Mr. Heathcote may look back to a well-spent life; the last of that excellent brotherhood of Hackney clergy who have left their mark on the Church of England, as well as on those flocks which had the privilege of their personal administration.

Lord Lindsay's theory, that truth is always to be found between two extremes, and that religious thought is in a perpetual state of oscillation, and always recovering itself from some extravagant divergence, may be so stated as to be, which in fact it is, a mere truism. But a truism is a truth. In his recent volume, 'Scepticism and the Church of England' (Murray), Lord Lindsay applies his familiar line of argument to the controversy produced by the 'Essays and Reviews,' and he examines under the same influence the opposite tendencies, the conflict of which gives rise, now to sceptical, now to ultra-fidian, speculations. The subject is quite capable of this illustration, and it is, as this writer was sure to treat it, here examined with a good deal of thought and in a reverential spirit.

The authoress of that delightful and most practical book 'Ploughing and Sowing' has been at the trouble of printing her own 'Scripture Lessons

for the Unlearned' (Mozley). This is a book to use, not to criticise, because the writer has had such experience as few of our readers have. What she has found to tell on her rough lads must tell in all Bible-classes and schools. Our recommendation, which we gladly give, is of less value than the fact that it comes from a teacher so experienced.

Mr. Brownlow's 'Lectures on the Church' (Masters) is quite a good thought. This little volume consists of a series of lectures delivered to working men in a small country-town. To interest such a body on the subject of the early Church is no small success, and we trust that Mr. Brownlow's example will be followed. The papers are sound in principles and lively in style; and here is a method of instilling Church policy and Church thoughts as important as novel.

Mr. Skinner's 'Advent Lectures on Antichrist' (Masters) are worthy of his reputation.

That Mr. Sadler's well-known volume, 'The Second Adam and the New Birth' (Bell and Daldy), has reached a third edition speaks well, not so much for the power of the volume, which is unquestionable, as for the hold which this doctrine at least has acquired on the popular mind.

'Four Anniversary Sermons delivered at S. Michael's, Tenbury,' (Rivingtons,) are more than a memorial of a great and successful work. They are warm and vigorous compositions; and Sir Frederick Ouseley, who preached the first of the four sermons, is speaking on a subject which he has made his own.

'The Help of Women in English Parishes' (Murray) is a sort of sequel to the well-known article on 'Deaconesses' which appeared in the *Quarterly Review*.

A recent volume published by the Camden Society, Mr. J. G. Nichols' 'Narrative of the Reformation,' deserves a place with Dr. Maitland's well-known volume. It is an antidote to Foxe, and a supplement to Strype.

The first-fruits of Dr. Vaughan's work at Doncaster appears in the shape of a volume of sermons, 'Lessons of Life and Godliness' (Macmillan). Emphatic and practical in style, with a rise, as we think, in doctrine, from the Harrow Sermons.

'Litanies for the Seasons,' gathered out of Holy Scripture (Mozley), are, as intended for penitentiary work, of a very deep and searching character.

We are much pleased with Mr. Champion's 'Commemoration Sermon,' delivered at Cambridge, on Commencement Sunday (Deighton and Bell). It is a plea for the liberal education of the clergy. Mr. Champion's own accomplishments demonstrate what he pleads for. We observe in a note a strong condemnation of a recent and remarkable article which appeared in this Review, but Mr. Champion appears to forget that the theory advanced was avowedly a mere hypothesis; and we must say that to quote Scripture upon speculations which on their face are apart from, and antecedent to, revelation, strikes us as being altogether beside the point at issue.

THE
CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

APRIL, 1862.

ART. I.—1. *Versi editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Giusti. Edizione postuma, ordinata e corretta sui Manoscritti originali.* Firenze. Felice Le Monnier, 1852.

2. *Epistolario di Giuseppe Giusti, ordinato da Giovanni Frassi e preceduto dalla Vita dell' Autore.* Firenze. Felice Le Monnier, 1859.

A CONTEMPORARY newspaper, which has tried to take a fair and temperate view of events in Italy, in commenting upon a Parliamentary debate upon the subject, remarked that there seemed to be a want of evidence on both sides. The justice of the observation must have been felt by all who had the slightest wish to form a correct judgment upon these exciting topics. The following pages are intended to be a slight contribution to such evidence. It is hoped, that in rendering some little account of the past, they may tend to throw light upon the present.

And let it be observed, at the very outset, that such study is an essential condition of viewing any great movement with the slightest approximation to equity. Thrice, since the commencement of the Christian era, have the nations of Europe been shaken to their very centre; by the descent of the barbarian hosts on Rome, by the German Reformation, by the French Revolution. We have heard it said that no history of the Reformation could possibly be fair, unless it contained the history of the century immediately preceding. The same canon of criticism applies no less fully to our judgment of the other great movements.

It is only by making ourselves acquainted with the deep degradation of the Roman Empire before Alaric and Attila brought down their troops across the Alps, that we learn to appreciate the doctrine, taught by all great thinkers and historians of our time, of the renovation that issued from that baptism of blood, the ultimate benefit that resulted from so vast an amount of individual suffering. In like manner, the admissions of candid opponents of the Reformation, such as Möhler, may well make one doubt whether, without the intervention of some such

shock, Christianity itself must not, humanly speaking, have perished. Need we add, that the atrocities of the French Revolution are simply unintelligible, without a searching inquiry into the state of things before the outbreak.

What is true of these vast convulsions applies likewise to those upon a less extended scale. Some knowledge of the tone of thought prevalent among educated men in Tuscany and the Papal States during the last thirty years must have its proper place in directing us towards a solution of the questions now at issue; or if this be too bold a speech, as it most probably is, at any rate such knowledge may be viewed as an absolutely indispensable element in the formation of opinion.

And yet it must be owned, that it is rarely indeed that a speaker or a writer lays any evidence before others, without a bias in favour of one set of conclusions. There is almost universally one class of views which he himself is inclined to favour and towards which he would fain lead others. On this point the present writer has not the slightest wish to attempt any disguise. At the same time, he is well aware that opinions about Italy and its changes are in no sense *de fide*. Even Roman Catholics are very far from being of one mind concerning them; much less is it to be expected that English Churchmen should be thoroughly agreed. Let it not be a matter of surprise if some shades of difference upon such themes should be discovered not only among the readers of the *Christian Remembrancer*, but likewise in the ranks of those who contribute to its pages. A newspaper, which has taken an energetic line against the Italian movement, has frankly admitted protests from at least one respected correspondent, who, while expressing thorough agreement with the Editor on other topics, is unable to follow him on this.

The reviewer's inferences from such evidence as he has been able to collect, are to this effect; that the joint action of Austria and the Papacy has been a very grievous trial to the happiness and to the faith of cultivated and thoughtful Italians; that an outbreak against such rule was natural and all but inevitable; that if Roman Catholics, outside of Italy, insist on keeping the Pope, by force of foreign bayonets, at Rome, it is at any rate desirable that his rule be as circumscribed as is consistent with the exercise of sovereign power; that a reimposition of affairs *in statu quo ante bellum* is simply impossible, and if it were possible, it is hard to imagine that it could really subserve the cause of public welfare, or of true religion.

But the objections which may be raised *in limine* both to the premises, and to the inferences deduced from them, are so numerous and important, that it may be well to encounter them

at once, before proceeding any further. So far as we can make out, they run somewhat as follows :—1. That literature is essentially unreal, and of the earth, earthy. Consequently, that inferences from the lives and works of men of letters are, in questions of this nature, inadmissible. 2. That the writer has read books upon one side of the question only. 3. That he is prompted by a political anti-Austrian sentiment. 4. That it is a mere case of mistaken sympathy for the uprising of the lower orders against the higher. 5. That in so speaking, we forget the ills that we suffer at home. 6. That such conclusions are simply the result of long-standing prejudices. 7. That to adopt them is to throw one's lot with the world in one of its thousand conflicts against the spirit of religion.

We will discuss these objections separately. Some of them involve so much investigation into leading principles, that we trust our replies, even if prolix, may not prove wholly uninteresting.

1. Whatever amount of abstract truth may lie in the objection, based upon the nature of letters and temper of literary men, it would surely be absurd and monstrous to pretend that their thoughts and acts are to be wholly eliminated from our stock of evidence. No one could read a sketch of the life and works of Dante, of Froissart, of Dr. Johnson, without obtaining some insight into the nature of the times in which these personages respectively lived. We offer a notice of Giusti and of his set as a somewhat similar contribution to a knowledge of his time and country. But we will add the expression of our deep conviction—a conviction which will be shared, we trust, by many of our readers—that the temper of Giusti's mind was in no wise unreal, in no wise earthy.

2. The second objection is simply untrue. We have been at pains to study the best pamphlets upon the other side of the question. More especially have we paid attention, as we hope to show, to the reasonings of MM. de Montalembert, de Falloux, de Broglie, and Guizot. And we really do wish to ask in turn of those who differ from us, have *they* made any serious examination, direct or indirect, of the evidence deducible from the works of any of the more distinguished Italians, such as Balbo, Rosmini, Azeglio, or even of the temperate and powerful papers of M. Eugène Forcade in the *Revue des deux Mondes*?¹ We merely, however, suggest this counter-query, leaving it to the consciences of others to make a reply.

3. The general question of the merits or demerits of the Austrian Government, considered as a whole, need not enter

¹ 15 Août and 15 Septembre, 1861. We shall refer to these papers simply as 'M. Forcade' with the proper page.

into our immediate subject. We are only concerned with Austria *in Italy*, and not outside of it. It is perfectly possible, nay, by no means an uncommon circumstance, that two persons who are agreed upon their judgment of Austrian rule south of the Alps, should differ in their estimate of that self-same rule on the north of the Alps. Meanwhile, the writer begs to disclaim any specially anti-Austrian sentiments, and trusts that what he has to urge on this head may prove to equitable judges that his disclaimer is just.

4. Whatever inferences may be drawn from the fact—and it must be owned that it is one which cuts two ways, according to certain underlying principles or feelings—it must be avowed, that the Italian movement does in nowise seem as an uprising of the many against the few. It is not, we believe, the masses who have been the greatest sufferers under the old *régime*. Rather it has been the men of mind, the highly cultured, often the highly born, who have been so grievously at a loss to find a field wherein they could conscientiously expand their energies. It is they, and not the poor, who have had the iron enter into their souls. It is strange, but most true, that Turin in a state of freedom has had a much more exclusive and aristocratic society than Milan under the sway of the two-headed eagle. In Milan, and in other cities of the Lombardic kingdom, the pressure of an external rule has had a tendency to unite different classes of society, to an extent which quite astonished the Turinese nobles when they first became fully aware of it. Persons of rank in Great Britain who imagine that a strong feeling against the Italian movement is only one form of anti-democratic sentiment, may well be asked whether they consider such names as those of Capponi, di Negro, Azeglio, Trotti, Sismondi, Belgiojoso, and the like, to be plebeian appellations? We are not wishing to imply that great names must necessarily hallow a cause; very far from it. All that we do wish is, to state the fact, and protest against a mistake which seems to be a not uncommon one.

5. We believe that it is not an English fault to try and dissemble our own miseries. The description of the state of London, for example, given in the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1861, is dark and terrible; and the general truth of the statements of that article is supported by other and independent testimony, as for instance, by a powerful sermon preached at Oxford by the Rev. R. Gregory, of Lambeth, on the Epiphany, 1860. We trust that no organ of opinion, least of all one which tries to vindicate to itself the title of *Christian*, will ever shrink from proclaiming these sad and deplorable truths. But we must needs attend to one thing at a time. The ills of Britain

have not, we trust, been ignored, and will not be ignored in these pages. *Sed nunc non erat his locus.* It is neither wise nor just to dwell solely and exclusively on our own troubles, as if other Churches and nations had none.

6. The objection against any writer, that he is prejudiced in a given direction, is then only of avail, when those who make it can show that they are *less* prejudiced than their opponent. We must avow that we cannot discern much of this freedom from prejudice on the part of those who would fain restore Italy to the condition in which it stood in 1858. But if, in any quarter, it be required that he who would gain a hearing should not be the victim of long and persistent prejudice, that condition the writer may fairly claim to fulfil, inasmuch as his own earlier prejudices were entirely unfavourable to what Father Passaglia calls the *Causa Italica*.¹

7. We have reserved this objection to the last, because it is undoubtedly the weightiest, and that which most affects the minds of those whose support would be especially welcomed by us.

It is, beyond all question, a distressing sensation to religious minds to find that, on any particular subject, they have to number many sincerely religious persons among their adversaries, and many worldly men among their supporters. But holding as we do, with Lord Lindsay, that 'it is the great duty of life to face truth,' we cannot admit that it is right to stifle convictions simply because for a season we may *seem* to be seated on the wrong benches. If it *be* truth, it will in due time find its own, and accomplish the ends for which it was intended.

An illustration may serve to elucidate our meaning. Let us imagine a teacher in Scotland maintaining that it was perfectly lawful to take a walk on Sunday, and to play sacred music in a private room. There can be no question but that he would find himself supported by mere secularists, and by the latitudinarian portion of the public press. It is at least equally certain, that he would give pain to many most sincere and earnestly religious persons. But it is nevertheless perfectly conceivable, that the double misfortune of an uncoveted support, and of an opposition that he much regrets, might prove insufficient to deter him from his purpose. He may be so convinced of the injury done to the cause of sound religion, by the imposition of a burden too heavy to be borne, as to feel compelled to denounce Sabbatarianism, while yet perfectly conscious of the strange alliances which it may involve.

¹ The learned Abbate prefers to spell the word thus with a double *s*. There is good authority for this form. We do not feel equally sure of the soundness of his double *t* in '*legittimus*.' '*Thimothæum*' must be a misprint.

It would, however, be a great mistake to suppose that in the questions now under review religious men on the Continent were entirely agreed. There may be those, indeed, who think that the *Causa Italica* can only be properly appreciated by Roman Catholics. As English Churchmen we naturally demur to an assumption which, if sound, must banish the reasonings of so distinguished a writer as M. Guizot on the one side, as much as our own very humble lucubrations on the other. But for argument's sake we are willing to consider, for the moment, the opinions of Roman Catholics alone.

The Pope, in his allocution of October, 1861, deplores the fact of many ecclesiastics, secular and regular, being infected with the principles of the Italian cause. Are we at once to consider that all these, whose interests would mostly lie in the opposite direction, are taking the side of the world against religion? The Benedictines and the Capuchins are especially forward in that path which the Roman Court thinks so fatal. Have these orders become irreligious? Turn to the case of persons. It is not surely a matter of duty to believe that Father Passaglia must be a *charlatan*, and Cardinal Antonelli a Saint. Then, again, there are the Lectures of Dr. Döllinger. It is no doubt a temptation to all of us to exalt the merits of those who lent an unexpected support to opinions of our own. But an expression of deep respect for the name and writings of Döllinger is no novel feature in this Review. It is not brought out to serve an occasion, for it has been uttered long before his views on the Italian question were so much as suspected. Since the death of Möhler, the very remarkable school of Roman theologians in Germany has produced many eminent thinkers, such as Reithmayr and the younger Windischmann, but none we imagine who, either in mental *calibre* or in learning, can compete with Döllinger. Now, even after making all due deduction for the preface, Dr. Döllinger's recent Lectures at Munich will be found, we believe, to countenance in the main the ideas of this paper. Once only, through the kindness of a friend, did the writer enjoy the privilege of half an hour's converse with the author of 'Heidenthum und Judenthum:' but it were strange indeed, for any one who had once seen it, to associate that figure with the idea of the world as opposed to Christianity. And a similar observation, *mutatis mutandis*, might, we presume, from all we can learn, be applied to Antonio Rosmini, whose book, 'Le cinque Piaghe della Chiesa,' tends decidedly in the same direction.¹

¹ An account of Rosmini and his writings may be found in a valuable article which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1861, headed 'Church Reformation in Italy.'

In speaking of the position of Austria in Italy, we shall be enabled to contract our remarks, from the consideration that so very few Englishmen (and we might, of course, add, so very few Frenchmen likewise) will for a moment maintain that she has any real right of tenure in the Peninsula. Austria may point, indeed, to her long occupation of the position won by the German Emperors. She may maintain that she has been a providential means of checking red republicanism and anarchy; that Lombardy has thriven, in a material sense, under her rule; and that other states may be fairly challenged to exhibit a better government of their dependencies. But all this—and we shall show presently how far we can admit its truth—avails nothing against one prior principle, now being generally granted throughout Europe. That principle is this; *that no civilized nation can have a right to govern another nation equally civilized without any attempt at incorporation.*

Nearly 450 years have passed since a great nation nearer home, did, for a space, thus hold in check another great nation close at hand; and reduced its sovereign to be, practically, the king of a third-rate city, with a small surrounding territory. The oppressor in this case was England; the victim was France. A heroine arose, and was the main instrument of a movement which chased the English from the soil which they had won by their swords. What place does the Maid of Orleans now occupy in English thought? Shakspeare may have lived too near her time to do her justice; but a poet of no mean order, Robert Southey, dedicated to her memory the first-fruits of his genius. One of our best living historians, Lord Stanhope, has given us an admirable and sympathising sketch of her life. There has, indeed, been one poem of vile ribaldry directed against Joan of Arc. But that shaft was sent, we are thankful to remember, by no English hand. No British bard has thus attempted to injure the fair fame of a noble foe. Let the poem of 'La Pucelle' do what it may for the renown of the scoffer and the infidel Voltaire!

But this is no mere question of sentiment. Dr. Arnold and others maintain, with convincing arguments, that a prolonged occupation of French territory by England must have eventually proved most disastrous to the best interests of our own country. Yes! it must be ever thus. The injury wrought to the oppressor is, in the long run, more fatal to him than to those whom he oppresses. We have much confidence in the ultimate fairness of the German mind; and we believe that a day will surely come, when Austrian writers will treat of their loss of Italy, as English writers now treat of their country's loss of France.

We have used the term oppressors. Let us not, however, be misunderstood. We are willing to admit much that Mr. Ruskin, the late Sir Francis Palgrave, and other *quasi*-admirers of Austria, have urged on her behalf. We have no more need to withhold our admiration from the loyalty, valour, and consummate generalship displayed by the aged Radetzky in 1849, than we have to diminish aught from the honourable renown of the Talbots, who attempted to repress the victorious armies of France. It is highly probable that Lombardy has been as well governed as any country could be under such conditions. But, alas! under such conditions bad is the best. The art of the goldsmith in Venice, the art of the sculptor in Milan still flourished; agriculture prospered, nor was the condition of the peasantry at all to be deplored. In truth, the temptation of Austria (and it is one to which, we fear, she but too often yielded) lay entirely in an opposite direction. Her temptation was to favour the labourer at the expense of the landlord; to take away privileges of great families and give them to a city; to favour, in short, the many, at the expense of the few.¹ Surely a most unnatural posture this for a great power, which seeks in her own original dominions to be almost the visible embodiment of Conservatism!

Mr. Ruskin, a somewhat impetuous advocate of whatever cause he espouses, professes, in an Appendix to one of his volumes, to be quite unable to find grounds of serious complaint against Austrian rule. He presents us with a highly humorous picture of Venetian gondoliers, first charging an Englishman thrice as much as they ought, then asking for some drink-money, and imputing the whole of their thirstiness to the iniquities of the Austrian Government. How far this scene is imaginary, how far based upon fact, we do not pretend to judge. We never came across such doings nor heard of any one who had. But we *do* know the following scene to be real and not imaginary, because it was related to us by one of the chief actors in it, a gentleman now serving Her Majesty as the governor of a distant colony. In this same Venice, some fifteen years since, an Italian was present at a *table d'hôte*, where the merits of the Austrian Government were freely discussed.

¹ The last time the writer was on the Lake of Como (in 1853), with one much more fitted than himself, from mastery over the language, to hold conversations in Italian, the following dialogue took place:—*M.* 'Who has the right of fishing here?' *Boatman.* 'The city, and the people pay the authorities for the privilege.' *M.* 'Was that always so?' *Boatman.* 'No; it used to belong to a noble family' (naming them, we think, the Trotti). *M.* 'How did they lose it?' *Boatman (sotto voce).* 'They took part in the '48.' *M.* 'Where are they now?' *Boatman.* 'They fled. They are (pointing over the hills) *nella Svizzera.*' We simply give this as an illustration of the principle adverted to above.

He spoke strongly in its favour to our friend, declaring it to be a most paternal government. In truth, unless prepared to brave the worst, he had no choice. Silence might have been some day brought as a charge against him. A few days' acquaintance with the Englishman convinced the Italian that he might speak freely on the first opportunity. At length the two were alone on one of the smaller islands, we have forgotten which, we rather think that of Murano. Looking round, to be sure that no one was too near, the Italian laid his hand on our friend's shoulder, and said with the sonorous accent of the Italian pronunciation, 'You asked me about the Austrian Government—

"Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor,
Qui face Germanos terraque sequare colonos."'

We do think that the enforced silence, or enforced eulogy, of many an Italian, who had no such after opportunity of speaking out his mind, ought to be weighed in the balance against the absurd complaints of Mr. Ruskin's gondoliers. We proceed to specify a few of those grievances which the author of the 'Stones of Venice' was unable to discover.

What is the primary thought in the minds of governors, who only hold by the sword a country full of people who are quite their equals in everything but actual physical force? We turn back to our former illustration of the case for a reply:—

'Or bath mine uncle Beaufort and myself,
With all the learned council of the realm,
Studied so long, sat in the council-house,
Early and late, *debating to and fro*
How France and Frenchmen might be kept in awe.'

Precisely so; this must needs be the one aim of the long toils of statesmen and councillors, who are bent on subjugating, not incorporating, the prize that has been won in battle. Be it Beaufort towards Frenchmen, or Metternich towards Italians, the course pursued will be substantially identical; and so, sooner or later, will be the result. But while this sort of rule lasts, what must be happening to the governed? What *did* happen in the Italian peninsula? It may not be discoverable in works upon painting and architecture, but it may be read by those who wish to know, in the burning pages of Cesare Cantù and of Massimo d'Azeglio.¹

The charge against Austria is, that she did mainly rule to keep Italy in awe. For the precious gifts of mind, excepting in the domain of art, she displayed no toleration what-

¹ Storia di Cento Anni (1750—1850) narrata da Cesare Cantù. 2nda Edizione. Firenze (Le Monnier), 1852. See especially Vol. III. p. 483 *et seq.* La Politique et le Droit Chrétien au point de vue de la Question Italienne, par Massimo d'Azeglio. 3ième Edition. Paris (Dentu), 1860.

ever; and there was no opening, worth speaking of, for Italians in her other states. Let us again look nearer home. The union of Scotland with England, firstly under King James, and more completely in the time of Queen Anne, was no doubt a great trial to the spirit of Northerners. Even yet thoughtful men, such as Professor Cosmo Innes and others, look back to the separate existence of their country with some sighs of regret. Still no one questions but that Scotland has become thoroughly incorporated with South Britain. To say nothing of the position of Scotch merchants in great southern firms and in the East India Company, there is hardly a prize extant in the social framework of English life, for which Scotchmen have not competed successfully. Within the last ten years, we have seen a Scotch Prime Minister, a Scotch Lord Privy Seal, a Scotch Lord Chancellor, a Scotch Vice-Chancellor, a Scotch Governor-General and two Scotch Commanders-in-Chief in India, a Scotch Governor of Canada, Scotch Bishops of London and of Bangor, and a Scotch Archdeacon of Middlesex. Great proof, as such facts must needs be, of the energy and ability of the race, they are no less a proof of the thoroughly open character of the competition. And hence arises, we presume, that lack of enthusiasm, which Professor Blackie and others deplore, when purely national memories and feelings are sought to be evoked in Scotland; as, for instance, in the matter of erecting a statue to Sir William Wallace. That we have been far less fortunate, far less successful, in the attempt to incorporate Ireland is but too true. *There* the bitterness of religious difference (which has no place in the quarrel between Austria and Italy) has been superadded to the misfortune of the original contest. But England has at least tried earnestly to improve her attitude towards Ireland. If she now ruled it as Austria has been ruling Italy, she would equally deserve to lose it.

Irishmen, like Burke and Goldsmith, have won place and fame in England. They have, of late years, been very successful at the English bar; and they have carried off an immense proportion of the Indian cadetships. But what Italian ever gained any prize worth speaking of in Austria?

Let us look at the question from another point of view. An English gentleman of high social position has the world of active occupation entirely open to his choice. The army or navy, parliament, colonial governments, philanthropic institutions, Holy Orders, patronage of literature, of art or science, devotedness to agriculture—all these professions or pursuits find by turns, in our upper class, abundance of energetic votaries. If some of these, like Lord Herbert or Lord Elphinstone, shorten their lives in consequence of such devotion, they have (in some sense) their

reward in a country's gratitude ; we will not trust ourselves to speak of that higher and more enduring one, which alone is real.

But in Italy under Austria, in those minor Duchies which were mere lieutenancies of Austria, how many out of all these several pursuits have really been open to men of cultivated minds? Should such a one enter the Austrian navy? There was the miserable chance that, like Admiral Bandiera, in 1831, he might be compelled to take his own countrymen prisoners on the high seas, because they had revolted against Austria, or one of the other governments under the protection of Austria. (In Bandiera's case it was a revolt in the Papal States: his two sons were subsequently shot in 1844, by the King of Naples, for having taken up arms on the patriotic side.) The army? We know what happened in the last war, that of 1859; Italians, forced to fight in the Austrian ranks against their countrymen, were found to have loaded their guns with blank cartridge. They might be slain or wounded, but they were resolved, on their part, neither to wound nor slay. Science? It was perpetually frowned down. It will be seen in another part of this article, how even a peaceful congress of *savans* was prohibited. Cantù and others have quoted the famous speech of the Austrian Emperor (Francis I.) at Lubiana, in 1820. 'I want obedient subjects, not enlightened citizens.' He is even reported to have added that it was enough if they knew how to read and write. This to the countrymen of Dante and Michael Angelo! Literature? Cesare Balbo (perhaps the most pro-Papal of really distinguished modern Italian authors) is on this point as distinct as Cantù or even Mazzini could be. Even *moderate* writers could hardly get any peace. It is difficult to name a man of letters in Lombardy, of the very slightest celebrity, who had not to undergo most serious persecution. Manzoni is one exception, and even he is believed to have had a narrow escape: while Foscolo, Silvio Pellico, Romagnosi, Niccolini, and at least five or six others, less known north of the Alps, underwent severe trials in the shape of exile or imprisonment. One of them, indeed, had his revenge. The extreme gentleness of Silvio Pellico's far-famed narrative, 'Le mie prigioni,' did more harm (it has been truly said) to the Austrian cause in Italy, than many a European Congress, than many a battle-field.

Parliament there was, of course, none; nor colonial governments, for Austria has no colonies, and would hardly have dared perhaps, if she had, to intrust them to members of a race so treated. A vocation for Holy Orders is the lot of comparatively few; and even in the exercise of that sacred function, an Italian, in Lombardy, would often meet (as we shall see)

with grave and serious difficulties. In a word, then, the position of high-born, wealthy, and educated men in Lombardy, was in the greatest possible danger of becoming one of *enforced idleness*.

And what does enforced idleness mean? It means gambling, intrigue, profligacy; it means every species of wickedness. Did it ever happen to any of our readers to hear an account of the life which was led by the English *detenus* at Verdun? We *have* heard an account, and that on the highest authority. That narrative shall not be reproduced by us in these pages. Let a veil, by all means, be drawn over it; and let us charitably hope and believe that these prisoners were not worse than the great body of their fellow-countrymen, but were subjected to a form of trial which, happily, is to most of us utterly unknown. But upon our immediate subject we must speak plainly. And as it is our earnest desire to make no single statement which we cannot substantiate upon the most trustworthy testimony, we simply translate (with deep regret, but as a matter of duty) the following words of a high-minded writer already named:—

‘One of my most intimate friends,’ says Massimo d’Azeglio, ‘the Count * * *, a member of one of the most illustrious families in Milan, was known to be a declared adversary of the Austrian domination, without however any positive accusation having been able to be brought home against him. He was one day sent for by the chief of the police. This functionary received him most courteously; discoursed with him respecting the troubles to which young men who get meddling with politics became exposed, and then added, in the most *degage* tone: “Eh! good heavens, *Monsieur le Comte*, you are young, rich, noble, beloved; have you not in your reach every possible means of amusement? What upon earth induces you to get brayed in such a mortar as this? Are you afraid of the *danseuses* of *La Scala*? [the famous opera-house at Milan]. *The Emperor loves young men and wishes them to be amused*: we are not asking of you anything very difficult. Now, do not show on your side any temper in the matter, but just follow my advice.”’

‘Such,’ continues Azeglio, ‘is the impulse which a foreign Government is led to give to the youth of the country where it encamps; such are the shameful means to which the care of its own safety compels it to have recourse. As every career is closed, as an irresistible sentiment of patriotism forbids all access to any, the Government, not being able to supply nourishment for mental activity, takes the line of drying up its source; the *élite* of the population have thus found themselves, for the last forty years, reduced to this deplorable alternative, either to

' devote themselves to politics in secret—that is to say, to make
' conspiracies (according to the interpretation of Austria and the
' governments under her influence), or to let themselves sink by
' degrees into that moral phthisis, which the chief of the police
' pleasantly defined as "*amusing oneself and passing one's youth.*"
' Is it necessary to add that this system of moral enervation has
' been that of all the Italian governments on which the hand
' of Austria has weighed, and which only existed by her
' permission?'¹

We may add that Cantù, a perfectly independent witness, in addition to a long list of other extreme hardships, gives a precisely similar picture of the state of things, and we turn and ask Mr. Ruskin and the other 'conservators of the order of the *status quo*' (as Giusti terms them), is this a grievance or is it not? Let us imagine Englishmen of the same position as this young Milanese nobleman, subjected, in *their own country*, by a *foreign* police, to such treatment as this. 'It cannot be denied,' we hear some one whisper, 'that they would probably become Radicals.' Radicals! the term is far too weak. Our political vocabulary does not contain any *single* word which would fully describe the temper of mind which they would adopt. But, in truth, we can hardly imagine the scene in modern England. If the subjects of such treatment were few, they would fly; if many, the government which dared so to act would not have endured five years.

And this consideration brings us to another sad and deplorable side of the question. As extremes beget extremes, violence violence, and suspicion suspicion, so,—almost as a necessary and inevitable consequence of the *régime* above described,—there springs up hatred of all legitimate authority, whether temporal or spiritual, conspiracy and assassination. Ever since man fell, there have been spirits, who, partaking of the sin of the rebel Archangel, would revolt against the most beneficent rule, and try to pervert the minds of others in the same direction. But how great a handle is given to such, when authority condescends to the use of such means as these. And if (as we shall see before we have done) the sanction of religion is sought for, and intertwined with the acts of such a government, hatred to religion is but too likely to be associated in the minds of the oppressed with the hatred of all law and order.

The very mention of Italian conspiracy may suggest to some minds one very remarkable name, that of Signor Mazzini. Now we are well aware—for we have done our very best to study all sides of the case—that Roman Catholic writers charge

¹ La Politique et Le Droit Chrétien, &c. pp. 78, 79.

Mazzini with having sanctioned, during his occupation of Rome, in 1848, a system of *un-Christian*, or rather of *anti-Christian*, rites. Whether this charge be well founded or not (and if it be so, it is, of course, most shocking and terrible), we can have no sympathy with Mazzini's political course of action. But liberal politicians, both in Italy and in England, disavow him as earnestly as we could do. We subjoin some evidence of this in a note, merely remarking that the amount of that evidence could be easily enlarged if necessary.¹ But the main

¹ Thus, *e.g.* Giusti, both in thought and deed, a sincere adherent of the Italian Cause, writes :—'One of Mazzini's arts of reigning has been the system of terror and the preaching of liberty with uplifted dagger. . . . I cannot reconcile his departure from Rome in May, probably disgusted, and his being now at Paris, making common cause with those who were hand and glove with the Roman triumvirate. The truth is that I grieve sorely over it, and I do not know what I would do to get him to alter his opinions.'—*Epistolario*, vol. ii. p. 441.

And quite recently, in *Once a Week* for December 14th, 1861, Miss Martineau writes of Mazzini [the italics are ours] :—

'He has lost as much by surviving the siege of Rome in 1849, as O'Connell did by continuing to agitate after the Catholics obtained emancipation. Of Mazzini's patriotism there never was, up to that time, any more doubt than of his country's bitter need of redemption : and we were ready to take his word that republicanism was the form of renovation which the freed people would desire. His outpourings of sounding and indefinite abstractions, in his addresses and letters, were not to English taste : and his method of insurrection jarred upon the judgment and conscience of Englishmen : but the most favourable construction was put upon his actions, in consideration of his aim, and his supposed knowledge of the conditions of the work he undertook. Events have proved his political quality with as fatal an effect as in O'Connell's case. *He has lived to be recognised as a new enemy of his country, more dangerous than any old one.* Into the causes of his peculiarities, it is at once too soon and too late to inquire. If they had been understood earlier, much mischief might have been saved ; and hereafter they will afford a curious study. At present, it is enough to perceive that *he cannot see facts as they are—cannot willingly see his country saved in any way but his own—cannot abstain from agitating a people who need rest, and do not need his interference—cannot, in short, acquiesce in the accomplishment by other means of a work to which he was inadequate.* . . . It is plain abroad as at home that while Mazzini believes himself to be a model of perspicuity and practicalness, he cannot meet other men's intellects. He satisfies them of his sensibilities, and of his having notions of his own ; but he cannot put anybody in possession of a clear thought. This is a sufficient disqualification for success in revolutionary action : but he has also misapprehended the conditions of his country's case ; and especially the opinions and will of the people. Thus, carefully educated as he was, he does not escape the "demagogue's" attribute of "ignorance." In some sense he may be said to have succeeded ; for he undoubtedly helped to keep alive the hope and courage of his countrymen in their worst adversity ; but all else has been failure ; and we have for some time seen in him the most dangerous obstruction in the path of free Italy. The people of Italy have a king whom they honour and love, and an administration which they trust. They do not want the interference of republican agitators, who do not honour their king, and will not leave it to the responsible parties to deal with the holders of Rome and Venice at the time and in the mode which they judge fit. The whole Italian nation, and every other, would have regarded Mazzini as crowned with immortal honour if he had accepted his destiny when the moment came, and either thrown himself heartily and entirely into the cause of constitutional monarchy, or withdrawn into silence and invisibility, resolved not to disturb where he could not co-operate. As it is, he has missed the greatness of either position, and has added one more to the long list of political agitators who have begun brilliantly, and ended in failure, with the

point with which we are at present concerned is this. Those who differ from us, insist upon pointing at Mazzini as a specimen of the character produced by Italian liberalism. Far more fair and more truthful does it seem to us, to say: such is the natural product of the combined action of Austria and the Papacy. Let such an attempt be made by any one nation, backed by spiritual aid, over the hearts and hands of any other nation equally civilized, and we will answer for the production, in a very short space of time, of not one, but many Mazzinis.

When these our times shall be discussed by calm and impartial history, it may probably, we think, be maintained that the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, considering the extreme vastness and complication of the interests with which it had to deal, accomplished its task upon the whole with extraordinary success, and contributed largely (however much Mr. Buckle, or other positivists, may choose to sneer) to the peace of forty years, a period of almost unexampled length, which followed. But such an assertion is by no means incompatible with the belief, that two or three very serious mistakes were made, and that one of those mistakes lay in the settlement of the affairs of Italy.

We had intended to discuss the question of the Papal territorial rule in Italy, quite separately from that of Austria. We find, however, as many other writers (French, English, and Italian) have done, that a complete separation is not possible. We may fitly criticise M. Guizot's '*L'Eglise et La Société Chrétienne*' as a connecting link between the two. With the question of Southern Italy we shall not at present intermeddle. Our reasons for adopting this course shall be given below.¹

loss even of the honest sympathy which the lovers of freedom are slow to withdraw from any confessor in the cause. As long as regard for Mazzini was compatible with sympathy for Italy, he met with every allowance. Now that he has himself put an end to that compatibility, there is no question about which interest must give way.'

Two remarks we should like to add. The *first* is, that it is far easier to reprobate the tone of certain portions of Mazzini's celebrated letters to Sir James Graham in 1845, than to disprove his startling and terrible array of facts. The *second* is, that our departed statesman appears to have had a real palliation for the painful step of opening Mazzini's letters. Sir J. Graham, we have been credibly informed, was told that a plot was being laid to assassinate the Emperor Nicholas of Russia, during his visit to England. Sir James thought that such a deed, if perpetrated, would be a black spot on the fame of England's hospitality, and that the fear of it justified a course allowed to be *legally* open to a Secretary of State, and which had been sanctioned and defended even by Charles James Fox.

¹ We do not enter into the questions connected with Southern Italy in the present paper: 1. Because the very title '*Thought in Italy*' almost excludes that lower portion of the country, which has given birth to (comparatively) so few thinkers who have influenced the country; 2. Because the case respecting the two does not stand on precisely the same grounds. An independent observer, as is seen in the case of Azeglio, may very possibly arrive at very different con-

The appearance of M. Guizot's book is undoubtedly as remarkable a circumstance, on the one side, as the pamphlet of Father Passaglia, 'Pro Caussâ Italicâ,' is upon the other. It is, indeed, a phenomenon, that we should live to witness an attack upon the temporal power of the Pope from an ex-Jesuit, and a defence from the Huguenot ex-Premier of a constitutional monarchy.

No one can dispute the excellence of M. Guizot's private character, the sincerity of his personal religion, or the remarkable influence which his works have exercised upon our studies of the past. Will it be thought hereafter that he was equally successful in dealing with the present? We greatly doubt it. We do not, in speaking thus, mean to allude to the ultimate failure of his attempt to chain the dragon of Revolution in France. That may very possibly have been a task beyond the powers of mortal man. But how about the means employed? Is there truth, or is there not, in the stern indictment framed by Mr. John Stuart Mill, when he accuses Louis Philippe and his ministers of having carried on a system of wholesale corruption and bribery in France? Then, again, what judgment will posterity form upon M. Guizot's conduct in the matter of the Spanish marriages? And when they read *his own* narrative of the diplomatic quarrel which occurred between France and Russia during his premiership, will they perceive in that narrative any signs of *grandeur d'âme*? We looked at that narrative before this new book was heard of, and certainly without any consciousness of prejudice; and we must aver that it seemed, from first to last, to suggest one idea, and that that idea was—we shrink from saying how far it was removed from greatness.

In the present volume there are no doubt many admirable passages. There is one, for example, on prayer; which is very similar to parts of Prince Albert de Broglie's excellent reply to M. Simon's book on Natural Religion. But what we are really concerned with are the positions, whether political or religious, taken up by the author. And, firstly, of the political. The chief positions under this head seem to us to be: 1. That Austria, having failed to incorporate her Italian possessions, deserves to lose them. 2. That, although the smaller potentates have confessedly hitherto held their Duchies as if they were fiefs of Austria, the Italians ought to have given them a further trial. 3. That the attempt at a united, instead of a

clusions concerning the two portions. We shall not, however, be able to avoid *all* incidental allusions to Naples; and if by any chance this article should appear to attract attention, a second, devoted specially to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, might follow at some future time.

federative, Italy, is a mistake, and is solely caused by Piedmontese ambition.

On the first of these positions we have no need to dwell, because it so entirely coincides with our own views. The second appears to us to be one on which the Italians themselves are infinitely better judges than M. Guizot. We are so averse to striking the fallen, that we had intended to omit all allusion to the details of government in those minor States. But M. Guizot's line of argument extorts from us, though unwillingly, a few remarks. We must, then, avow our belief that, with the single exception of the Dukedom of Tuscany, there is not one of these smaller principalities which had the shadow of a right to complain when it was overthrown; or which, in its fall, has left anything for the friends of humanity to regret. Does it need any supernatural power to foretell, that if small states will practically sell themselves to the patronage of a great state, instead of trusting to the affection of their subjects—if they will give up (as some of these did) even their own laws and accept those of the foreigner—they must be content, as to stand with the upstanding of that power, so likewise to perish in its fall? Parma, Lucca, Modena, nay even Tuscany—they made their own deliberate choice, and by that choice they must abide. They even re-made that choice, after having given solemn promises to the contrary. On the 30th of March, 1848, the Duke of Parma publicly deplored 'the subjection to foreign influence, to which necessity and geographical position had exposed him,' and promised that he and his son would aid the Lombards *against* Austria; and five days earlier, Leopold of Tuscany had called upon his subjects 'not to remain in *disgraceful idleness, while the holy cause of the independence of Italy was being decided*,' but 'to fly to the succour of their Lombard brethren.'¹ The Duke of Modena is believed, at an earlier period, to have aimed at placing the crown of Italy on his own brows. And Lucca (which, by the way, also promised a constitution in 1847)—what were the feelings of Italians about Lucca? A gentleman, living near its confines, quite as good a person in every way as M. Guizot, throws some light upon this question in the following letter. We had struck out this letter from our list of extracts from Giuseppe Giusti: but M. Guizot induces us to alter our decision, and subjoin it here; instead of either omitting it or reserving it for the latter portion of our article. The date is the 2d of August, 1845.

'TO THE MARQUIS GINO CAPPONI.

'I want to tell you an incident that seems worthy of note, which followed on that execution of five persons at Lucca, under the auspices of that Duke of

¹ These promises are thus cited by Cantù: '*Storia di cento Anni*,'

Taverns and bad places. After searching the prisons and the galleys, after trying to get people from Pisa, Livorno, Empoli, and elsewhere, those *manifattori* of Lucca could not find men who would enact the part of *acolyte* to the executioner. The ill luck of some fellows in our districts would have it, that a sub-inspector persuaded them to undertake it for a few shillings (*lire*). The thing was no sooner known than the Pesciatines were in confusion, and began by dismissing from the silk-winding and the spinning establishments, the wives, children, and all other relations of those vile wretches. Then they collected in crowds to await their return from Lucca, intending to hiss them, and perhaps chastise them a little: however, the men took another road, and got home without being seen. The next morning . . . the crowd rushed to their houses, turned out the family, threw out of window furniture, beds, chairs, utensils of every description. Then they went to the house where the sub-inspector lodges, where, but for the owner of the house, they would have turned everything upside down. There the tumult ceased, without any injury but the broken glass; *without a single act of robbery, without the smallest disorder that could point to any object, but that of making a strong demonstration against an infamy that concerned the whole district.* If ever you hear this act of energy told otherwise, do not listen to the detractors, and believe me, *who know it all thoroughly . . . and mark well that there could not be found, even in the galleys, men to lend themselves to that atrocity of a miserable government, that has nothing of its own, not even its penal laws.* Then when they have fished out of the mire these wretched assistants, *the entire population rises in the name of insulted honour and humanity.*—Epistolario, vol. ii. pp. 77, 78.

We beg to resign these governments to the patronage of M. Guizot, if he is seriously inclined to undertake the task. But we sincerely trust, for the credit of his own respected name, and that of the great country whose affairs he administered, that he may find some employment more worthy of his character and abilities.

But the dismissal of this second political position of M. Guizot surely goes very far to invalidate his third. The smaller potentates threw all their patriotic aspirations to the winds. Even the Grand Duke of Tuscany, by far the best of the number, came back to his capital in 1849, escorted by Austrian troops; by troops, that is to say, of the very nation that he had called upon his subjects to expel. After this experience, the desire of many distinguished Italians to form a *federative* Italy naturally underwent a change. Daniel Manin, had, no doubt, wished for a confederation; so had Rossi, though it seems probable that the latter did not regard this as a *final* form of unity. But even in 1844 we can bear witness, from personal knowledge, to having met, in all parts of Italy, numbers who echoed the sentiments of Giusti; namely, that so long as they could obtain a united Italy, they were comparatively indifferent as to the form it took, whether it were a republic, with a president, like Manin; or a monarchy, under the Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany, or Charles Albert of Sardinia. And (always waiving the question of South Italy, which stands upon a somewhat different basis),

we utterly disbelieve, after patient investigation, that M. Guizot is, in the slightest degree, justified in ascribing the change in the views of Italians respecting a federation of States to the greed and ambition of Sardinia. We maintain that there was not a State in Northern and Central Italy that did not prepare itself to welcome *any* ruler who should display the greatest aptitude for welding the severed parts into a single mass. A few more remarks on this point will bring us, *en passant*, across the famous letter of the Count de Montalembert to the late Count Cavour.

We repeat, then, that the ardent desire to see Italy one, to have a national flag, to be able to say—not I am a Genoese, a Florentine, a Neapolitan, but—I am an Italian, was one which even seventeen years ago, could not possibly be mistaken by any traveller who spent a few months in the country, and took the trouble of trying to find out the sentiments of those whom he met. It is, indeed, perfectly possible that there may be in all countries minds of a very high order, as there are certainly many of a very low order, to whom such desires and aspirations appeal with but little force; but it is no less certain that such sentiments have been dear to millions of men, of all ages, of all countries. And we should really like to know which it is of all the great powers of Christendom which feels itself in a position to rebuke such wishes when conceived and acted upon by the Italians. Is it Prussia? Prussia, pieced out of Poland, Silesia, and the rest. Russia? The country that boasts that seven great seas, in one rude chorus, are ever washing her boundaries—boundaries tenanted by the Fin, the Tartar, the Pole, the Caucasian, the Cossack; the country in which the toast of ‘Holy Russia’ evokes greater enthusiasm than that of ‘the Czar’ himself. Is it the United States? They answer by lavishing blood and treasure rather than allow a peaceable secession on the part of the South. Is it Austria herself? Austria, doing her very best, as is natural, to retain under one sceptre the German, the Magyar, and the Pole. Is it Great Britain? Britain, that, by means of conquest and of treaty, has fused into one people (to say nothing of her colonies), the English and the Scotch, the Irish and the Welsh.

But there is one country which has less right than any other to say a single word against Italian aspirations after unity. There is one country which, by consummate skill on the part of a long series of rulers, has attained to a unity and compactness scarcely known elsewhere upon the face of the earth. The country that has soldered into one the Turanian Basque, the Celtic Gaul, the Teutonic Frank; the country that has successfully merged into its own being, the dukedom of Burgundy, the kingdom of

Navarre, the principality of Orange, the papal fief of Avignon ; the country that has gained Alsace and Dauphiné, and parts of Flanders ; the country which hints that it still needs, to the full perfection of its form, certain territory lying between itself and the river Rhine—

‘ O si angulus ille
Proximus accedat, qui nunc denormat agellum ; ’

the country which, through its ablest writers, strives to glorify *Les Fondateurs de l'Unité Française*—this country, owing, as it does, its very leading and prominent position in Europe to its wonderful unity, cannot surely for very shame cast a stone at the denizens of any other land who desire a like advantage for themselves. The ‘ Gracchi complaining of sedition ’ are a perfect joke, compared to Frenchmen complaining of those who desire a united country.

But there is one eloquent and ardent writer, who has even (if possible) less right than the rest of his countrymen to complain of the impatience of Italy under the rule to which she has been subjected. Some years since that writer said, in the fiery style which he is so capable of wielding, ‘ Look at these unworthy sovereigns of Italy, men of politics so profound, of imagination so marvelously fertile for the injury of the admirable race whose masters they are, *who have succeeded in making of this paradise of the nations a political and intellectual hell*, and who have reduced all free and high-spirited souls to curse this country, the fairest creation of heaven, because, as they justly say, *a tomb is never a country*. ’¹ So spake of yore the Count de Montalembert. And it is he who has helped to arouse, by such language, the spirit of independence ; it is he, the impassioned advocate for the cause of Poland, who could write to Count Cavour, ‘ You are in favour of large states ; I am for small federative ones. ’ Coming from one who calls upon *united* France to aid the Papal temporalities, these words sounded to us at the time, and still sound, very much as if a Rothschild or a Baring should gravely write to some rising merchant, ‘ You are in favour of large concentrated fortunes in the hands of individual capitalists ; I am for small associated ones. ’ Until he has reconciled his cry for a free and united Poland with his denunciation of a free and united Italy, we shall not waste our own and our readers’ time by any attempt at serious refutation of his arguments.

Although we shall be obliged to introduce the subject of Austria again in connexion with that of the Papacy, it is high

¹ Cited by M. Charles de Mazade. *Revue des deux Mondes* for 15 October, 1861, p. 996.

time for us to turn to the latter. * We are, of course, on this occasion, only to treat of Papal territorial rule; not (except incidentally) of Papal dogma. But we assume at the outset that we are writing for those who do not regard the entire system as one of hopeless unmitigated corruption, but who think of the communion of Rome 'as a Church' (to use the words of an earnest lay-member of the English Church) 'which we trust and believe still holds, in common with our own, enough of Gospel truth to save and to sanctify the human soul.'¹ It is not without regret that we speak of grievous faults in anything connected with a branch of Christ's Church. This is no uncommon feeling among English students of theology and history. 'It is no pleasure to me, God knows,' said a writer of manly simplicity of mind, the late Professor Hussey, 'to dip my pen in gall, and rail at "anti-Christian corruptions," or the faults of any community that "nameth the name of Christ."'² But it was well said, in his calmer days, by one who is now so extravagant an assertor of the temporal rights as to astonish his co-religionists, 'False charity is falsehood after all: and truth soon or late will avenge itself on those who violate or slight it.'³ It ever must be so: and as we cannot imagine a worse sign for the temporal power than such defences as those of Dr. Faber or Dr. Manning, M. de Montalembert or M. de Falloux, so contrariwise, there must be elements of hopefulness in the very different line adopted by the Bishop of Orleans and Dr. Döllinger.

But we must first return to M. Guizot. The whole gist of that part of his volume which treats of the Papacy, seems to us to turn upon the point whether or not the temporal power is an essential part of the Roman Catholic religion. It is true that the veteran statesman says that he shall not discuss this point; but unless we utterly mistake that clear style of his, which does not readily lend itself to a double sense, he does *practically* assume the point, as one settled for Roman Catholics beyond the reach of controversy. 'The double character of the Papacy'—such is his language at p. 75, and he is far too consistent a writer to contradict himself in some other place—'the double character of the Papacy is a fact consecrated by ages . . . it is not the entire Catholic faith, but it is the Catholic Church itself (*Il n'est pas toute la foi Catholique, mais il est l'Eglise Catholique elle-même*).' We much doubt whether any member of the Gallican Church, lay or cleric, has employed such language as this; but we are quite aware that two

¹ Sir Arthur Hallam Elton, in his striking tale, 'Below the Surface,' chapter XV.

² On the Rise of the Papal Power (Preface).

³ Manning's University Sermons, p. 86.

English converts, Dr. Manning and Dr. Faber, have gone to this length and possibly a good deal further.¹

We are really anxious to be fair towards our Roman Catholic brethren. But it would not be fair, very much the contrary, to admit as unexceptionable as expositors of their sentiments three gentlemen, of whom two have not been quite twenty years members of their communion; of whom the third is not a member at all, but a French Calvinist.

From America, from Italy, from Germany, come voices of an utterly different character. We must content ourselves with referring at this point to one alone.² It comes from a famous convent. And here, let us say, in passing, to those who are startled by the recent destruction of these institutions, that it ought to be borne in mind that the event is no novelty in Church history. For the last three centuries the overthrow of convents and monasteries has gone on in England, Scotland, Austria, France, Spain, and Portugal, almost, as it were, with the regularity of a physical law. Those who believe that the Church is not anywhere on earth utterly forsaken by her Divine Founder, must surely hold that not without His permission does such overthrow occur, and that it may be ultimately overruled for good. A friend of ours was once standing in company with a Roman Catholic amidst the ruins of one of those noble abbeys for which Yorkshire is so famous. The latter said:—‘Many of my brethren regret the loss of these institutions; I do not: I think that they had done their work, and that fresh organisations, such as those of the Christian Brothers, are intended to take their place.’ Is it possible to believe that this regular destruction could have gone forward, if the monasteries in the

¹ Dr. Manning places the temporal sovereignty on a level with the novel dogma of the Immaculate Conception. This from an *opponent* of both would be intelligible enough. It might be argued *e.g.* that neither was heard of for centuries, and that the last of the Fathers, S. Bernard, was opposed to both. But that any *supporter* of the two should thus combine them, is perfectly astounding; a view more calculated to endanger the belief of his Roman Catholic brethren can hardly be imagined. According to Dr. Manning, if the sovereignty goes, the new dogma ought *logically* to fall with it. What would *Pio Nono* say to this? No wonder that a writer in the *Rambler* is much troubled by such an extraordinary combination of things utterly dissimilar.

Father Faber writes, in his ‘Devotion to the Pope,’ that ‘*even his temporal kingship is part of our religion.*’ The number of the living and of the mighty dead who would be severed from the Roman communion if this *dictum* were a test of their fidelity, is quite incalculable. But it is understood that the Oratorians of Birmingham decline to be bound by the teaching of the head of their body in London. We can well believe it. At Birmingham there is one intellect, out of which Dr. Manning and Dr. Faber might be cut away without being missed; an intellect capable of large views, and of distinctions between what is political and what is religious; an intellect proved by recent works to retain much love of its earlier culture and of English freedom.

² Much evidence on this head may be found in the article on Italy in the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1861.

above-named countries could have shown that, on the whole, they were acting up to their professions?

To return, however, to the particular institution to which we have alluded. In 1851, Mr. Gladstone wrote concerning it as follows:—"The most distinguished members of the celebrated Benedictine convent of Monte Cassino have for some time past been driven from the retreat, to which they had anew given the character of combined piety, peace, and learning. Several of them were in prison when I was at Naples; others not in actual confinement, but trembling, as a hare trembles at every whisper of the wind. One was in prison for liberal opinions, another for being the brother of a man of liberal opinions." Under the new régime, that convent is at peace; and the following paper issues from its walls.

"The anonymous English writer who has now revealed our opinions is not mistaken. But he will be mistaken if he judges us, in our profession of opinions unfavourable to the eternity of the Pope's temporal power, by a non-Catholic standard. The Catholic is free to examine into the grounds whereon he rests his judgment as to the opportuneness of a now immortal form, surrounding the dogma of Papal authority. He can say—It seems to me that this temporal power of the Popes, *not dogmatic, because not conceded by Christ, may, by the force of historic relations among nations, fall, as by the same force it was founded*—it seems to me that the general sense of the times, and the age to which the nations have attained, point to such a fall—it seems to me that, being no longer of use to the freedom and peace of the Church, it ought to fall according to the explicit will of Christ. But I, as a Catholic, will never say, fall on the Pope and despoil him of his state. I might say this, if I believed my judgment to be infallible; but it is not. The men who at a certain time subjected themselves politically to the Pope, not merely followed the counsels of their own free-will, but also an immediate impulse of Providence, which in our opinion as Catholics, governs Mother Church more directly than it does any other human association. For this reason the fall of the temporal power can never depend solely on men. Providence is in an especial manner concerned in it because it has reference to the Church, to a body informed by the supernatural. And this being the case, we, as Catholics, whilst we can always affirm that the political dominion is not absolutely necessary to the Church, whilst *we may even speculate as to the means and the time of its fall*, can never, as Catholics, go before the judgment of the Head of the Church, who, by his Apostolic mission knows better than we do what will do good or ill to Christ's spouse.

"For this reason I might prostrate myself at the feet of Pius IX. and say:—"Holy Father, cast away this political burden: it is ensanguined with wars and seditions: it is unbearable, because in these days the nations will not be borne on the shoulders as they once were, but will walk on their own feet: it is evil because it rends the Church's bosom by schism, and grieves that of humanity, so much afflicted by the nationality to which it is giving birth; give it as food to your enemies, and, whilst they gnaw the dry bone, you will ascend Sinai, omnipotent by freedom, and you will find there the mystery of union between pastor and flock." But, if Pius IX. replied:—*Nondum venit hora*, would you have me rebel against his authority, as that of an ambitious Pope? I do not believe it. And why? Because the Pope is, to us

¹ Second Letter to Lord Aberdeen, p. 57.

Catholics, a man assisted by the virtue of that Spirit who does not descend from the transitory lot of human individualities, but for the immortal and supernatural individuality of the Church. But, because he is a man, he suffers me at his feet, to speak, reason, and advise; because the Spirit, who *ubi vult spirat*, may even reveal himself by the created word of man. Nor will I inquire of Pius IX. *quando hæc erunt*; because the hours, the days, the years of the Church's life are not to be found in the almanacks.

'Christ has said it:—"It is not for you to know the times and the seasons, which the Father has put in His own power." Here is a slight opening made through which you may perceive some glimpses of our opinions on the temporal dominion of the Pope. Very slight, but sufficient to show you that *we are not of the number of those who would thrust into the confines of dogma, what is only temporary*; nor of those, who being unable to make the Pope lay down the temporal power, turn their backs on him, to go, I know not where. We are too far removed from the world to let ourselves be saddled with the political passions, for which French Voltairians—followers of Voltaire—have become, as it were by magic, defenders of a Papacy in which they do not believe; and others would become Voltairians for love of the temporal. Enough.'

We do not, of course, give these as our own sentiments. They are the thoughts and feelings of a thorough Roman Catholic of the ultramontane school. We cite them as one out of many proofs that might be given of the unsubstantial character of the basis on which M. Guizot (with Dr. Manning and Dr. Faber) would fain raise a superstructure of argument.

We shall now part from M. Guizot; but in so doing we beg to call attention to the following sentences: 'Men endure much and for a long time, but not everything and always. Against this double yoke [of Church and State working in combination], the spirit of resistance and of liberty has ended by bursting out. . . . Sooner or later, with more or less of *fracas* and ruin, it has happened that the union contracted between the absolute temporal power and the absolute spiritual power [say, Austria and the Papacy in Italy?] has proved fatal to both!' (p. 67). It is not a little remarkable that the independent defenders of the temporalities are, almost without exception, strangers to Italy: that is to say, they are persons who have never lived under it themselves. France is the great source of these works. It is very natural that, having lost the support of the state at home, the French clergy should be alarmed at the idea of losing the independent support of the Papal sovereignty abroad. But those French clerical productions that we have seen are hopelessly deficient in argument, and though they may show some concern for the glory of France, they do not try to look facts in the face; and display the most utter indifference to the welfare of the Italians, as if *their*

¹ Furnished in the original Italian to the *Edinburgh Review* of July, 1861.

happiness was a matter wholly unworthy of consideration.¹ It is remarkable that the one exception, the most statesmanlike-minded of French prelates, M. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, is, though a defender of the dominion, not an advocate for the existent state of things. He frankly acknowledges that those 'who, under pretence of dogmas, maintain that the Pope ought not to put his government in harmony with the exigencies of modern times and the legitimate wishes of the people, declare thereby that the destruction of the Papal Government is inevitable.'

What has been said of the French clergy must be repeated with sincere regret, but most deliberately, of so honourable and courageous a layman as M. de Falloux. If his '*Antécédents et Conséquences de la Situation Actuelle*'² contained more than an impassioned cry of anguish at the idea of one acre of the States of the Church being reft away; if it exhibited any real interest in the welfare of Italy, we would linger over it. As the case stands, we cannot.

Far different must be our verdict respecting the two short papers of Prince Albert de Broglie.³ As it is entirely to the kind courtesy of the noble author that we owe their possession, this circumstance would of itself form a claim upon our attention; but they certainly deserve it apart from any such consideration.

The line of argument followed in the main by M. de Broglie, is that which has always seemed to us by far the most powerful defence of the temporal sovereignty, and to be one which deserves the serious and thoughtful consideration of English Churchmen: the more so, because it may be considered abstractedly, apart from any view respecting the doctrinal teaching of this or that branch of the Church.

It is urged that, as the world goes, secondary motives do

¹ Lest this judgment should sound hasty, we subjoin the following from '*La Politique*,' &c. of the Marquis Massimo d'Azeglio.

'Italy has always felt great esteem for the character of the French clergy; but (how can one help confessing it!) this esteem would be in danger of being seriously lessened, if it were not for a deep conviction on this side the Alps, that the most complete ignorance of things and men in the peninsula ought to be here accepted as an excuse for passion. Italy has, then, pitied venerable personages, who were throwing themselves, with eyes bandaged, into the arena of polemics. She has neither felt the need or the wish to let blame reach up to them.'

² *Note.* In fact, we learn, at the moment we pen these lines, that a letter from Rome, emanating from a high quarter, and addressed to a dignitary of the French Church, expresses regret that the Bishops beyond the Alps have not shown more moderation and caution. We know, moreover, from a safe source, that the polemics of the few bishops concerned (*six* out of *eighty*, if we are not mistaken) have been keenly deplored by the majority of the French prelates.—Pp. 42 and 45 (text and note.)

³ Paris (Douniol), 1860.

⁴ At the close of the second volume of '*Questions de Religion et d'Histoire*.' (Paris: Levy), 1860.

exercise far more influence over the minds of even good people than is generally supposed: that when the age of miracles once passed away, social position was soon vouchsafed to the Christian ministry; that respect must be conciliated for the authorized teachers of religion; that a graduated scale should (as Bishop Berkeley maintained), go *pari passu* with the different ranks of the laity; and that the same reasons which are valid for giving a bishop precedence over barons, and an archbishop over dukes, tend to make likewise in favour of a primate of bishops, who shall even take precedence of kings. They argue, that as the respective positions of sovereign and subject admit of no intervening station, so he who ceases to be the *one* must become the *other*; that, in such case, the Bishop of Rome (whom even Anglican divines allow to be *primus inter pares*) would cease to conciliate the respect of earthly sovereigns; and that Byzantium and Moscow show the ultimate end of such relations between the mitre and the crown.

If these grounds be sufficient in the eyes of Roman Catholics to cause them to preserve for the Pope the city of Rome itself, with a certain surrounding territory, we are still unable to perceive why they should mourn over the revolted provinces. Revenue can surely be made by subscriptions among the many millions of those who call the Pope their spiritual father: the sovereignty is not really less in dignity without them. M. de Broglie is far too liberal and too statesmanlike to forget the question of the happiness of the Italians. He terms Balbo, Rossi, Cantù, Rosmini, and Manzoni, *les vrais, les sincères amis de l'Italie*. But can we overlook the fact, that of all these 'true and sincere friends' of their country, not one was satisfied with the existent condition of affairs? Balbo was, perhaps, the most pro-Papal among writers, and Rossi among statesmen. But Balbo and his sons fought ardently against Austria; and Rossi, as minister to Pio Nono, insisted on the introduction of laity into the Roman government.¹ Cantù is as severe upon the double yoke, as Dante himself in the well-known lines of the 'Purgatorio': he calls it in his history, '*la gran piaga d'un dominio, che concentra nella persona stessa la sovranità temporale e l'impero sulle coscienze*;' ² and adds that the bad administration brought unmerited discredit on the real excellencies of the Church's organisation. The tendency of Rosmini's views is hostile to the temporalities of the Papacy: and as for Manzoni, not only is his poetry anti-Austrian, but, if we may judge him by his friends, such as Giusti and Azeglio, he can

¹ See the interesting account of Rossi's views in one of the latest Numbers of the *Revue des deux Mondes*.

² Storia di Cento Anni, vol. iii. p. 196.

hardly be a strenuous defender of the Papacy, apart from its spiritual character. Azeglio, who is his son-in-law, writes, that the evils which Italy has so long suffered, and the complex difficulties of its actual condition, 'dépendent de deux causes principales: *la domination étrangère et le pouvoir temporel des Papes.*'¹

Lastly, with all respect be it said, we do not obtain from Prince Albert de Broglie, any more than from the less able and less temperate French defenders of the Papal rule, any answers whatever to the natural and obvious question, Has the government of Rome, more especially in the revolted provinces, been for the last forty years bad or good? Yet it surely cannot be maintained, that the way in which this query is to be answered is a matter of light and trivial import.

Failing to obtain any answer to such queries from the French supporters of the temporalities, we must needs look elsewhere for information. And here let us remark, that we shall have no right to be surprised, if our readers do not always draw the same conclusion with ourselves from the statements which we lay before them, because we are deeply conscious, that many of the works bearing upon the subject have often conveyed to our minds impressions of a character more or less divergent from that which the authors appear to have intended.

Thus, for example, we can hardly conceive a book less calculated to leave a favourable impression on the mind than Cardinal Wiseman's 'Recollections of the Last Four Popes.' The utter want of discrimination between the individual characters of the chief personages, the reticence about historical events, the exaltation of the most ordinary pieces of kindness into heroic and supernatural virtue, and the adulation displayed towards each successive holder of the office, are perfectly wearisome. With the exception of an isolated half-page here and there, and the noble and ennobling story of Cardinal Giustiniani, there is hardly an enkindling or exalting thought in this bulky volume. On the other hand, the tale of 'Tolla,' (known in its leading features to rest upon some substratum of fact), although it is the work of a sarcastic critic and opponent of Papal rule, yet brings out many points of the system that are creditable and winning. So too does the anti-papal Mr. Dicey select characteristics (some consciously, some in seeming unconsciousness) that are defensible and even praiseworthy; while the pro-papal Mr. Maguire informs us of (what we should not otherwise have known or guessed the existence of) such a very questionable institution as the hospital of San Rocco.² Together

¹ *La Politique*, &c., p. 53.

² Into this hospital any lady who has erred may enter, and when her infant is born, she may take leave of it for ever, or have it so marked that it can at any time

with these books, he who would go fully into the subject, should conjoin two already named, the articles of M. Forcade in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, and the now celebrated volume of Dr. Döllinger.

But to the traveller who sojourns for a season in the city of Rome, there is a view prior to any of these, which frequently, however, colours them all, and sometimes with so deep a tint as to be ineradicable. It is indeed well-nigh impossible to judge beforehand what impression will be made upon the mind of any given visitors by the actual sight of any famous place, where a living system is at work. We cannot guess with the slightest confidence what thoughts a stranger will carry away with him from Oxford or Mecca, from Paris or St. Petersburg. But most difficult of all is it to anticipate the effect in the case of Rome. Many return, no doubt, either unimpressed, or impressed very unfavourably. But to many there is a weird spell about the Eternal City, which at once takes captive the imagination; there is (as even Mr. Dicey admits), a glamour-light which throws its hue over all that is seen; there is a charm arising from the memory of all that the place has been, and even still is, which renders the chant of the midnight procession as it passes beneath one's windows vocal with a mysterious harmony; the relics of Etruscan, and consular, and imperial Rome, blend with the holier thoughts suggested by the catacombs, and the signs of the triumphs of primitive and mediæval Christianity. It might have been thought a hopeless task to analyse that strange mixture of sentiments which numbers (the writer is not ashamed to enrol himself in their list) have felt come over them, like a passing spell that renders the exercise of the judgment for a brief space of time most difficult: but an American of rare powers, both of thought and of expression, has shown that it is possible to arrest these fleeting thoughts, and transfer them to the written page. The state of mind to which we allude will be understood by all who can appreciate the marvellous power exhibited by Mr. Hawthorne in his tale of 'Transformation.'

Do we mean to insinuate that on a closer inspection the whole of this magic halo disappears, and leaves nothing but iron and clay behind? Not so: despite all the deep theological differences which divide Italians from English Churchmen, despite our strong sense of the many evils attendant upon the temporal sway of the Roman Pontiff, especially in the provinces, we have already implied that we are not so blinded by prejudice as to see no merits in the Papal government, and we shall

be reclaimed. In this way, says Mr. Maguire, the honour of many a noble family has been saved. This is, of course, quite possible; but does not such an institution remove one bar to sin, viz. the fear of earthly shame?

frankly indicate, as we proceed, its bright, as well as its darker, features.

The one prominent point of the Papacy in Italy is, that it aims at being a Theocracy. It would be a profound and interesting study to examine the points of resemblance and of contrast between the Theocracies which have existed in different times and countries: the patriarchal and the Mosaic, both sanctioned of God, but both limited as to space and in duration: the heathen attempts at Theocracy, as in Egypt and Hindostan: the Mahometan attempt at the union of the two swords in the Kaliphate; and lastly (and of course separately) the various attempts made in Christendom. Theocracy, with more or less of completeness, has been aimed at by Calvin in Geneva; by the (so-called) Pilgrim Fathers in New England; by the disciples of Knox and Henderson in Scotland; by the Prince-Bishops of Germany, and on the grandest scale of all by those Pontiffs of the Middle Ages, among whom stand conspicuous Gregory VII. and Innocent III.

Such a task far exceeds, we need hardly say, our present limits. Nevertheless some brief allusion to the two last-named of these endeavours will be found to lend real assistance to our present investigation. Have the later Bishops of Rome exhibited any resemblance to the Prince-Bishops of Germany in their merits and their faults; have they in like manner on either side imitated for good or evil the course pursued by such a one as Hildebrand?

What were these great faults of the Prince-Bishops of Germany which caused the downfall of their power to be so easily accomplished, so little regretted, so lost beyond the power of restitution? Roman Catholic writers mention two especially; namely, aristocratic exclusiveness, and in the second place, secularity.¹ They say that the chapters surrounding the Prince-Bishops had become entirely filled by men of noble birth, and that the Bishops themselves had become so secularised as thoroughly to justify that famous story about one of the Electors of Mayence, who, on seeing a poor man fall from the scaffold and so injure himself that he seemed likely to die upon the spot, cried out, 'Will no one run for a priest?' quite forgetting that he himself was one. Have either of these temptations assailed of late years the Court of Rome?

There is no doubt but that over the portals of every aristo-

¹ See the temperate biography of Möhler, by Mr. Robertson, prefixed to the English translation of his 'Symbolik.' For the immense pomp, far exceeding that of the Lay-Electors, displayed by the Bishop-Electors on the occasion of their latest meeting at Frankfort, see the 'Autobiography of Goethe.' He was a keen, but not an unfair observer.

cratic chamber there is written in large letters, for all who care to read, '*Admit new blood, or—perish.*' But a charge of exclusiveness is precisely the very last that can be urged against the Roman Cardinalate. On the contrary, it has long been a bright and conspicuous characteristic of the Sovereign Pontiffs that they have pursued, in this respect, a course equally removed from the mistake of supposing all excellencies to reside in a single class, or the contrary absurdity of rushing into the opposite extreme, and excluding members of the highest class. In that remarkable body, which elects one from its number to the vacant throne, there sit side by side, with equal rights, and in the same robes—this is no metaphor, but a literal fact—the son of the shoemaker and the son of the emperor. *La carrière ouverte aux talens* is a maxim not unheeded in Rome, and here then there appears the greatest possible contrast to the Episcopal Princedoms of Germany.

We cannot say that we feel an equal conviction on the other point. That *Pio Nono* himself is utterly un-secular we thoroughly believe. He is, by all account, most strict and exemplary in attention to his priestly duties. Combining what we learn of him from the works already mentioned, with the recent revelations of Monsignor Liverani, we should be inclined to infer from the remarkable consentient testimony before us that the see of Rome had seldom been occupied by a better man, or by one (as a politician) more thoroughly weak, more completely in need of advisers, more likely to become their instrument if they should happen to be badly chosen.

But of the resident Cardinalate we doubt whether the same language can with propriety be used. It certainly seems remarkable, considering the *immense* staff of clergy in Rome, that so very little theology seems of late years to have come from Italy. France, despite the pecuniary poverty of the Church within her borders, has given us a list of eloquent preachers, headed by the late MM. Lacordaire and de Ravignan, but by no means closed with them; and a remarkable staff of lay writers devoted to her interests. Still more remarkable is the list of divines in Roman Catholic Germany. Thinkers, such as Görres, the two Windischmanns, Schlegel, Möhler, and Döllinger are a host in themselves: and we allude to them the more willingly, both because they have not attracted the same attention as MM. Nicolas, de Broglie, de Montalembert, and other eminent French writers,¹ and also because so large a

¹ *Ecce Signum.* Canon Stanley, in his 'Eastern Church,' refers approvingly to Prince Albert de Broglie in reference to Constantine; but when he comes to Mohammedanism, entirely ignores not only Dr. Döllinger's admirable and concise treatise on the subject, published at Ratisbon in 1838, but likewise (which is

portion of their labours turns on topics not so much distinctively Roman as relating to the fundamental points of the Catholic faith.¹ They have also produced a poet, Oscar von Redwitz, who, if not of the very highest order, has yet won an honourable place among his country's bards. The '*Amaranth*' of this writer has attained a success not wholly unlike that of the '*Christian Year*' among ourselves. Of this little volume, which only first appeared some ten or twelve years since, the twenty-first edition² is now lying on our table. Although it would be easy to select passages which clearly enough proclaim the author's creed, yet it seems only fair to say, that the success of the work seems mainly owing to its being a book of lyric poetry, which is free from every taint of immorality or anti-Christian scepticism, and lit up with a pure and sunny joyousness. Of Anglican or Lutheran theology we do not speak, wishing at present only to compare like with like, the members of the Roman communion in different countries.

But when we turn our eyes again southward, there certainly does appear (we speak under correction) a great dearth of theology in modern Italy. The Italian priesthood can boast of Father Secchi, one of the very first of European astronomers, whose ingenuity has raised the Roman Observatory to a station hardly surpassed in Christendom. Cardinal Mezzofanti, though doing little or nothing for the ultimate benefit of philology as a science, was probably the most remarkable linguist of his day. The admirable scholarship of Cardinal Mai proved of indirect service to biblical criticism. A few eminent antiquaries might be named; and in Cardinal Antonelli the Papacy has a politician, who if (as is generally believed) he is unscrupulous, is still certainly able and resolute, and far more acquainted with the outer world than the prince whom he serves. But who are

positively astonishing) Möhler's famous Essay, '*Ueber das Verhältniss des Islams zum Evangelium*.' Now we venture to say, that from these short treatises a thoughtful reader will gain more insight into the philosophy of Islamism than from any in Dr. Stanley's list, probably more than all put together. But the learned Professor, apparently in utter ignorance of the very existence of such books, invokes the aid of Professor Max Müller to do something for us in this direction. We do not, for a moment, wish to insinuate that M. Müller cannot find room for fresh lucubrations on so fertile a theme; only it is strange to pass by the toils of his countrymen in perfect silence.

¹ Dr. Döllinger was asked by the writer, some three years since, if he could recommend any works of his German co-religionists bearing on Inspiration. He hastily caught up a pencil and wrote on a paper, which is at this moment lying before us:—Herbet, '*Einleitung in's Alte Testament*'; Reithmayr, '*Einleitung in's Neue Testament*'; Adalb. Mayer, '*Einleitung in's Neue Testament*.' We have tried Reithmayr's volume, and found ourselves amply repaid.

² Mainz (Franz Kirchheim), 1860. Our allusion to the '*Christian Year*' must not be supposed to indicate any really close resemblance. '*Amaranth*' is, in parts, quite secular. If it be said that Italy has religious poets, as Manzoni, this is true; but they are *all* on the opposition side.

the theologians? There has been Delsignore, and a year since two other names would have been eagerly adduced. But this is hardly a season in which those who differ from us would care to say very much respecting the claims of Rosmini and Passaglia. It is remarkable that neither the two greatest Roman Catholic theologian names in Italy, nor the greatest in Germany, can be reckoned among the supporters of the temporalities.

But may not this dearth of theologians have arisen in part from the immense amount of lay business which has to be transacted by the priesthood? 'The congregations cannot be formed except of cardinals *in curia*, as they call it at Rome, and among the cardinals *in curia*, those are in a majority who have arrived at the sacred college by the exercise of lay functions. There are now twenty-nine cardinals *in curia*; of this number seventeen have had a career exclusively laic; six have gone through a mixed career, and have discharged functions both laic and ecclesiastical; six only have occupied none but ecclesiastical positions. One sees, then, that the majority of the sacred college, which, re-divided into congregations, decides on matters ecclesiastical, is a real emanation of the temporal: it is formed of those strange personages, at once false laymen and false ecclesiastics, who before being cardinals bore the name of prelates. Men may quibble about the word, it is impossible to question the fact; assuredly this element, which rules among the cardinals *in curia*, is an element foreign to the Church, to the Episcopate, to the cure of souls, to the Apostolate, of which the sacred college ought to be the very highest expression'¹

The writer from whom we cite these statements proceeds to remark that the Secretary of State, through whom all communication with the Nuncios, and so indirectly with all Roman Catholic bishops is carried on, is constantly one of these semi-laics. Of five cardinals who have held the post since 1815 (namely, Consalvi, Bernetti, Albani, Lambruschini, Antonelli) one only, Lambruschini, had gone through all the grades of a thoroughly ecclesiastical career. Is it wonderful that Dr. Döllinger should ask whether an ecclesiastical chief must have all under him ecclesiastics? Is it strange that Rossi should have insisted on a very considerable secularisation of offices, as a condition of his becoming minister?

We pause that we may take a momentary glance at the Mediæval Papacy. It then, as now, aimed at being a Theocracy. Its success in the main has been proclaimed by Protestant writers, such as M. Guizot, M. Michelet, and, above all, by Mr. John Stuart Mill, and (though with more or less of deduction)

¹ From the former of M. Forcade's articles, that of the 15th of August, 1861.

by numbers of their followers. Many, though not all, of these eulogists would pronounce the same attempt utterly futile at the present day.

It is our earnest wish that these pages of ours should be read, as we have read the books we cite, in a critical and independent spirit. We have not followed blindly any single writer, and on the point which we are about to touch must again propound opinions which possibly may not, *as a whole, precisely* accord with any of those to whose valuable storehouses we make such frequent recourse. These questions, we repeat, do not concern articles of faith; let our remarks be judged accordingly—*valeant quantum valeant*.

We think, then, that there were (apart from doctrinal questions, which are not now under review) often serious blots in the mediæval attempts at Theocracy, despite the very wonderful work that it accomplished; and that now, amidst much general failure, there are some spots of great purity and brightness. It is impossible, for instance, we believe, to study the Middle Ages without a growing conviction of the amount of deadly misbelief, such as pantheism and the like, which rankled under an exterior made apparently smooth by the dread and constraining pressure of the secular arm: it is impossible not to see that the spiritual weapon of excommunication was often most recklessly and unjustifiably employed. To go no further, these are very dark features of that time: what are those on which we are now disposed to look, if not quite approvingly, at least with no unkindly eye?

We do, then, think that there *is* something touching in the notion, that in one city of the world a man who attends to his religious duties, as taught to him in the Roman system, can always be secure of a meal, can always feel safe from the dread of starvation, because a ticket will secure him food. It may be that this has a tendency to encourage idleness and want of self-respect, and could not, even if feasible on other grounds, be everywhere carried out with advantage. Still it has, as even Mr. Dicey most frankly admits, its good and pleasing side. Then, again, whether it be wise or practicable in these times to visit such offences with legal punishment, we can understand and sympathize with the feeling that marks with an *avvertito* the name of the young noble who has wantonly trifled with the affections of one once betrothed to him, and thus prevents him (within the Roman States) from wedding another. We can understand the object of the rules set forth in that same tale of Tolla, about compulsory matrimony under certain circumstances. And even the ridicule cast in M. About's other book upon the precautions respecting medical students in Rome, does not

prevent us from seeing that, though possibly mistaken, these rules are really intended for the good of their souls. Nor would we complain of the lack of commerce: to this there is a real reply. 'You have the rest of the world for merchandise, do not murmur if we do not spare you this.' And, lastly, though Mr. Dicey may have real grounds for disbelief in the morality of Roman society, yet when we consider how much evil arises from the obvious and immediate presence of means of temptation, we cannot help considering the remarkable outward decorum of Rome as one of those fairer marks to which we are most anxious to do justice.

Mr. Carlyle may be right in supposing, that whatever stands, stands by what is good in it, not by what is evil. For the presence of these and of other good things unknown to us; for some work which it is yet, perhaps, reserved to effect in the world—it may be, that in God's good Providence, that temporal power of the Popes is yet to endure, or, if overthrown, to be restored again for another trial.

We have already admitted that there is real force in the argument alleged by Roman Catholics respecting independence, and respecting the influence of secondary motives. But it remains a profound question, whether such advantages may not be too dearly purchased. There is, we suppose, little doubt as to what would be the result in Rome (without extraneous aid from other cities) if the French troops were withdrawn; and as to the provinces, there is no doubt whatever. It is the admission of the *Dublin Review* for May, 1861—every one who had studied knew it well enough already—that in no part of Italy was there such a thorough absence of conservative feeling; that in no part of Italy was it so impossible to obtain the aid of the inhabitants. Let our readers just think what this implies. Hardly any government elsewhere has fallen without some adherents. The supporters of the Stuarts, in Britain; the *émigrés*, the victims of the guillotine, and the loyal and brave hearts of La Vendée—what a page these fill in English and French history! Even the Duke of Modena had won the affections of his little army; Francis II. found some regiments to defend him at Gaeta; the Duchess of Parma and the Grand Duke of Tuscany did not leave wholly unregretted or undefended. Excepting in the part under foreign domination, there was only one spot in Italy which was *utterly* undefended by its native population. The appeal of the Papal provinces to Victor Emanuel was resisted by a *French* general in command of an *Irish* brigade. None who had not wilfully shut their eyes could be surprised at this. The sentiments of the largest city under papal rule, Bologna, had been known

for years. Most true in spirit, whether true or not in literal fact, was that tale of the Cardinal Legate of that place, who, when asked whether the Roman rule was popular or not, so naively answered: 'I only know one man with whom it is 'popular, and that is the Vice-Legate; and *I am not quite sure 'of him.'*

The contrast of the Roman attempt at Theocracy now, with that of the Middle Ages, is overwhelmingly, on the whole, in favour of the earlier period. Viewing the case externally, it may well be doubted whether the *avvertito* to a false lover's name is not, in these days of rapid communication with other countries, practically useless; and the same may be said of several of the other well-intended rules to which we have referred. Still to this there is, we admit, a possible reply. It may be said by the authorities in Rome, 'It is not our fault if other nations will not help to enforce our regulations.' We turn then to what may be called the internal view of the case, and here on every side there seems to be constant failure.

Look, for example, at the censure upon books. Without pretending to think that system really wise or feasible in these days, we are yet fully prepared to admit that something like a case may be plausibly made out for it. But, O ye, who claim to administer a theocratic rule, remember this; that your censures must needs be judged of by your fellow-men (of a higher tribunal we speak not now) in accordance with the lofty standard thus erected. And how, if offences against the Most High are overlooked, while a word against the temporal rule endangers the freedom of the offender? Alas! this is the case. The '*Operette Morali*' of Leopardi, which inculcate sheer atheism, were freely published and unvisited by the censure; but lo! Passaglia writes on behalf of the *Causa Italica*, and though his language is religious, respectful, and even eminently papal, so far as regards the spiritual claims, he is forced to escape imprisonment by flight. Is this the mark of a Theocracy?

Take the question of finance. Mr. Dicey may not be a person of very devotional temper, and we should hesitate to receive his judgment on the effects of a Church service as final. But we can find no ground whatever for denying his facts; indeed they are for the most part repeated and enforced by Dr. Döllinger. Both these writers, different as are their training and habits of thought, agree in the severest condemnation of the system of making revenue by the lottery. The British government, which does not claim to be a Theocracy, put down lotteries nearly half a century ago as utterly immoral and pernicious; the Roman government of a bishop and cardinals to this day, not only

sanctions it, but (which our government never did) makes it a main source of revenue. Not only is this bad in itself, but it encourages what both Roman and Anglican divines are accustomed to condemn as superstition, as a breach of the first commandment, namely a foolish attention to dreams.¹ Then there are the affairs of the Roman bank administered by the brother of Cardinal Antonelli. We have not been able to examine Monsignor Liverani's recent pamphlet as it deserves; but he certainly appears to sanction the suspicions of the Roman populace on this head. We will not press this point, but it is certainly an unhappy feature in the case.

Many years ago, Prince Louis Napoleon, then an exile in Italy, recommended the reigning Pontiff to part with the provinces which have now seceded. The advice was unpalatable; the giver (naturally enough) little heeded. Yet when we think how many of the scandals which have occurred arose in these provinces, we cannot but think that the advice was excellent in itself, and would, if acted upon, have done much to conciliate the continued and now endangered tenure of Rome. At this point, we may fitly introduce an extract from the *Athenæum* (No. 1776) in its review of Dr. Döllinger's recent publication:—

'We come down to a more modern time, when the causes of the unpopularity of the Papal Government were beginning more plainly to appear. Under Gregory XVI., Dr. Döllinger says that there were two principal causes, which are felt down to this day—the influence of Austria and the clerical administration. The details given of the latter are scarcely paralleled in M. About's pamphlet, though they are conveyed in a very different spirit, and judged from a far higher point of view. "The priest," says Dr. Döllinger, "is the last to be intrusted with the execution of law, for, by virtue of his office, he is the herald of mercy, while the law is the dispenser of justice." The result of this confusion of the two attributes is a neglect of both—mercy is not shown to minor offences which seem great to religion; justice is not inflicted on great crimes which are not against religion. Dr. Döllinger quotes a case which caused a great sensation in England, the Achilli case, and, after detailing the charges made against the Roman system of government in connexion with it, observes that *neither in England nor in Rome was an answer attempted*. He especially blames the usurpation of police functions by ecclesiastics—their jurisdiction over political cases—their directing the Lottery, *which had been placed under excommunication by former Popes*, and the immorality of which is universally allowed. He also dwells on the injustice of trying laymen politically for offences against the clergy, and of visiting guilty clergy with a minor punishment. After detailing an edict issued by the Inquisitor Airaldi in Ancona, in 1856, in which the denunciation of all offences against the Church was made incumbent on every one, under the severest penalties, Dr. Döllinger remarks:—

"It appears to be really the case that in the Roman circles people have no

¹ A lively picture of the constant use of the *Libro dei Sogni* by the Roman population, is given in the graceful tale of 'Irene Mori.' From all that we can learn, the general account of Roman society given in this story seems extremely fair.

idea at all, or an idea very far distant from the truth, of the enormous power of journalism, and of the public opinion which is formed by it or is reflected in it. Everybody who is acquainted with the state of Europe and the relations of the different powers must be forced to admit that three such cases as that of Achilli, of Airoldi (with similar ones that happened before), and of Mortara, would have more weight in the scale in which the question of the state of the Church is being weighed than a battle won or lost."

We are well aware that Dr. Döllinger deals hardly in this volume with the English Church, and thinks badly of the new kingdom of Italy. The last of these is certainly still on its trial; and the other question is not our present theme. But that the charges alleged by him against the Roman administration are ill founded, no one we believe has attempted to prove. The *Dublin Review* for last May complained that he was as bad as Lingard, who is no great favourite with the most extreme section, especially among converts to Romanism; and it charged him with playing the part of a modern Dryasdust, and simply *keeping to facts!*

But of the accusations referred to in the above extract, we can truly say, that on every point but one, we had previously arrived at precisely the same conclusions on perfectly independent grounds. The one exception is, that of Airoldi's edict, of which we were not aware. Enough to say, that however defensible on Judaic grounds, it cannot be reconciled with the spirit of Christianity; and that bad as it would have been anywhere, it was doubly bad in a Theocracy.

The Achilli case was discussed in the *Christian Remembrancer* at the time. The line of argument adopted in this Review, and we believe elsewhere, was as follows:—"If you, the Roman authorities, knew Dr. Achilli to be all that this evidence tends to prove him, what earthly consideration can possibly have induced you to go on entrusting him with the charge of the most important and delicate functions?" And to queries of this kind, as Dr. Döllinger most justly remarks, 'neither in England nor in Rome was an answer attempted.'

The unfortunate position of a priesthood inflicting capital punishment has been very recently displayed in the case of Locatelli. Executed, as it is generally believed, for an offence of which he was guiltless, he (but too naturally) refused the succours of religion. Of course any government may make a mistake in the identification of a criminal, but what will be that criminal's feelings, if they who offer spiritual consolation are the same class who are unjustly taking his life?

In like manner no one, we suppose, who does not wish to see the national religion hated in Italy, but must wish that that sad assault upon Perugia had been the work of any troops but those of a spiritual power.

Once more, as regards the influence of Austria. That great, though erratic genius, who did so much to revive continental sympathies in favour of the Papacy—we mean Count Joseph de Maistre—employs the most energetic language respecting the misery of submitting to the rule of a stranger. He calls it *le plus grand malheur pour l'homme politique*, and presently adds: ‘Aucune humiliation, aucun torment de cœur ne peut être comparé à celui-là.’¹ This is, of course, preparatory to a glorification of the Popes for trying to rid Italy of the stranger. Now undoubtedly the present Pope did, in 1848, take the extreme step of sending troops against Austria as a prince, and blessing them as a priest. But how did the case stand during the reigns immediately preceding? We must again have recourse to the pamphlet of the Marquis M. d’Azeglio. The following is part of a catechism employed by the clergy in Austrian Italy:—

“What punishment does God inflict on soldiers who desert their sovereign?”

“Eternal damnation.”

“Observe this curious definition of country:—

“What are we to understand by country?”

“We are to understand by our country not only that in which we are born, but also that *into which we are incorporated*.”

“Thus, God was made a direct accomplice of foreign despotism to tear Italy from herself: and it is by Divine right that Lombardy must remain incorporated with Austria. Can any one understand the effect that must be produced on generous minds by such an interpretation of Christian dogma? On the side of Austria religious belief is no longer anything beyond an instrument of empire and a support of the police; and the two powers join hands to tighten the chains that bind the conscience.

“You, who have always breathed the free air of independence in a country mistress of herself, can you comprehend the indignation of Italian hearts at the enunciation of such doctrines?”

“May I be allowed, on my side, to relate a little incident which happened to myself: it occurred in 1820.

“I was at Rome, absorbed in my studies, almost a child, and too young to imagine it would be worth while making a conspirator of me; but nevertheless I was inscribed in the black book of the police. One day, to my great amazement, I received an invitation from the Governor of Rome, Monsignore Bernetti (since created a cardinal), to go to the Palazzo Madama. This prelate had been acquainted with my family; and, having known me from childhood, he felt rather anxious as to the result of my interview with the police.

“The interrogatory took place with all proper legal forms, with the assistance of an assessor, who drew up a verbal process of it; it all concerned the merest trifles, and it is useless to give any account of it. When it was concluded—and it ended I ought to add in my entire acquittal—the governor’s face began to wear a perplexed expression, as if he felt anxious to decline the responsibility of the miserable part he had been playing—he said these words to me, which I shall never forget whilst I live: “*Sir, I regret extremely . . . these are odious things . . . but what would you have? . . . what can one do? . . . AUSTRIA COMPELS US TO DO SO . . . the Duke of Modena sends us the notes . . . you see we cannot act otherwise . . . THEY ARE STRONGER THAN WE.*”

¹ Du Pape. Livre II. chap. vii.

'Imagine my astonishment! the Governor of Rome caring so much to justify himself to so very young a man, as to reveal such secrets to him! The surprise was only equalled by the grief it awakened in my mind. I had just realised the idea of the moral annihilation of the habitual object of my veneration, and the Roman Government taught me to blush for my country!

'This incident is in itself less than nothing, but it implies a series of most important facts.'

One of these entanglements between Austria and the Papacy occurred in 1831. Austria, anxious to put down an insurrection in the Romagna and the Marches, was obliged to seek the concurrence of Russia, then actively engaged against Poland. Gregory XVI. consequently resigned all idea of favouring Poland, and millions of Uniates who had been in communion with Rome, were lost to her, and joined (possibly under compulsion, as M. Forcade says) the Greek Church.¹

Having given some of Dr. Döllinger's censures, it is only fair to add the expression of his remarkably sanguine hopes. We again avail ourselves of the *Athenæum* :—

'It is not merely possible, it is very probable, that it will now, even though after a forcible interruption, adopt that form which answers the character of the age and the exigencies of Italy. Should this happen, the Papal dominion will have great advantages over all other governments, and then will the nations gladly return under the Papal sway. What hinders us, then, from looking to a conjuncture in which the elections for the Papal honour will fall no more upon *men worn out with age*, but upon men still powerful, and in the vigour of their life, when the people will be *reconciled with their government through free institutions*, and share in the ordering and disposing of their own concerns; *the higher classes contented by the opening of a conformable sphere of activity in public affairs?* In such a situation of the States of the Church, an open and speedy administration of justice would possess the confidence of the people, a decent spirit of corporation, a sense of their position awakened by honour and official integrity, would prevail among the functionaries—the hostile chasm between clergy and laity would be filled up by equalization in rights and duties—the police would no more be supported with religious means, and religion would no longer limp upon the crutches of the police.'

If such a revolution as this be possible, the conditions of the problem are of course entirely changed.

It may possibly be thought that the learned Professor's objections to priestly execution of the laws spring from a Teutonic disposition of mind, and are not congenial to that of Italy. But this is far from being the case. Poets are allowed, even by grave writers like Grotius, to be the expositors of national thoughts; and to say nothing of those of a high order, such as Dante and Giusti, the works of the minor minstrels of modern Italy are replete with the objections of the Munich theologian. He would say that they have, indeed, rushed into

¹ M. Forcade (first Article) p. 793.

the opposite extreme. We subjoin a few instances in a note.¹

¹ Corruption and ignorance form the first link
Of the chain wherewith our people lie bound.

Hence, he is faithful, the dissolute who first
Rushes to offer incense to error,
And he who follows truth, he is a rebel.

What then is *our* work ? To awaken
In every heart virtue which is dead ;
And if we die in the attempt, we die well.

For He enjoined us this work, who gave us life.

Our oppressors cry, and cause it to be cried also
From the altar—"Your desires are wicked,
Contrary to justice, contrary to heaven.

"But we, we are the just, pleasing to God ;
By us only can truth be rightly adored
In the observance of the immutable laws."

And, we devoted to our country, we
Joined to free her from such cruel rule.

We, already lost, that truth may be seen
Such as she truly is ; we who choose death
That our children may have life.

We, who seek but to remake a strong people
Unworthily condemned to the suffering
And the scorn of servitude.

We are the impious ! we, slain
By tyrant sword, far from the soil
Where our fathers were born.

Forced to count our years in grief ;
Forced to beg a stranger's grave,
Where not a sigh is ever breathed over us.

If the lying shameless boaster,
Brings our silence as a proof that his rule is a joyous one,

Tell the outrages, tell the miseries,
Tell of truth even punished, and of the blood
Flowing from the executioner's axe.—*Giannone*, p. 932.

See, they have torn from her hand
The crozier, and exchanged it for the axe
Stained by baptized veins.

*Hymn to the Primitive Church, by Terenzio Mamiani,
in Baudry's Parnaso Italiano, p. 609.*

A deceitful, tonsured malice
Has divided, betrayed, and sold thee.
Of thy sons, a most cruel ruler

We had fully intended to discuss the question of Excommunication in mediæval and recent times, in connexion with Father Passaglia's recent publication upon that subject. Passaglia evidently implies an opinion not unlike that given in the *Guardian*, at the time when Pio Nono drew forth that spiritual weapon under such very questionable circumstances for such a proceeding. But this first part of our article has grown to what is, we fear, a wearisome and intolerable length, and we must at this point draw it to a close.

The second portion of this article will consist (as its title intimates) of an account of the life, correspondence, and poetry of a man of genius, who thought, wrote, and acted, for what he conceived to be the true welfare of Italy. Protracted as our article will thus of necessity become, we would beg the attention of any who feel interest in the subject of Italy to the career of Giusti; both as an interesting study in itself, and as throwing much light upon the general question. Meanwhile, we submit to the thoughtful consideration of those who would have had Italy remain *in statu quo*, the following positions:—

1. That for more than thirty years (dating from 1815) North and Central Italy were subjected to the combined and unchecked action of Austria and the Papacy.

2. That these powers rendered each other mutual assistance, the priesthood in Lombardy, on the one hand, teaching the duty of unqualified submission to the yoke of the stranger; Austria, on the other, putting down insurrection in the Papal states, and seizing Anti-Papal insurgents (even though amnestied) upon the high seas.

3. That no single independent Italian writer or statesman has come forward as the defender of the Austrian domination.

4. That (with one exception¹) no independent writer or statesman of note in Italy has defended the government carried on in the Papal provinces.

5. That both these governments (the Austrian and the Papal, but *most especially the latter*) utterly failed to find any support, in their hour of peril, from their own subjects.

Has that greedy mischief been—
Mischief loosed from hell,
But calling itself heaven-born.

Down, down, with the amphibious power,
Fertile source of all our ills;
And let the law of the Word of God,
Which it has clothed with mists of error,
Radiant in its native light
Re-unite mind and heart.

Ode for 1837, Rossetti, Baudry's Parnaso Italiano, p. 981.

¹ Count Margharita di Solar.

6. That of the first names in Italy for eminence in theology or literature, Rosmini, Passaglia, Cantù, Balbo, Manzoni, Azeglio, Giusti, *not one* can be adduced as a supporter of the remaining *in statu quo*: every one of these eminent men having been an ardent opponent, either of the temporal power of the Papacy, or of the domination of Austria, or (as in most cases) of both.

7. That the charges alleged against the temporal rule of Rome and the Romagna, by such writers as M. Forcade and Mr. Dicey, have met with no real reply; but that they have, on the contrary, been for the most part re-alleged and substantiated by the first of living Roman Catholic theologians in Germany, Dr. Döllinger.

The action of the Papacy, as a spiritual power, in foreign lands, is not, as we have already remarked, the question now under discussion. Be the reader's estimate of that action what it may, high or low, favourable or unfavourable, it cannot alter facts in Italy. We have tried not to shut our eyes to whatever is good in act or in intention, under the Roman system of government. But, as at present carried on, its faults seem to us far, far to outweigh its merits. There is the spectacle of a would-be theocracy, living on a revenue produced, in great part, by authorised gambling; a theocracy, ruled by men who do not display the virtues of good priests, or the virtues of good laymen; a theocracy, whose administration of justice is miserably inferior to that of Prussia, France, or England; a theocracy, whose censure of books is much keener on the score of attacks on temporalities than on religion; a theocracy, seriously implicated in the misdoings of Ferdinand, king of Naples, and deeply stained by the associations connected with the words, Airoldi, Achilli, Mortara, Perugia; a theocracy, which has entirely failed to win the respect or affection of its subjects. When matters stand thus, we can imagine but one of two alternatives; either that the Roman Court should adopt some such sweeping measures of reform as those proposed by Dr. Döllinger, or else that it should consider itself extremely fortunate in *only* having to part with the now severed provinces, and being saved by the French army from any further loss.

We now proceed to the second portion of this paper, as intimated by its heading—namely, some account of the life and writings of the poet Giusti. A narrative, which should aim at presenting the most perfect picture of the character and thoughts of this remarkable man, ought probably to combine and interweave with his life the letters published since his death, as well as his poems. But such a task would require, most probably greater skill, and most certainly greater leisure,

than we have at our command. We must, therefore, content ourselves with following the order suggested by the volumes under review; and give *firstly*, the leading incidents of the poet's life; *secondly*, copious extracts from his letters; and *thirdly*, a few translations from his poems.

Our main, but not our sole, source of information respecting the life of Giusti will be the biography prefixed to his letters by his intimate friend, Giovanni Frassi. This writer remarks that all that he advances admits of proof from authentic documents, or else, where these fail, from persons of honour and probity who are still living, and can be interrogated by those who are desirous of further investigation.

Giuseppe Giusti was born at Monsummano,¹ near Pescia, on the 13th of May, A.D. 1809. His father was the Cavaliere Domenicc Giusti; his mother's maiden name was Esther Chiti. The father's position in Tuscany corresponded to what we should call in England that of a gentleman of an excellent county family, and possessed of a good estate. The family, like many in our own country, had strong local attachments; they were Tuscans of Tuscans; and such Giusti himself continued throughout life, without the slightest prejudice to his ardent patriotism on behalf of Italy at large.

High ability had frequently been displayed by members of this family. Our poet's paternal grandfather had been the friend and minister of Pietro Leopoldo, Grand Duke of Tuscany, and had assisted in the preparation of that celebrated Leopoldine Code, which is believed to have largely influenced the state of public law throughout all Europe. An uncle of the young Giuseppe, a Giusti, was noted in Florence for his brilliant parts; and this is saying much, for the intellectual standard of Florence is formidably high. The poet's father was distinguished for administrative capacity; nor was his mother's family inferior in reputation for high breeding and generous disposition. Her father, Celestino Chiti, was a friend of Sismondi, and had shared with that distinguished historian some danger and imprisonment in 1799. The *Codini* (as the ultra-conservative party are called in North Italy) used Celestino very roughly, but when the battle of Marengo turned the tables and placed his opponents in his power, Signor Chiti summoned his three principal persecutors to his presence. They implored his mercy; and he dismissed them with a supply of food for themselves and their families, in a manner that redounded to his honour.

¹ This village, which lies a little off the main road between Pescia and Pistoia, is supposed to have derived its name from a hill dedicated to Pluto; *Mons summo Manum*.

We return to Giuseppe. Among his very earliest lessons were the notes of music, and that famous canto of the *Inferno*, which embodies the terrible story of Ugolino. The taste for music and poetry thus awakened was destined to last through life. The Muse has won to herself in all lands many a truant from the drier studies of the law. Giusti may be added to the list. His father wished to see him an *avvocato*, but on finding that his tastes lay in another direction, generously forbore to press the point. In due time he learnt the *santacroce*, as the Italians strangely call the alphabet, under the impression that it is the earliest cross that is laid upon a child. He was a restless boy, and was often tied to his bench. His parents discouraged goblin stories, and accustomed him to go alone in the dark. He had a passion for climbing. As it is our object to give as fair and vivid idea as we can of Giusti's entire character and temperament, we make no apology for the introduction of the following version from his own account of this period of his life :—

"One day, as I was running along the top of a wall, I fell from a height of about twelve or fourteen feet, into the orchard belonging to the next house. Luckily I fell into a heap of manure which received, or rather buried me in its odoriferous arms. I got up again, and, as if nothing had happened, began, all beplastered as I was, to struggle hard to remount the wall, instead of calling for any one to come and open the house-door and let me through. I struggled for an hour with no better result than taking the skin off my hands, when a maidservant, hearing a rustling in the orchard, looked out of a window, and recognising me, exclaimed: "Oh! what are you about to be there?" I, as crimson as a crab, and as dirty as a certain other animal, replied: "Oh, nothing! I fell off the wall, and now I am getting up again: don't say anything to any one." But she came running, tore me, literally tore me from the wall, and dragged me into the house. The family seeing me in that predicament, and so torn and pulled about, persuaded me to be undressed and go to bed a little, to have my clothes washed and aired in the sun. To keep me quiet and still, they gave me sweetmeats, and all came round my bed to make me tell them how it had all happened. How I told my tale I do not recollect, but I remember, as if it were now happening, that they all burst into fits of laughter. When they had cleansed me and made me tidy again, they sent the maid to see me safe home. As we knocked at the door, I felt in my pockets, hunted out a small coin of two *sous*, and putting it into the maid's hand, with a kind of hurried imperiousness, I said, "You are not to stay and be seen; take this and go." When I got to my mother's presence, as the matter had ended so well, I could not resist my eagerness to tell her all about it. She scolded a little, was frightened a little, and was a little desirous to go and thank the neighbours who had assisted me: but when I said to her, quite gravely, "there is no need for you to go, for I gave two *sous* to the maid," she could stand it no longer, but burst into uncontrollable laughter.—*Epistolario*. tom. I. pp. 6, 7.

At the age of seven he was sent to a priest. This first instructor was an excellent person, acquainted with practical life, and quite, in a good sense, a man of the world (*istruito per quello che fa la piazza, e sopra tutto un uomo di mondo*). His merits

were however alloyed by the serious failing of a choleric and impetuous temper. He tried to crush his pupil's spirit. After five years of this rule, Giusti carried away, he tells us, no Latin, a little spelling, a little history, and abundance of vexation and discouragement. He learnt, however, to be a good walker, and to enjoy solitary rambles. His tutor used to take an after-dinner nap, and was in the habit of locking up Giusti at this point. The process seems rather to have stimulated the pupil's imagination. Occasionally the tutor took Giuseppe of an evening to the houses of other priests, and the company used to say over their office. On these occasions, the boy used to manage to pick up some interesting book. The *Lives of the Saints*, especially those of Martyrs, were a great solace. But when they spent the evening at home, the priest made Giusti, though not in training for Holy Orders, say the office with him; a task so utterly wearisome to a lad of that age, that Giusti, on looking back at it, declares it to be a miracle that it did not make him an infidel. In all other respects, the mode of teaching, adopted by this really worthy man, was such as to repress all hope, and all spring of the understanding.

Our youth was now twelve, and was removed to Florence. Here he was truly fortunate. His new tutor, Attilio Zuccagni, was assisted by colleagues. To one of these, by name Andrea Francioni, Giusti always felt and expressed the very deepest debt of gratitude. He was the first who made the young Giuseppe really love study; his first friend, benefactor, and guide in literature. In his class were heard no howlings, none of that too frequent war between teacher and taught, but loving reproof and the inspiration of honourable rivalry. He made his pupils love their work, more especially their Latin, 'in which up to that time,' says Giusti, 'we had been the devil and the cross.'¹

Another piece of good fortune in this school was the appointment of a young *abate*, named Lorenzo Tarli, to walk out with the lads. Tarli used to call their attention, in a manner free

¹ Some of our readers may be glad to see a few lines of Giusti's tribute to Francioni in the inimitable gracefulness of the original: 'A quest' uomo debbo tutto quello che sono, debbo tutto quel poco che so, debbo tutte le consolazioni che ho tratte dagli studi quando ero giovinetto . . . L'ho detto a lui, l'ho detto a tutti, lo lascio qui per ricordo, Drea Francioni è il mio primo amico, il mio benefattore, l'unico di tanti che non mi sia stato Padre-Maestro, ma Maestro e Padre. Dacchè ho avuto e mente e cuore per apprezzarlo, mi sono studiato e mi studio d' onorarlo, e farò in modo di riportare a lui come al mio fonte il meglio che mi verrà fatto tra i lavori dell' ingegno.'—Epist. p. 11.

We need hardly say that such a strange comparison as that of the dislike to Latin resembling that of Satan to the cross, does not, on the Continent, betoken the slightest intentional irreverence. They abound on the lips of very earnest continental Christians, both Protestant and Roman Catholic.

from all pedantry, to everything in churches or galleries or other famous spots that was worthy of observation; the thousand beauties wherewith 'Florence most fair' is bestrewn, '*le mille bellezze delle quali è seminata la bellissima Firenze.*' Plato, in one of the earlier books of the Republic, recommends that every influence of this nature should be brought to bear upon the minds of the young. Assuredly in no place could the advice be more easily or effectively acted upon, than in that capital of which Rogers sings—

'Of all the fairest cities of the earth,
None is so fair as Florence.'

Unfortunately, Giusti had only spent ten months there when this excellent institution was closed. He then passed a year at a school in Pistoia, at the end of which period he got a scholarship in the college at Lucca. By this time a faint halo of a reputation for literary taste and ability above his youthful companions was beginning to encircle him. But the poet's biographer, Frassi (who first met Giusti at a fellow-student's in Lucca) describes the system of education pursued there as altogether barbarous. The following incident is thus narrated by Giusti himself:—

'To give an idea of the discipline which prevailed in the colleges, I will relate two trifles, *quæque ipse miserrima vidi, et quorum pars magna fui.*

'In the carnival we used to recite plays, and every one was expected to provide himself with the dress required for his part. A tow wig had remained tossing about the rooms, causing many jests, and much laughter. From Ash Wednesday to the last Sunday in Lent, it was constantly thrown at the head of one or another, always amongst ourselves, including the *valet de chambre*. The prefect had conceived a mortal hatred for this poor wig, as a thing that continued the carnival beyond the almanack. The good man in the evenings, during our hours of study, had the vice of sleepiness; and to explain matters, the room in which we studied was next to that where we washed. The penultimate evening of Lent, the wig, no one knew how, lighted on the head of the sleeping prefect; then it took fire, no one knew how either. I, happening to come in from the lavatory at that moment, beholding the spectacle, seized a pitcher and extinguished the prefect. Words fail me to describe his appearance on awakening. A heap of gun-wadding, a shaggy dog just out of the water, are faint resemblances. However, he fell upon me, and by dint of pushes, he marched me into the presence of the superior, with the *corpus delicti* in my hand, with the pitcher. The superior, who was a good-natured fellow, on beholding our figures, and hearing the first words of that Iliad, began to bite his handkerchief, and to talk as one does between fits of coughing, and, more by acts than words, desired me to deposit my pitcher and be off. On reaching the room again, I was received with universal applause, and almost carried in triumph. I, who had intended to do a good deed, refused as . . .¹ those triumphal honours; but I ended by being put on bread and water, a punishment which I always think more dictated by economy than reason. The first day as I crunched that little bit of dry bread, I said, "Then I had best have let him burn." . . . But at that moment appeared the *valet de chambre* with a

¹ There is at this point a slight *lacuna* in the original Italian MS.

napkin filled with eatables, and said to me, "This is sent to you, sir, by the rector, but say nothing about it." Then I understood that I had done well to put out the prefect. . . .

Giusti left college at seventeen. He was still extremely ignorant: and the progress he had made at Florence while in good hands, affords a strong justification for the unfavourable view of the Lucchese instruction, in which both he and Frassi coincide. But the poetic vein was awakening within him, and to the great surprise of those who had only known him in his hours of idleness, at one or other of the three villas owned by his father, Giusti gained the prize in a poetic contest at Pescia.

From Lucca, he went to the University of Pisa, to study jurisprudence. Though never addicted to vice, he was fond of youthful amusements, and a great frequenter of *cafés* and billiard rooms. It is however remarkable that he and his companions preserved, even amidst youthful frolics, a taste for discussion on serious subjects: and that Giusti was never tainted by any touch of religious scepticism. Between the ages of twenty and twenty-three, which were mainly spent at home, he repented of his idleness, and worked very hard to regain lost time.

Nevertheless, Giusti never appears to us to have been essentially the student. Certain classics, ancient and modern, were indeed studied by him with intense care, and in the critical spirit of one who is determined to divine the secret of their power, and to employ the discovery for his own ends. Virgil, Horace, and Tacitus, were among these. Dante he simply worshipped, and must evidently have known by heart. But throughout life he would probably have interpreted the line of Pope—

‘The proper study of mankind is man’—

as a recommendation to converse much, and that with persons of every class. He was adored by the peasantry of his own neighbourhood, and always maintained that numberless expressions which pedantry would fain have eliminated from literature, were not only forcible, but real specimens of pure Tuscan. In these, as in so many other respects, he stands in remarkable contrast to the great poet who had flourished some few years before him, Giacomo Leopardi. But we shall postpone any comparison of the two until we have reached a further point in our narrative. His amusements involved spending. Although well off, his father kept him rather short of cash, but on finding Giuseppe in debt, he liberally cleared him.

His spirit of satire was beginning to develop itself. He wrote a poem against absurd patents, and another against old ladies who affect youthful airs. These were what Italians call *Scherzi*.

Scherzo is a word for which we have no exact equivalent in English. It may, we think, be fairly defined to mean 'a lyrical poem of a playfully satiric tendency.' The great musical poet, Mendelssohn, has given the name to many of his compositions, though the analogy is necessarily only partial. Reports of his opinions getting abroad, he was summoned, with a hundred others, by the police at Pisa. This event in his life occurred in 1833, when he was in his twenty-fourth year. The following is his account of it—

"The *Call of the Police* alludes to an incident that occurred in 1833, when I was a young collegian at Pisa, and their birresque excellencies scented a *je ne sais quoi* of revolution even in applause at the theatres. I was called up, with about a hundred others, as a disturber of the public peace, and after being threatened with arrest and exile if I did not thenceforward listen to music in the same spirit in which the heart of a commissary of police hears it, I was asked, if I had anything to say. "Nothing," I replied, "but that I was not at the theatre." "How, you were not at the theatre, and here is your name among the list of the accused?" "Perhaps," I answered, "the birri and the spies have me so much in their hearts that they see me, even where I am not." At this speech the commissary flew into a rage, but I stood firm, and appealed (as my witness) to Count Mastiani, at whose house I knew my man often dined. On hearing that name, it was evident that all the roasts and gravies eaten, and to be eaten, arrayed themselves before his mind; for he changed his tone instantly, and said to me, "Go, and consider this summons as a paternal admonition."—*Epist.* tom. i. p. 24.

At this period, revolutions broke out in the Duchy of Modena and in the Romagna. Giusti and many of his companions became far more serious in thought, and in the nature of their studies. He wrote a boyish song, an appeal to patriotism, which his companions used eagerly to shout in chorus. In it he speaks of the blood of Menotti and Borelli calling for vengeance. They are indeed two names, which leave a dark shade resting on the fame of Francesco IV. Duke of Modena.¹ He put them to death as rebels, but it was (we give the general belief) not until after he had conspired with them to make himself King of Italy.

Giusti and his young companions did not confine their sympathies to words; they denied themselves, and would sup on a penny roll that they might be able to succour poor sufferers for the weal of Italy. Such applicants were never refused, and it is not surprising that the youthful enthusiasts were occasionally duped by pretended victims, who set up for patriots and turned out to be mere scamps.

On the 13th of June, 1834, Giusti having just passed his twenty-fifth birthday, was made Doctor of Laws. He ever felt an honest exultation in having kept far from the crowd of dishonourable men who were preparing themselves, he says, for the

¹ Despite the example of Macaulay and others, we shall generally give the Italian forms of names in this article.

duties of *birri* and *codini*. He left Pisa, loving and beloved, honouring and honoured. His reminiscences of his companions, embodied in one of his lyrical effusions, 'Le Memorie di Pisa,' might find an echo in the heart of many an Oxonian or Cantabrigian; and though the poem is not placed by his admirers in the first rank of his compositions, its associations rendered it peculiarly dear to its author. In the following November he went to Florence to study practically for the profession of an advocate; but, as has already been intimated, Giusti never took kindly to the study of the law. His mornings were spent over his Dante, his evenings in some of the first *salons* of Florence, which his high social position enabled him to enter *ad libitum*.

At this point, our author's biographer gives a slight sketch of the progress of satire in Italy. We shall recapitulate a few of what lawyers call the salient points of the case; partly, because it may enable us the better to comprehend what is not easy for English readers to do at the first glance—namely, the causes of the immense celebrity and influence of Giusti; partly, because it is a subject which cannot be wholly devoid of interest to students of literature.

Italy claims satire as especially her own: *Satira tota nostra est*, says Quintilian, and Pliny speaks to the same effect. Lucilius is its parent; Horace, Persius, and Juvenal brought it to perfection, although each of the three has faults of his own; for Horace too often renders vice amiable, and praises him who destroyed the liberties of his country; a tone, says Frassi, only too easily learnt by those who cannot even say their alphabet. Juvenal, in his stern denunciation of the morals of his day, too often offends against the primary safeguard of morals, namely, modesty; and Persius indulges in an obscurity of style generally attributed to his youth, and an unfortunate mannerism, but which Giusti's biographer assigns to dread of the sword of Nero. If we turn from Latin to Italian authors, Dante must be hailed as the real founder of satire, as of so much besides in the literature of Italy and of Europe at large. His is the rare gift of concentrating wrath into a single word; of blasting a city in a single three-lined stanza; tyrannous kings, sacrilegious popes, unchaste maidens, traitors, robbers, hypocrites, all in turn writhe beneath the strokes of his ensanguined lash. But as the great Florentine has not written satire properly so called, it is usual to give Berni the more than questionable credit of being the parent, as Frassi says, 'of that elegant and licentious poetry, which sprang up amongst us with the death of liberty.' Molza, Lasca, and Varchi followed in the same strain, that is to say, in writing elegant trifles, on *Nothing*, against *habits of thought*, on *pears*, on *eggs*, against *honour*, and in praise of lying. 'Mon-

'signor della Casa,' continues Frassi, 'wrote the praise of a *kiss* (a pretty subject for a Monsignore), and the praise of an *oven*, of which, O reader, I shall say nothing, because, if you have a daughter, I should like you to be able to leave this book of mine upon her work-table.' Of Pietro Aretino, it is enough to remark, that his name is a byword for obscenity. He 'prostituted the genius that God had given him, to ask alms from princes, and those foreign princes.'

Ariosto, though not exempt from the sad license of his age, took somewhat higher ground in severe satires, not wholly unworthy of his great powers. Salvator Rosa, better known as a painter, has left some generous strains to which Giusti was not unindebted. Menzini, a Florentine of humble origin and great poverty, wrote some verses which Giusti terms *un raro modello di stile*; especially of that style of diction and versification which is the best fitted for the purposes of satire. The following is Signor Frassi's portraiture of the tone of the eighteenth century in Italy:—

'The last century was an age of prodigious softness. Whilst the country was divided amongst themselves by foreigners, academicians and men of letters showered sonnets in praise of Lauras who never had existed, and of princes who did not deserve to exist. . . . Metastasio received nothing for his whole works. Goldoni's Dramas, says Gozzi, were bought at about twelve *lire* the sheet, so that they brought him, altogether, about as much each line as each stitch of a cobbler. Of legislation I say nothing; torture was the light by which guilt was tracked, arbitrary will the standard of the punishments inflicted: and these consisted always of fines to be paid to the treasury. You may conceive how well their payment was looked after.'—Pp. 32, 33.

We omit the remainder of this picture, which is even more sad and sombre when it touches upon the state of morals. The manners of the time, says Frassi, seemed made expressly to inspire satirists, and they arose in much force and variety. Casti, whose '*Animali Parlanti*' well deserves the attention of readers of Italian, satirised courts with wonderful cleverness, and Alfieri exerted his great powers in a somewhat similar direction. But at the head of all stands Parini. His poem, entitled '*The Day*,' is replete with beauty. The majesty of its verse, the felicity of its comic gravity, the elegance with which even trivial matters are introduced; its loving and honest indignation, its power of irony, and, above all, its lofty, liberal, and generous sentiments, place this poem at the head of its class.¹

There was still room for a satirist of another kind. Such a satirist appeared in the person of Giuseppe Giusti, the creator and prince of political satire in Italy. Leaving it to others to

¹ The student of Italian literature may verify much of this criticism by obtaining the volume '*Parnaso Italiano*,' or '*Poeti Contemporanei Italiani*:' (Baudry, Paris. 1847.

scourge the faults of families, he was destined to lash the faults of the governors of his country; leaving to others the satire of private vices, he was to become the scourge of public ones.

In the year 1835, the twenty-sixth of Giusti's life, there occurred an incident, common to most men, but often especially influential upon the career of poets. He fell in love. The lady, pointed out to Frassi by Giusti himself at Lucca, was very beautiful. She reciprocated the poet's affection, and (it is believed) gave him her troth; but, for some reason unexplained, she subsequently saw fit to break off the engagement.

This event was a blow to Giusti's happiness, from which he never thoroughly recovered. His conduct under it was characteristic. He did not, like Byron and others, take the public into his confidence. He did not rail at the entire sex, and cease to believe in human fidelity and goodness. He did not try to drown his sorrows in vice or dissipation. But those who knew him best, in time became aware that a deep shadow had fallen over him: and some have believed, and not without apparent reason, that the poet's views of life were tinged with a more saturnine aspect in consequence of this misfortune.¹

And yet we should be unwilling indeed to believe that a grief borne with so much dignity, and in so religious a temper, was not overruled to his good far more than to his harm. Of the date 1836, while his love yet prospered, we have a most graceful poem, '*All' Amica Lontana.*' The next year is the date of a striking sonnet, headed, '*La Fiducia in Dio,*' which professes to relate only to a statue by the sculptor Bartolini, which was so called. It was true that the statue had suggested most consolatory thoughts to Giusti's mind, then suffering from what he always deemed an act of treachery. But would the same statue, meritorious as we believe it to be, have conveyed such lessons before his trial? We may safely answer in the negative.

Giusti sought no second love. But the failure of matrimonial prospects was not the only trial of his life; he was also destined to suffer much at the hands of extreme politicians. His own principles were as far removed from the school of Mazzini, as from that of absolutism. He belonged to that class of moderate liberals who were anxious to prepare the Italian people for liberty, and then to bide their time. Consequently, he promoted education, and wrote poems; but he did not join in any

¹ It is only at this point that we have had the opportunity of consulting the article on Giusti by the late Mr. H. Lushington. It was written before the publication of the poet's letters. But although Gualterio, Mr. L.'s chief authority, is less full than Frassi, he perfectly coincides with him in his account. To Mr. Lushington we owe, indirectly, our acquaintance with Giusti.

conspiracy. This moderation made him an object of dislike and persecution to the extreme liberals and revolutionists.

On the other hand, his poems were obnoxious to the ruling powers, and for a long time could not safely be published. They were, however, copied out in manuscript by hundreds and by thousands, and handed about. The merits of his earlier productions were not immediately perceived by all; but the poem of 'L' Incoronazione,' in 1838, thoroughly took the Florentine world by storm, and made captious critics confess that they had greatly underrated the previous ones. Of the peculiar merits of Giusti's poetry, we must speak hereafter; but one or two features deserve notice before we proceed.

Giusti is a satirist; but his satire is never personal. He was justly indignant at those who tried to make out supposed applications of his verses to individuals. But are we to conclude that because he spoke ironically and often playfully, he therefore thought lightly of the evils which he described? Nothing could be farther from the truth than such a supposition. Indeed, we hardly know a better illustration than Giusti, of the soundness of a position taken up by Mr. Keble in his 'Prælectiones Academicæ;' namely, that irony is often a pledge of deep and sincere feeling, a mark of those whom he calls *primary poets*. 'Non raro evenit, ut qui acerbissime omnium afflictis perditisque rebus, mœrebant, *iidem verbis cæperint nugari et ludere*. . . Neque vero mœrentibus solum aut aliquo modo graviter commotis, fictus ille quasi lusus conveniet; *sed in gravissimis quoque rebus nonnumquam eo sunt usi, qui suos severissime monitos vellent.*'¹ Giusti *did* desire that his countrymen should be 'most seriously warned;' he found that many, who cared little for Dantesque indignation, winced beneath the lash of satire; but the key to the greater part of his playfulness, and the secret of much of his wonderful influence over thought in Italy, lies in one of his lines, which he often (at least in substance) repeats—

'This that *appears* a smile, and *is* sorrow.'

'Questo che par sorriso, ed è dolore.'

The peculiar circumstance of these poems, being only written and recited, but not published, induced several very second-rate imitators to hand about *their* poems as Giusti's. Not only was this a grievous literary fraud, but we shall see that it led our poet into trouble of another kind. Giusti never sneered at religion, nor at any of the gentler affections of the human heart; but the authors of verses circulated in his name were

¹ Tom. i. p. 70. Mr. Keble refers to Micaiah's irony towards Ahab and similar instances. He might have added Elijah's to the priests of Baal.

by no means equally scrupulous. It is necessary to bear this in mind, that we may understand one of Manzoni's letters to our author.

Not only, however, were the *poems* received with boundless enthusiasm; their *author* was likewise sought everywhere. His personal attractions fully sustained the *furor* excited by his verses. A graceful figure and fine countenance, on which goodness was written; a liveliness playing across the melancholy of his sorrow for himself and for his country, made him on every side a favourite, especially with the gentler sex. One of the reigning dukes (we presume of Lucca or of Tuscany) asked Professor Luigi Pacini to introduce Giusti to him; but this was civilly declined on Giusti's part. Besides the great in station, two classes of men especially sought him—the men of letters, who regarded his *Scherzi* as a model of pure Italian; the patriots, who beheld in him a new and potent weapon against the foes of Italy.

We next hear of a serious loss of books and papers by an unlucky candle setting fire to them; of the death of an honoured uncle; of a journey to Rome and Naples with his mother; of an illness, and of a visit to Enrico Mayer at that town whose graceful name of *Livorno* we English have corrupted into *Leghorn*. Here, while still an invalid, Giusti was much annoyed by the conduct of a bookseller at Lugano in Switzerland. This man published an edition of Giusti's poems, which was not merely pirated, but which contained quantities of trash that was not his, and very incorrect copies of those poems that really had proceeded from his pen. After much vexation and trouble, he bought the man up. It is fair to add, that the bookseller subsequently offered compensation; but it was not accepted by the poet.

It is a matter of some curiosity why, when the authorship of Giusti's poems had become so well known, the poet himself was never arrested. Several reasons may be assigned. In the first place, he never (as he himself remarks) courted the position of a victim, as many did. Then again, he was an awkward person to attack. His good social position, his powerful friends, his popularity in his own neighbourhood, the difficulty of legal proof, the dread of his satiric powers being turned against those who should take measures against him—all these things were in his favour. But this is only one side of the case; and we do not wish that this should be a merely one-sided article. The other side is this; that Giusti had the good fortune to live, not in the Kingdom of Naples, nor in the Papal States, nor under the

¹ The impressions made on Giusti's mind by this journey will appear in one of our extracts from his letters.

Lombardic Vice-Royalty, nor in the Duchies of Lucca, or of Modena; but under the sway of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, a prince, of all the fallen rulers, the best and mildest, and only probably unhappy in being so completely a lieutenant of Austria.

We have alluded to Giusti's friends. Of what sort were they? We all feel the truth of the maxim, *noscitur à sociis*; all recognise the light thrown upon a man's character by his associates. To the query, 'who were Giusti's set?' we reply, that they were a high-minded, religious, patriotic circle, strangers to all that is base or unbelieving, and to all that is changeful for mere change's sake. They were a set that desired to see Italy (to quote a favourite phrase of Giusti's) 'as God made her;' governed by Italians, free from the yoke of the stranger; permitted to think and to express her thoughts without the fear of the dungeon; but not the prey of licence and of 'anarchy. We give the names of some;—Alessandro Manzoni, Massimo d'Azeglio, Enrico Mayer, Cesare Balbo, Grossi, Torti, Rosmini, Niccolò Tommaseo, Carlo Poerio. Most especially, too, should we mention the patriotic fosterer of art and letters—of everything good—in Florence, the statesman and but too ardent¹ student, the Marquis Gino Capponi. Among Giusti's lady friends, one stands pre-eminent. The Marchioness Luisa d'Azeglio, daughter of Manzoni, and wife of Massimo d'Azeglio, seems to have been to Giusti what the Germans call *eine Freundin*; that happy term which denotes an alliance hardly possible, perhaps, between those of the same sex, but which yet involves no element of love.

Giusti now projected, and carried out, a work which would of itself probably endear his name to a distinguished writer among ourselves, the Dean of Westminster. This was a collection of all the proverbs of Tuscany; and it is allowed on all hands to be a most useful and well-executed book. No one probably, less popular among the peasantry of his district than Giusti, could have achieved the task so successfully. He also planned a new edition of Dante; but this, to the great loss of European literature, was never finished. His studies at this period were especially in Virgil and Montaigne. So highly was his command of his own tongue now thought of, that we find Azeglio and others of high literary standing writing to him for corrections, and his special friend, the Marchesa, playfully declaring herself afraid to correspond with such a master of the language. Italians say, that in Giusti's poems were found many a time, side

¹ Capponi fell into a mistake but too common among Italian thinkers: he studied too hard and became blind. The family have for 400 years continually produced distinguished men.

by side, some two words that had never thus stood together before; that the rare felicity of the combination at once approved itself to the nation's mind and ear, and that the expressions became there and then, and thenceforth for ever, part and parcel of the Italian tongue. But this feature must, of course, be entirely lost in a translation. The 'untranslatable magic of words,' which Southey compared to the *open sesame* of the Arabian tale, is most especially conspicuous in Giusti. We despair of conveying even its image to our readers, but their knowledge of the value of the judgment passed by such men as Manzoni and Azeglio, no less than by the many, may prove an inducement to accept something upon faith.

The study of language was a passion with Giusti. It is no doubt easy to point out examples of particular men and particular epochs, in which attention to style and felicity of expression have occupied an undue share of attention. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that cultivation of the vehicle of human thought implied, of necessity, a deficiency in intellectual power, or in influence over other minds. There is an abundant list of influential speakers and powerful thinkers to attest the contrary. Demosthenes is believed to have twice copied out Thucydides. Lord Chatham knew Dryden by heart. Erskine enjoyed a similar degree of acquaintance with Milton and Shakespeare. Hugh Miller could recite volumes of our eighteenth-century poetry. Plato was employed to the last in re-weaving and polishing his sentences; and the first words of the 'Republic' are said to have been found in his desk, arranged in varied order, that the best might be ultimately selected. The apparent simplicity of Rousseau's style is known to have been the result of immense labour. Dr. Newman, in his most recent publication (his 'Lectures on University Subjects'), clearly makes known, what might have been guessed before, namely, that he has, at one time of his life, devoted intense attention to style, both in Latin and English. Now, to say nothing of the orators, no one, we suppose, will question the power or influence of such men as Plato, Rousseau, or Dr. Newman. It is highly probable that this list might be almost indefinitely enlarged; if all, who have really studied style and power of expression, were equally honest in avowing it. But, as Archbishop Whately justly hints in his 'Rhetoric,' it is no uncommon thing for men to disavow all such preparations, and try to make their hearers or readers imagine, that the whole secret of their power lies in untutored genius.

Giusti's studies, however, in this respect were not devoted to any merely literary end. Desiring to see Italy one, he maintained that her language ought to become one; and that the

language of his own Tuscany was the standard of purity. Ten Giustis, said Manzoni, would have settled for ever this question of language. Ten Giustis, adds Frassi, would have settled in like manner the politics of Italy.

The poet's plans of composition were somewhat singular. He would strike off the rough draft of a poem, and read it to friends. On two classes he especially depended, common people and ladies of rank. (It is a curious illustration of Giusti's views in this respect, that a large proportion of the beautiful Scotch ballads, prior to Burns, were written by high-born ladies, who saw a great deal of their humbler neighbours.¹) From those below him Giusti gained hints, as Molière is said to have done from his housekeeper, respecting the presence or absence of strokes that would be recognised by the many. From his feminine critics, for whose taste and judgment he had great respect, he learnt to avoid all that might even seem to border on the regions of scurrility or lack of refinement. The poem was then laid by for some months, or even years. He would then take it out, judge it with the austerity of a critic on the performance of another man, file, polish, and alter even the very commas. His ideal was high, and hard to satisfy; his love of art and form inducing what his biographer terms a sublime discontent. He evidently also, though less inclined to admit this, took great pains with his letters: hence they have already become a part of Italian literature.

Lest we should seem to depict our author as 'a faultless monster,' it is right to add, that his temper was easily roused, and that he could, in such cases, be rude. But though thus warranting the saying about the *genus irritabile vatum*, more especially after his disappointment, he was easily brought round, and most winning in his way of asking pardon. He has been taxed with avarice; but for this charge we can find no foundation whatever; and it is, we believe, in full accordance with the whole tenour of the poet's life, that the proceeds of his posthumous works should be given (as his friends have decided to give them) to the *Asili Infantili* at Pisa.

The accession of Pio Nono was an epoch in Italian history. The princes began, willingly or unwillingly, to follow in the footsteps of the reforming Pope. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, Leopoldo II., was one of the imitators; and Giusti wrote some verses in his praise. The ultra-liberals and democrats were extremely angry at the notion of their national poet praising a prince; and Giusti's latter years were embittered by the feelings thus engendered against him in the bosom of many of his

¹ See Mr. Shairp's most graceful paper in *Macmillan's Magazine* for March, 1861.

friends. But it is a signal proof of the independence and honesty of our author's mind, that he was thus determined to acknowledge benefits to the nation from whatever quarter they might proceed.

The reforms, whether grateful or not to princes, were of course eminently distasteful to those whose livelihood depended on the continuance of the old system of *surveillance* and *espionage*.¹ Giusti pictured to himself, and to the country at large, the consternation of this class, in one of the most brilliant and successful of his *Scherzi*, called 'Il Congresso de' Birri.' Of this poem 10,000 copies were *written out* (not printed), and disposed of in three days!

The concord of Italy at this moment was wonderful. French writers, with the intense vanity which characterises the nation, are resolved to maintain, that it was the Revolution of 1848 in France which set the torch to the combustible materials in Italy. But this belief runs counter to the evidence. Palermo first, and then Milan, rose, and Pio Nono sent his troops, with his blessing, to fight against Austria.

Giusti joined the Civic Guard of Pescia, and—much against his own will, but in accordance with the affectionate desires of his neighbours—was made major. But his health, which had for some years been failing, prevented him, to his great regret, from continuance in the military profession. Failing this, his popularity insured his unsought election, both to the first, and to the second Constituent Assembly. 'It was the 'summit of his wishes,' says his biographer, 'to see Italy all of a piece, as the Almighty made her, not as men have torn her asunder. To one who desired to divide "the fair land" into three parts (namely, North Italy, Lower Italy, and Central Italy), he replied with witty ingenuity—"I am more reasonable than you." "How so?" "Because you wish to have *three countries*, and I am content with *one alone*." To obtain this longed-for unity, Giusti would have desired to see all men knit into one strain of thought; even at the price of sacrificing their own peculiar opinions, thinking with Dante "that great things through discord shortly come to nothing, and small ones through concord increase infinitely."'

His own account of his political creed we shall give later on. As, however, we have no wish to conceal anything, we shall here announce that Giusti thought that a republic would be the fittest *ultimate* form of government for Italy; but that the country was not ripe for it, and that meantime constitutional monarchy was the best. It is no part of our office in this

¹ Lord Derby, some years since, in the House of Lords, after using these two words, thanked Heaven that we have no *English* terms to represent such ideas.

Review to discuss questions of a purely political character. Yet, as it is possible that the announcement of Giusti's political tendencies may create in the minds of some of our readers a prejudice against him, it seems only reasonable to remark: *firstly*, that the poet's conceptions of kingship must necessarily have been deeply coloured by such specimens of reigning princes as he saw around him; as, *e.g.* the then King of Naples, the Prince of Parma, and the Dukes of Lucca and of Modena; and, *secondly*, that the world had not then seen what *may* happen to a great federative republic, as evidenced by the civil war in America. To America, Italians and philo-Italians had often looked. Unless Mr. Bancroft's work should supersede it, Americans themselves have always avowed that the best history of that War of Independence, which made the United States a nation, was written by an Italian, Botta. Only a few years since, a writer in the *Oxford Essays*, Mr. E. A. Freeman, suggested America as the best model for Italy. We will not pause to discuss how far that sad and terrible disruption has been brought about by the republican form of government, and how far by other causes distinct from any particular *régime*. But sure we are that the event has rudely shaken the confidence of thousands in the excellence with which they credited democracy, and we believe that it might have seriously affected the sentiments of a mind so remarkably fair and candid as that of Giusti.

Our poet's muse was now silent. Gifted with extraordinary powers of condemning existing evils, he did not feel in the humour for song amidst the endeavours now being made to overthrow them. It is possible that this inability to sing in a new strain may lessen his claim to be among that small circle of first-rate bards who seem, like Shakspeare, to be able to strike *every* note. Nevertheless, we agree with Mr. Lushington in admiring the self-knowledge and good sense of one who saw where his work lay; and did not insist, like some vain and pretentious people, on raising his voice, when there was danger that it might prove to be out of place. To the blame attached to him by some for this silence his reply was easy: he said, truly enough, that he had spoken out, when it was a service of danger; he might therefore be allowed to act upon his own convictions, now that the press was free. He did, however, while he remained a deputy, commence a chronicle of the events of the day, but it was never published.

Giusti's health had been growing weaker during the summer of 1849, and disappointment at the turn of public affairs aggravated his illness. Tubercular phthisis set in. He now lived at the house of the Marquis Gino Capponi (who, despite his blind-

ness, had for a time been prime minister at Florence), and worked hard at the intended commentary on Dante. But he knew that he had not much time left, and prepared himself for death with religious calmness. Happily the thought of religion was for him no novelty. His intention to receive the latest rites of the communion in which he was born and died, was frustrated by one of those sudden strokes which leave no time to send for either physician or priest. A sudden rupture caused instant suffocation. He departed this life on the 31st of March, 1850, in the forty-first year of his age. The government of the now restored Grand Duke, after some hesitation, consented to a public funeral; and the pall was borne by Signore Peruzzi, the Gonfaloniere of Florence, by the Abate R. Lambruschini, and by the Professors D. Valeriani and G. B. Giorgini. (This last-named was a great friend, who had married Manzoni's youngest daughter.) Among the chief mourners was Gino Capponi.

He who has ever rambled among the outskirts of *la bella Firenze*, may probably have found out for himself the church of *San Miniato al Monte*. Well does the present writer recollect the beautiful autumn day of some seventeen years since, when he made this discovery for himself; and his return on the day following with the companion of his travels, one far fitter than himself to judge of the architectural merits of the church, but who could not appreciate more keenly the extraordinarily beautiful view of the fair city and the valley of the Arno. It was with much satisfaction that some four years later he alighted on the following passage in the first volume of Lord Lindsay's 'Sketches of the History of Christian Art.' 'Lastly, 'I would fain interest you in my well-beloved S. Miniato al Monte, near Florence, remarkable for the purity and almost 'classic taste of its architecture and decoration, graceful and 'yet august in its simplicity. . . . I shall be content to rank 'as a false prophet if you do not return again and again to 'S. Miniato, or at least to the platform half-way up the hill, 'near the church of S. Francesco; there is nothing on earth 'lovelier than the view that will thence greet you, whether, 'sitting on the broken wall, you gaze up at that graceful façade, 'and at the steeple, which Michael Angelo, out of love for its 'exceeding beauty, defended by mattresses against the balls his 'own patriotic artillery provoked against it; or downwards on 'the vale of the Arno and its bounding hills, dotted with white 'villas, and on fair Florence beneath, with her domes and her 'towers, seen between the cypresses.' There are thousands of Italians, there are some too besides, not natives of Italy, who feel a deeper interest in that church of San Miniato, from

the knowledge that in it lie enshrined the mortal remains of Giuseppe Giusti.

We must now ask the reader's careful attention to some pages of extracts, interspersed with a few comments and explanations only. The saying that 'every one loses by translation, except a bishop,' is peculiarly applicable, as we have already intimated, to our author. His poetry loses terribly; his prose very seriously. But any, who feel the slightest interest in the subject of this article, must be conscious that they may get a better idea of 'thought in Italy' from the remarks of one of its first minds, than from anything that we could say. Italian is (comparatively) but little read in England; and those who do read it will readily understand that it is only a mere sample of the wealth of these two volumes which is now offered.

To facilitate reference on the part of any student of Italian—and nowhere will be found choicer specimens of the purest and most elegant Tuscan—we shall name the Letter from which each extract has been culled, premising that the first 172 Letters are contained in the first volume, and the remainder in the second.

The following comes from Letter 18, addressed to a friend whose surname is kept secret, Lorenzo * * * This friend had asked Giusti's advice about a certain college:—

'My advice is that you have nothing to do with it (with a college he had been to look over for a friend). Let us remember, my dear Lorenzo, what befell to ourselves, and let us, at least, cause our children to profit by our misfortunes. One out of the many errors is, the educating a man as if he were a number of separate pieces. The head is separated from the heart, the heart from the head, and first the one and then the other is neglected of those two parts that should be always kept in perfect harmony, and proceed towards perfection *pari passu*.'

The next Letter (No. 19), to Professor Francesco Puccinotti, contains allusions to the sonnet, 'Fiducia in Dio,' that will be readily understood by the reader:—

'You have praised me to Azeglio, and caused him to wish to read that little sonnet of mine (*quel mio sonnetuccio*) on Bartolini's *Fiducia in Dio*, thrown off on paper two years ago, at a time when my mind sought in study, and in the works of the great masters, some consolation amid the many griefs that oppressed it. That statue comforted me and suggested those fourteen lines; which have, perhaps, a touch of the first calm moments of a mind till then disturbed by long and deep sorrow.

'As if forgetting the mortal clay
And rapt in Him who freely forgives,
The beautiful form lays softly
Both hands on bended knees.

'A weary grief, a heavenly quiet,
 Seems spread over the whole figure,
 But in the brow that speaks to God
 Flashes the soul's immortal ray :
 'And seems to say: If every sweetest thing
 Deceive me, and in a time I hoped serene,
 I feel my life ebb troublously,
 'Lord, to Thy paternal breast
 With sure trust my soul flies, *and rests*
*In a love that is not of earth.'*¹

The following is Giusti's frank and candid avowal of the pleasure derived from the success of his poems. It is addressed to Carlo Bastianelli:—

'My Carlo, I have to tell you something, and before I say it let me remind you how far I am from being over-satisfied with myself; you know this, and you know too how I always persisted (in spite of the praises of others) in saying, what I felt, that I was weak and good for little. You can bear me witness of all this, and, therefore, I tell you frankly, that those scribblings of mine have gone over all Tuscany, and even beyond. I pass over the praises of friends and *dilettanti*; I say nothing of daily entreaties to show myself publicly; and only tell you that Carmignani, Niccolini, Azeglio, Manzoni, and Grossi, all either encourage me, or send encouraging messages through Mayer. On all sides those little trifles are begged for, and I, in spite of myself, am constrained to give them, and then to repent of having given them. What causes of pride! What incitements to vanity! No, my Carlo, I am inferior to the reputation made for me by the zeal of my friends. Indeed, believe *me* (who would not write thus to others lest I should seem vainglorious), I know not how to sustain it, I know not how to satisfy the expectations of so many. . . . Nevertheless, the praise of such men, I freely confess to you, though it has not made me arrogant, no, but has given me courage, has in some degree made amends for the many humiliations to which I have been subjected through my own inexperience and the wickedness of others. . . . Meanwhile, in writing, I will have no object but the good of my country, and without believing myself to be sent from God (as so many believe and have believed), I will try to spread abroad wholesome and strengthening maxims by means of the *Scherzo*. But I

¹ We give the original, as it stands, in all its beauty.

Quasi oblianda la corporea salma,
 Rapita in Quei che volentier perdona,
 Sulle ginocchia il bel corpo abbandona
 Soavemente, e l' una e l' altra palma.

Un dolor stanco, una celeste calma
 Le appar diffusa in tutta la persona,
 Ma nella fronte che con Dio ragiona
 Balena l' immortal raggio dell' alma ;

E par che dica : Se ogni dolce cosa
 M' inganna, e al tempo che sperai sereno
 Fuggir mi sento la vita affannosa,

Signor, fidando, al tuo paterno seno
 L' anima mia ricorre, e si riposa
 In un affetto che non è terreno.

We are, throughout, responsible for italicising, in the translations both from the poema and letters, passages that seem to us peculiarly deserving of attention.

tell you once again with sincere effusion of heart, that this great popularity of my verses is a sore embarrassment to me, as I have a conscience, and I would not obtain all this on false pretences, but deserve it.'

Admirably fair as we believe examinations to be in our English universities, they cannot, of course, be final tests: and the same holds good in Italy. But what would under-graduates in Oxford or Cambridge say to such a state of student-life as is revealed in the following?—

'I am sorry for the failure in the examination, but I know (and Montanelli better than I), that a young man cannot be judged from the good or ill results of an examination. . . . I will write to Martolini; but meanwhile, be careful of your tongue, on my word I have said that to you once or twice already. Have you not yet found out that there are people in the world who, unable to raise themselves an inch, try to exalt their own persons on the ruins of others? Perhaps you have not yet lived long enough to be convinced of this truth. Well, you scholars are surrounded by these wretches, by these insidious reptiles, at the Sapienza, at the *Ussero* (a café much frequented by the students at Pisa), and even in . . . All the herd of scoundrels who are rained down there, to swallow Heineccius, Hippocrates, or Euclid, and who *per fas et nefas* intend to crawl up to official place, all work out their noviciate of *spy-dom* and treachery (the usual steps to office) at the cost of those honest fools who believe others incapable of evil, because they have it not in their own hearts. Choose few friends and good ones, and with them be frank: from the rest, especially youths called *sensible* and *steady*, and as such, proposed as models, keep a safe distance, as you would from the spotted plague.'—From Letter 23 (to *Pietro Papini*).

Let it be remembered, that this advice springs from the experience of one who had seen a great deal of university life in Italy, and retained the fondest recollections of his companions at Pisa.

The sketch of the poet's life, already given, will, we trust, make clear the purport of a passage occurring in Letter 28, addressed to Silvio Giannini:—

'Many, either from fashion, or from ambition, or from idleness, and to make themselves popular, have talked of "their country," and who can tell what possible ideas they connected with that word, whose interpretations prove that few or none know what it means. . . . I may be mistaken, but I think that for the present we ought to treasure up family affections; first, educate ourselves, and then instruct ourselves; first be fathers, then citizens. Do not let us put the waggon before the oxen, or we shall make more or less magnificent Odes to Italy, but Italy will remain in fragments like the robe of a Harlequin.'

Lorenzo Tarli has been named as the instructor who so ably seconded the teaching of Andrea Francioni, by pointing out to Giusti, when a boy, the beauties of Florence. Giusti writes to Tarli as follows (Letter 37):—

'Never send me any thanks, for I am sufficiently repaid by being enabled to render you any service. I have not forgotten, and never shall forget, the time when you were my guide in this doubtful path of life. Would to Heaven my first steps had never been guided by any other! From your truly mild and gentle rein I passed on to suffer the hard bit of the clowns who, in the tunic

of prefects, exercise their senseless tyranny in our colleges and seminaries, and I have still the bleeding jaws and the embittered spirit with which they left me. We, when a longer time was given us for recreation, went about the churches and galleries admiring the *chefs d'œuvres* of art, and this desire of lovely and beautiful things that I feel more deeply every day, still grows from the seeds you then sowed. Lorenzo Tarli and Andrea Francioni will ever be dear and honoured names to me; I never cease saying, whenever I have an opportunity, that to you I owe the little that I learnt, because you alone taught me the need of learning.'

This theme, the bad state of education in Italy, is reverted to again and again. Thus, in Letter 61, to Matteo Trenta, we read:—

'How many useless steps might be spared to our youth if our masters, instead of swelling with arrogance, and vanity of their title, would really feel the love of their office! They endeavour to incumber our brain with quotations, our conscience with shadows, our heart with varnish and ice, and thus, filled, but not nourished, glossed over, but not polished, they abandon us to the bitter waves of this world. In ten years of confusion, error, and shame, we succeed in reaching the light, often when the eye is no longer able to bear it; then, when we have become hypocrites or sceptics, they honour us with the name of wise men.'

It cannot be said that this is the mere complaint of one who could not appreciate the value of good teaching. His sentiments towards Tarli and Francioni are a sufficient reply to any such charge. Consequently, the more weight is due to Giusti's judgment on this all-important subject. The next letter, to the same friend, gives some idea of the character of the Modenese post-office:—

'I do not know who brought your letter to the house, . . . and it astonished me to see it all torn and half unsealed, just as if it had come through the *felicissimi* and *umanissimi* and *civilissimi* States of Modena.'

The nature of Giusti's irony (so well described, we think, in the extract given above from Mr. Keble's Lectures) is again set forth by the poet himself in a letter (No. 65), to Signor Ridolfi:—

'Some think me a sceptic, a man who laughs at everything because he never knew how to weep at anything. And yet, I have never derided virtue, or made a jest of certain principles of honour whereby the good man supports and comforts himself. The[s]ceptic holds neither with the good nor with the bad: I think I hold with one side, and that, not the bad one, certainly. *I hoped that beneath the lids of that smile, the hidden tear might have been perceived; and many have seen it: is it my fault that all cannot discern it?*'

The difficulties attendant upon an *ultra*-censorship of the press are well shown in the recital of a piece of news to his friend Montanelli:—

'Have you heard it? They have prohibited Baccelli's Almanack, printed by Formigli, because in Guadagnoli's verses, the directors, the inspectors, and superintendents are mentioned, and finance and the lottery considered as one

thing; or perhaps, who knows? because in the sonnet—enigmatic throughout, wood (*il legno*) is called a German word. Think whether a man with six thousand bayonets ought to make a fuss about such trifles! But who can marvel after seeing turned back from the *felicissimi Stati Austriaci* two or three lawyers, and other two or three men of science, who were going to the congress [*of savans*] at Padua? With forty thousand *kaiserlichs* on the Ticino, to be afraid of two or three hundred *savans* in white ties gone there to dispute about the *volulus batatas*, or about a frog! Either these lords have ox eyes, or these are little trifles which they have inflicted on us to cause us a span more of indignation. If the prohibition of the Almanack gets known on the other side the Alps, they will believe that a kind of new Galileo has been rained down from heaven upon us in Tuscany to write it, to give another push to the world, and they will hunt him by land and sea: if they find him, if they see what is the real matter, poor Corsini, poor Grand Duke of Tuscany! — Letter 77.

The really fine and religious hymns of Manzoni on some of the great Christian festivals, as Christmas, Pentecost, &c., brought out numerous imitators, many of whom were ill-fitted to treat such solemn themes. Signor Bracali having asked Giusti to join this choir, gets the following reply:—

‘I thank you for having invited me to praise God in such excellent company as that of Trinci and Odaldi, &c.; but how could I, arch-pro‘ane writer, appear likely to you to leap at one spring from *Satire* into “*Sacred Hymns*”? *It is true, that we have seen this done many times within these last few years*: but I, to say the truth, do not feel sufficiently sure of my legs to expose them to such a trial. On the other hand, the scrapers, &c., on the Davidian harp are so very numerous, that a poor fellow, if even he had all the figures of both Old and New Testament bubbling in his brain, would be anxious to keep still as oil for fear of increasing the bedlam of their Psalms. *If I had past unbelief to cover over*, now that belief is become a fashion, I would throw myself headlong into the smoke of the incense, and who knows for what kind of Christian I should be taken? *but I have always believed*, and always in one way, and I can dispense with these coverings. I write thus, to enliven the matter, but, believe me, I am sincerely grateful, and very sorry not to be able to aid you.’ — Letter 80.

Giusti, more than once, alludes to his being born with means, or, as the Italians often call it, clothed (*vestito*). But this is, with him, a matter of thankfulness, not of pride. Marco Tabarrini receives this, with other frank confessions, in Letter 114:—

‘If I have obtained any praise by my works, it has been for my gayer poems: but if the saints of either sex had not turned harlequins on my hands, I should always have struck far more willingly the chord of the gentle affections. But, even in jesting, I have always striven never to offend against the true and the right: my intellect may have deceived me, my conscience, never. For three things, I most heartily thank the great Dispenser of good and evil. First, I thank Him that I was born with a modest competency, so that I have never done, and never will do, any act of vileness in order to raise myself; and next, that He made me feel early the need of cultivating my mind, and of seeking a refuge within myself; and lastly, that He has preserved me from anything dishonourable, and has given me an independent nature and a lip ready to confess and deride my own deficiencies and the ignorances of my

early youth. Often, in retracing my footprints, and searching severely the recesses of my conscience, I find innumerable errors and faults, that make me sorrowful and indignant at myself; but even in that secret conflict there arises the consoling thought, that I had the happiness to turn back, and I feel that I am more unhappy than absent.'

The following is from a long, playfully graceful epistle to his chief lady friend, the Marchesa Luisa d'Azeglia:—

'The Congress of Lucca was small but good. . . . The Duke scarce felt from afar the breath of the Sages, than he fled to Dresden, not from opposition to such things, but because, as the pot boils but poorly for him and his, he thought he could not come off with much honour before those exhalations from Tuscany. The Archbishop ran away, and shut himself in like a wild bull; for they say, if it depended on him, he would make a bonfire even of the alphabet. Now, the lights being out, his highness is again abroad as stupid as ever, and the archbishop has returned, and I believe he is about to assemble the Diocesan Synod, to re-bless Lucca infected with science.'

Another sentence, from the same letter, will show our author's grounds for his care of the national language:—

'They talk much of honouring their country, and they ill-treat her language, though they ought to know better than any, that the study of words is the study of thoughts, and that thought and speech, true twins of the human mind, mutually throw light on each other.'

These words would form no bad motto for some works of Dean Trench. The next, marked 132, is to Giusti, from the author of the '*Promessi Sposi*.' His appreciation of the poems deserves notice:—

'When a friend to give me a pleasure first gave me the verses of a certain Giusti to read, I do not know whether I derived greater enjoyment from the exquisite verses, or from the thought that a new glory was born to Italy. That "*certain*" soon disappeared as you must be well aware; and the eager haste of the public, who acted instead of the printers for each successive new work of yours, did good service to mine. . . . Customs and objects, reality and fantasy, all depicted; beautiful thoughts that come most naturally, as if suggested by the subject; common things put into a new shape, without effort, because only caused by your seeing in them certain peculiarities that every one would see, if every one had your great genius; all this and more, in a little drama, full of life and characters, with a piquant carelessness, but founded in the finest historic generality.'

Manzoni, assuming that all handed about is really Giusti's, proceeds to express his regrets at some attacks on religion, and some satire of a personal character. Giusti, somewhat surprised, replies:—

'Modesty I know I have never offended in my writings, and a child might read them; I was dubious, to confess the truth, lest I should have occasionally given here and there over bold touches to things concerning religion, but I knew I had never given them from disrespect to religion itself, but from indignation against those who affect it and who maltreat and use it for their own purposes.'

In Letter 142 we find political despondency, with one ray of hope:—

'But at present I see no hope, especially as I have just seen Rome and Naples in the hands of the dogs. In truth one cannot take a step outside one's door without bringing home fresh griefs, and I, who unfortunately think deeply of things, I am consumed by indignation. One must have the blood of a louse to be able to stand certain insults; for instance, that one recently attempted at Naples, when they tried to marry to a kind of convicts a selection from the girls of *La Carità*. I do think that such contumely never entered the head of any of the tormentors of humanity who have been showered down upon us for centuries past! . . . Let them go on deluding themselves, for, *every knot comes to the comb, and one pays for all.*'

We need hardly say that this letter is written soon after his return from the journey to South Italy with his mother. An amusing incident on that journey had revealed, we may observe, how widely the poet's fame was now spread.

We must here interrupt the course of our citations by some remarks of our own, and by a digression of considerable length. The extracts hitherto supplied are all from the first volume of Giusti's '*Epistolario*,' and though we have tried to select such as seem most illustrative of 'thought in Italy,' yet so great is the *embarras de richesses*, that we have left out fully as much as we have given, that would equally tend to the attainment of our main object. Giusti's description of a perfect police, finding out, in the immensity of space, a sigh ten years after it had been drawn; his constant assertion, that books alone, apart from intercourse with fellow-creatures, do not give the knowledge of life; his account of the ignorance of magistrates, and wretched education of children, even in the first families; his love of the hills, in which he emulates Wordsworth and Ruskin; his playful declaration, that good or bad digestion greatly influences his manner of writing, and that the gastric juices govern the world; his labours at the savings-bank in Pescia, which his humbler neighbours begged him to help in administering, despite his avowal that he had no head for figures; his love of the country and of the country-people; his dislike (as strong as Sismondi's) for the memory of the Medici; his warm affection for his sister, married to Francesco Nencini; his keen recognition of the beneficial effects of sorrow; his peculiar fondness for the Book of Job, *quel bellissimo libro*, which his own griefs made him understand (he says) better than could any *Santo Padre*; his frequent calls to his friends *to be religious from conviction*, not from fashion:—the treatment of these, and a number of other topics, will be found to throw light upon the character of the man, and of his age and country.

But at this point we must prepare ourselves to be asked, whether we intend to express a thorough sympathy with *everything* in the poems and letters of our author. So far as our examination has gone (and our study of the poems is not yet com-

plete), we can only see four points which seem to us to demand anything like explanation or apology. These four are: 1. the occasional, though *very rare*, occurrence of particular expressions which, to English ears, seem to savour of coarseness; 2. a poem termed a 'Brindisi,' which at first sight appears highly irreverent; 3. his apparently undue tenderness towards Guerrazzi; 4. his remarks on the death of Count Giacomo Leopardi. We shall take these points *seriatim*, and try to treat them fairly.

1. For the first, it seems enough to say, that Giusti is a foreigner and not an Englishman. Tales and Letters, even by refined and noble ladies of the Continental nations, do constantly bear the impress of a tone which resembles that of England of 150 years since. He would be a bold man who would undertake to read aloud, at an evening-party, any six consecutive numbers of the 'Spectator.' And yet, in Queen Anne's day, the writing of Addison and Steele was considered the very pink of propriety. We do not, for a moment, mean to insinuate that Giusti's writings contain one tithe of the startling expressions that occur in an equal number of pages in the 'Spectator.' They are few and far between; but they do occasionally occur, and it seems right to mention it. How differently Italians, and most foreigners, regard these matters, may be judged from the circumstance, that even Manzoni's noble and most religious Hymn for Pentecost, contains one stanza which would, in a bald version, startle the ears of most English assemblies.

2. The story of the *Brindisi* alluded to is as follows:—Giusti maintained, and it seems to us *with perfect truth*, that there were in Italy two kinds of sportive poems; of which the one was applauded, the other frowned down. He determined to give a specimen of each. Accordingly, he wrote one, a satire upon governmental doings; *this* is the species that brought down condemnation. He wrote another, and it *only* contained a series of jests on Holy Scripture; this was therefore perfectly safe from all penal consequences, and might be read anywhere with confidence of smiles and approbation. Not then, as if in his own proper person, did Giusti thus think and write about the Bible; nothing could be more alien from his whole tone of mind; but just to hold up to scorn and merited reprobation that too common result of absolutism, namely, a disposition to resent the very slightest affront to Cæsar, and to pass over, quite unconcernedly, the most serious insults to the majesty of God. We are not prepared, even under these circumstances, entirely to defend the publication of this poem by Giusti; at the same time, we must admit, that in no other way could he half so vividly have brought before us the existence of a melancholy

truth, which, when once thus pointed out, stands confirmed by plenty of other evidence.

3. As regards Guerazzi we cannot pretend to have before us sufficient *data* whereon to found a trustworthy judgment. All that we can see is, that Giusti *appears* to exhibit for Guerazzi a degree of sympathy, of which we should imagine him quite unworthy. At the same time, it must be remarked, that Giusti's language respecting Guerazzi was chiefly uttered at a time when the latter had fallen from power and was shut up as a political prisoner in the fortress of Fortezza. Giusti's indignation against any who would strike the fallen, combined with a certain degree of sympathy with Guerazzi's policy (not, indeed, *simpliciter*, but as compared with absolutism), may very probably have induced him to express sentiments that he would hardly have endorsed in calmer hours.

4. The very name of Leopardi opens out an entire field of thought which would demand for itself a fresh article. Happily, however, the leading facts to which we have now to allude, have already been brought before English readers, by an admirable paper in the *Quarterly Review* for March, 1850; a paper of which it is not very difficult to guess the authorship.¹ Leopardi having died, sad to say, in apparent unbelief, without making any sign of recantation, it appeared to some Jesuits that it would be a good thing 'to lie for God,' and to make the Italian public suppose that so great a genius *had* recanted in his latest hours. To this end, they invented an account of his death which was pure fiction, and which looks but too much like an attempt to glorify the Order, as much as to benefit the cause of religion. Now, wrong and utterly unjustifiable as was the entire plot, we must say that Giusti's indignation respecting it seems to us to have hurried him beyond the bounds of right feeling. For his extreme dislike of the *Compagnia* we make, indeed, no apology; *that* he shares with too many good men, even of his own communion, to make it at all surprising; and we will only say that the grounds of this strong feeling against the Jesuits appear to require a far more dispassionate investigation than the subject has yet received or seems likely to receive. Perhaps Giusti may have feared, that Leopardi might have been seduced into some avowal of sentiments that he did not really feel; but at any rate, as we do not intend to commit ourselves unreservedly to everything said and done even by one whose character we esteem so highly as we do that of Giusti, we shall simply repeat that on this point his expressions seem to us to

¹ This article is referred to in the *Nouvelle Biographie Generale*. Art. Leopardi. Comp. also the *Revue des deux Mondes* for 1^{re}. Avril, 1861. Art. Les Souffrances d'un Penseur Italien.

lie open to grave objection. The marvel, however, is *not* that one of such ardent temperament should be *occasionally* led into extremes by indignation against fraud, but that he should so seldom err in this direction.

But as we have had occasion to allude to so great a name as that of Leopardi, we shall venture to indicate a few of the points of agreement and of divergence between the two poets. Undoubtedly, if we had to select a brief list of Italian writers of profound learning and exalted genius, who have flourished in the present century, the name of Giuseppe Giusti must rank below that of Giacomo Leopardi. Both were true poets; both (but most especially Leopardi) sad invalids; both attached to their country and proud of the resources of their native tongue; both died in the prime of life; both have left behind them poetry which 'the world will not willingly let die.' Both occupied a good position in society, but though that of Leopardi was considerably the higher (he being the younger son of one of the oldest Roman noble families), that of Giusti, as the *only* son of a country gentleman, was the more independent. A letter, to be quoted presently, will show the happy terms on which Giusti always stood with *his* father; while on the contrary the father of Leopardi (though perhaps not quite always consciously or intentionally) embittered the life of *his* son by his penuriousness and severity. Though Leopardi was infinitely more learned than Giusti, he was less genial; he did not, we suspect, see much of his humbler neighbours at Recanati, as Giusti did in the neighbourhood of Pescia; and though he lamented in majestic (and now often quoted) verses,¹ the past glories of his country he was not a patriotic politician like his Tuscan successor in the paths of poesy. Lastly, while Giusti is religious both as man and poet, and influential over the masses as well as amidst the brilliant set in which he moved, Leopardi sank into cold atheism.

The Searcher of Hearts alone can know the full secret of Leopardi's unbelief. But besides points of difference already named, there was another, in regard of the district where their respective lots were cast. Giusti was born in Tuscany; Leopardi in the Papal States. Leopardi had neither health nor taste for the army: as the younger son of a poor noble—what on earth was he to do? There was one career, and one only, open to him; and that was to take Holy Orders. In that

¹ We allude to the famous lines with which his Ode to Italy commences—

'O patria mia, vedo le mura e gli archi
E le colonne e i simulacri e l' erme
Torri degli avi nostri,
Ma la gloria non vedo,' &c.

profession he was *sure* of immediate advancement; and the more so, as there happened to be at the time a dearth of nobly-born clergy in Rome, and certain offices are generally reserved for such. But among Leopardi's faults hypocrisy had no place. He did always keep that very expensive article, a conscience; and although he seems to have known others, equally sceptical, but not equally scrupulous, he determined to resign this single road to wealth and to positions of influence and command. And indeed his visit to Rome in 1822 did not tend to raise the place in his esteem. He does not appear to have found the moral tone of his own class of society satisfactory; and as for its intellectual condition, he writes to his sister, that the dullest person in their native village of Recanati had more good sense than the most grave and learned Roman. 'Be assured,' he continues, 'that the frivolity of these creatures passes the limits of credibility. If I wished to relate all the absurd subjects that serve as matter for their conversations, and which are their favourite ones, a folio would not suffice. This morning (to give you a single specimen) I heard them discourse gravely and at length on the fine voice of a prelate who sang mass the day before yesterday, and on the dignity of his deportment in the performance of the function. They asked him how he had contrived to acquire these fine gifts, if at the commencement of the mass he had felt at all nervous (*imbarazzato*), and the like. The prelate replied, that he had acquired his powers by his long attendance at the chapels, that this exercise had been extremely useful to him, that this was a school indispensable to those of his position, that he had not been at all nervous; and a thousand most *spirituel* things of the kind. I then learnt that several cardinals were delighted with him for the happy performance of that chanted mass. Consider that all the subjects of Roman conversations are of this stamp; and I do not in the slightest degree exaggerate.'¹ Had Leopardi's acquaintances shown that their desires to have the sacred office celebrated with beauty and reverence sprang from a deep sense of its solemn character, the impression made upon his mind might possibly have proved very different. As the case stood, we may imagine the disappointment but too likely to fall upon the spirit of the most learned Italian of his day, who had come to the capital in the hope of finding everywhere abundant sympathy with his own prodigious mental activity.

It is high time that we return to Giusti. Not only does he seem to us more of a patriot, more of a representative man than Leopardi, but to turn from the writings of the latter to

¹ Epistolario, vol. i. p. 258 (Firenze, 1856).

those of Giusti is something like coming out of a vault into genial sunshine. We are compelled, by sheer lack of space, to leave out several pages that are lying by us already translated.

The happy relations which Giusti ever kept with his father are set forth below :—

‘DEAR FATHER,—I thank you for the bill which I cashed yesterday, but I thank you far more for the kind things you say of that *Scherzo* inserted in the journal. The sweetest reward I could hope for, for anything I have written, is the being able to raise a smile on the lips of him who gave me life; and for a letter like yours I would gladly renounce all the praises I get from other quarters. . . .

‘It will appear manifest that the bitter derision that put the pen into my hand did not proceed from a perverse mind, nor from a foolish pleasure in placing my fellow-creatures in pillory. The anger I feel against the vexations, deceptions, and falsities of every kind gave me the tone, and I have listened to it freely and without stain. Let me kiss your hand whilst I make you a fresh offer of my genius, which I owe in great measure to the aids you have never been weary of supplying.’—Letter 241.

The year 1847 witnessed, according to Giusti, the following spectacle :—

‘Hearing that the Duke of Modena has sent one troop here, and another there, two above, and other two below, and taking for granted that, besides those he sends about, he keeps plenty at home to guard the house (which needs it), and knowing that altogether he has not much more than a thousand men under arms, we began to inquire: “Oh, where does the Duke of Modena get so many soldiers?” and immediately we were told, “Oh, to be sure, Austria gives him them. . . .”

‘And so Austria gives him them! And Austria, where does she raise them? Is Austria so very comfortable in her estates of Germany, Lombardy, etc., as to have labourers to lend here and there? Prussia is working on her own behalf. Hungary and Bohemia seem likely to do so too; the Lombard and the Venetian keep still, but they are hatching: Vesuvius is not extinguished, or Etna either; Parma and Modena, *if they are at Vienna in the hearts of their lords, are in Italy in the hearts of their people*. Oh, concerning this “Austria,” so much boasted of, I think there is a vast reduction to make. . . .’—Letter 305.

The excuse for poetic silence contained in our next has surely, unless our ears deceive us, no slight echo of the sublime :—

‘I shall go on, and keep to my own business, taking my notes from this solemn hymn now sounding in the hearts of all; I already foresaw it when I wrote the lines Georgini told you of, only the harmony is so sublime and magnificent I fear I can never reach it. *They* will reach it who are to arise now, and for whom their youth will pass, less stupified and less relaxed than it was given to us to live: to us, who, to arouse ourselves to do something more noble and less useless, had to do as the lion who lashes himself.’—Letter 307.

This is to his friend, *La d’Azeglio*. He begins his earlier letters to this lady, *Gentilissima Signora Marchesa*. She has now become, *Mia cara Luisa*.

We have mislaid our reference to the letter from which the next extract is taken; but it is a really important one, and seems to us *most utterly* to contradict the theorizing of M. Guizot

about Piedmontese ambition. And we do think that Giusti knew a great deal more about his Italy than M. Guizot does.

'If at Turin they seem to have taken for a motto to their shield that proverb of the solitary, "*one's nearest neighbour is oneself*;" I do not wonder at it. There they work on velvet; there are arms, there is a treasury; there the vigour of a healthy State; there they look down on the enemy instead of having him at their gates. *I do hope, nevertheless, that they will give us a helping hand*, and that, instead of the above proverb, we shall all inscribe on our banners, "*one hand washes the other, and both together wash the face*."'

The idea is repeated in Letter 350, addressed to Manzoni:—

'The Piedmontese (but do not breathe a syllable of this, for the love of heaven, if you do not want to have me stoned)—*the Piedmontese have the will and the power to save Italy, but they have not yet the presumption, I would almost say the pedantry, of doing it.*'

The following explains itself. It is from No. 335, to Giuseppe Arangeli:—

'This uproar and tumult deafens me, and takes me altogether off my hinges. You may sing in an iron foundry if you can. But, to tell you the whole truth, what really keeps me from writing now is, the sore disillusion I am suffering from. You cannot conceive with what joy I saw the beginning of our new life last September, *what faith I had in Pio Nono*, what faith in Tuscany, and in the Piedmontese army.'

His political creed is expressed to a person of high station, Signore F. Salvadori, who had owed to Giusti his election to the Tuscan Chamber of Deputies:—

'I hold firmly that we ought to guard carefully, with double shield, on the one side against the arbitrary will of the few, on the other against that of the many, which, from the one side or the other, threaten to interrupt the ordinary course of law; to take care that the parts and the whole agree with each other in a tempered harmony; not to allow discussion to degenerate into an empty and miserable battle of words; and to forbid the State to be cut up, so to speak, into the thousand individualities of this or that district. This is my *creed* in the fewest possible words. . . .—Letter 353.

The following goes far, we think, to explain those sentiments of our author touching Guerazzi, to which we have already referred:—

'And now what do you say to this voluble cowardice that boldly attacks the fallen? that can dare to make a comedy on Montanelli, fugitive, and on Guerazzi, shut up in Fortezza? Certain miserable journals do well to take the names of insects; indeed, rather than insects, they seem like carrion crows, who fatten on dead bodies. If the *Wasp* or the *Stenterello* had stung and bitten the democratic minister whilst he had the wind in his sails, at all events it would have been a brave deed: but where is the courage, where the delicacy, where the dignity or the generosity, of increasing bitterness to the unfortunate, even if they had injured the whole country?'—Letter 395 (to Gino Capponi).

Our next quotation is somewhat of the longest, but we must beg particular attention to it, because it is the fullest exposition

of the poet's political creed, and because it evinces so much courage and independence of thought, so much of that true liberality, which (as the writer more than hints) is so often found dis severed from the profession of liberalism. We are here, as throughout, responsible for the italics.

'At present, in order to have a character for firmness, one is forced to be petrified in passions, specially in that most fertile of all passions, hatred. How am I to be petrified, I, who never hated any one, not even those who differ from me? I am a most singular liberal; a liberal, do you know, who allows every one freedom of speech, a liberal who has no desire to be minister of state or a popular leader; a liberal who cannot endure boasters, charlatans, or vagabonds; a liberal who not only does not live upon suspicions, but who would be the most miserable of men if he had to distrust everything and everybody, as many of his brethren delight in doing. And, another strange feature! I cried out when others were silent; now that all talk, I am dumb, and observe, I have had no place. As I have begun, I will add one word more. Accustomed to speak truth always to the strongest, I think that if we are to continue to call ourselves free indeed, it is time now to say it to the people rather than to the governments. Vast courage, indeed, now, it would be to tell it to governments! Now that all governments are so many King Logs, every frog croaks at top of them. In my opinion, the flattering of gold lace or the flattering of rags is the same sauce, and let him eat it who likes. He who says *canaille* of the poor, and he who says *canaille* of the rich, blasphemes, I maintain, equally before God and men. . . . The constitutionalist who calls the republican rogue, and the republican who calls the constitutionalist rogue, are alike intolerant. Calumny is always calumny, whether it raise a red flag or a yellow, a black or a tricolour. The priest or the friar who preaches from the pulpit *Saint Radetsky*, is a rascal; the popular leader who preaches in the market place *Saint Cabet* [the socialist], is another rascal.

'He who fights the Italian war in the interests of a dynasty is a cheat; he who fights it that he may become President of the Republic one and indivisible, is a cheat too.

'He who deceives the people, whether he have on his head a crown or a cap, is a scoundrel; he who sends them to carnage, whilst he remains quiet at home, is a cruel coward, be he king or demagogue.

'The State which plunders the people is a robber; the people that plunders the State is a robber; and he who plunders alike both State and people ought to be guillotined both head and feet.'—Letter 383 (addressed to the Directors of the *Rivista*).

And now we must make a despairing attempt to give some idea of Giusti's poems. Of course they ought to be translated into verse; but we have not time even to attempt such a feat; and if we had the time, we do not for a moment believe that we have the skill. A poet only can properly translate a poet: perhaps the late Hartley Coleridge might have transfused into English something of the grace and tenderness of Giusti's gentler compositions. Mr. Lushington, to whom belongs of right the credit of introducing Englishmen to the knowledge of 'the last Italian poet,' versified a small portion with only partial success. More skill has, we think, been shown in the translations of 'Lo Stivale' and of 'Sant' Ambrogio,' in *Macmillan's*

Magazine, though the loving care of the translator has not wholly saved him, in the latter instance, from one or two slight mistakes.

We shall simply give a prose translation. If it fall into anything like rhythm, or even (occasionally) into a rhyme, this must be looked upon as mere accident. If we subjoin the original of the most striking stanzas, or, in some cases, place the original at length in juxtaposition, the reader may, we trust, by a strong effort of imagination, form some faint notion of the way in which those accents fell upon the ears of those who had been without intermission bowed to the earth for forty years.

We shall only *allude* to those poems which have been already (either wholly or in part) translated into English. 'The Boot' (*Lo Stivale*) is a satiric sketch of Italian history. We perfectly agree with the writer in *Macmillan's Magazine*, that 'it is difficult for those who have lived in a land where freedom of political discussion has long been coextensive with freedom of thought to appreciate the skill of the irony which, under the censorship of an Austrian police, was at once the most necessary and the most effective weapon of offence and defence for an anonymous writer whom everybody knew.'¹ Another very famous poem, entitled 'La Terra dei Morti,' (a reply to Lamartine's insulting application of 'La Terre des Morts' to Italy), has been partially given by Mr. Lushington. The 'Sant' Ambrogio' may be found in an English dress, and with sufficient explanation, in *Macmillan's Magazine* for May, 1861.

We turn, then, to some of the poet's other productions. It is notorious that in America (North and South), in Belgium, in Hungary, and in Poland, at times in France, and most constantly in Ireland, the Roman Catholic Clergy have preached *anything* but 'resignation' to the existing state of things. And to say nothing of the attitude of *Pio Nono* in 1848, we may remark that in opening the American College in Rome (within the last year or two) the Pope, on being shown the statue of Washington, told the students 'to give a cheer for their country, to cry *Viva la Patria!*'² Now it certainly was not by political resignation that Washington won the honours of sculpture. However, before 1848, this doctrine was taught, as we have seen, in the most tremendous form, in certain parts of Italy. The following is the poet's protest:—

RESIGNATION.

'TO FATHER P——, CONSERVATOR OF THE ORDER OF THE "*Statù quo*."

'Tell us now, my father, can it be true
That you would have us so resigned
As to treasure up the foreigner in our houses
As a sackcloth in payment for our sins,
And leave to God all care of the future,
As if *that* did not concern us?

'Dite un po' Padre mio, sarebbe vero
Che ci volete tanto rassegnati
Da giulebbarci in casa il forestiero
Come un cilizio a sconto de' peccati,
E a Dio lasciare la cura del poi,
Come se il fatto non istesse a noi?

¹ *Macmillan's Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 244.

² *Dicey's Rome* in 1860, p. 157.

- * Ah! my father, let us speak as Christians:
If a cancer should come upon you,
Will you wait patiently from day to day,
Till at its leisure, it reaches your bone?
Will you lie there without doctor,
Till a wonder-worker lifts you from your bed?
- * A man born here in his own country,
Who envies no one's land,
If he does not make way—if he does not
pay the costs
Of him who enters his nest, and lays an egg,
If he does not moreover bid him welcome,
According to you—risks paradise!
- * We have grown up with a belief
That the world is wide enough for all:
And it seems to us no small impertinence
That a thieving race of ragamuffins
Should come to upset the long-since parti-
tions
Made by Almighty God's own hand.
- * This doctrine of swallowing quietly
One who skins us so merrily,
Father, is not in nature—and does not please
us
Precisely because it does please certain
gentry:
Dear father mine, this doctrine,
According to us, is not good flour.
- * Don't you see? Every one (to ward off evil)
Tries all he can, and retreats therefrom:
And, stung and bitten, even a beast
I see will turn, and scrub itself;
And shall we stay here like fools,
And not rub off from us these other animals?
- * "We are brothers, we are all Adam's sons,
All created in the image of God;
We are pilgrims on earth; we are,
Without distinction of *meum* and *tuum*,
One family, of diverse peoples"—
Bravo—thanks—make yourself quite at
home.
- * And let us rather build, in charity,
As many castles, as we are brothers!
Of that kind of fraternity
Even Cain and Abel were brothers;
Since they take our very last hair,
Why go and twist even the Gospel?
- * This sugary humanitarianism,
This so exemplary fraternity,
Which, from being holy—which it was on
Calvary—
Has been turned into a refrain,
Tell me—would you use it equally
To the thief on the right—and on the left?
- * Oh I, at present, to speak in all sincerity,
I feel myself wholly of my own country;
And in case, do you know in what way
I could be brother, to the human race?
As the proverb says, Friends may be dear,
But business above board, and purses too.
- * First, master in my own house;
Then citizen of my own town;
An Italian in Italy, and so forth
Proceeding, a man in humanity:
At this rate I give life for life,
Embrace every one, and am cosmopolite.
- * Charity is holy, and amongst us
Who are in extremity, may she come and
stay!
But for those who peel me, by inches,
I do not find a charity that holds:
Father, he who makes me clean decks—
No words, I will not have him in my ship.
- * Eh via padre, parliamo da Cristiani:
Se vi saltasse un canchero a ridosso,
Lascierete là là d'oggi in domani
Che col comodo suo v'arrivi all'osso?
Aspetterete il senza chirurgo
Che vi levi da letto un Taumaturgo?
- * Uno che nasce qui nel suo paese,
Che di nessuno non invidia il covo,
Se non fa posto, se non fa le spese
A chi gli entra nel nido a ci fa l'ovo,
Se non gli fa per giunta anco buon viso,
Secondo voi, si gioca il paradiso!
- * Noi siam venuti su colla credenza
Che il mondo è largo da bastare a tutti:
E ci pare una bella impertinenza
Che una ladra genia di farabutti
Venga a imbrogliar le parti di lontano
Che fa Domine Dio di propria mano.
- * Questa dottrina di succhiarsi in pace
Uno che ci spelleccia allegramente,
Padre, non è in natura, e non ci piace
Appunto perchè piace a certa gente:
Caro Padrino mio, questa dottrina
Secondo noi, non è schietta farina.
- * Vedete? ognuno di scansar molestia
Si studia a più non posso e s'arrabatta:
E morsa e taffanata, anco una bestia
Vedo che si rivolta e che si gratta:
E noi staremo qui come stivali
Senza grattarci quest' altri animali?
- * "Siamo fratelli, siamo figli d' Adamo,
Creati tutti a immagine d' Iddio;
Siam pellegrini sulla terra; siamo
Senza distinzione di *tuo* nè *mio*,
Una famiglia di diverse genti"—
Bravo—grazie—non fate complimenti.
- * E facciamo piuttosto in carità
Tanti fratelli, altrettanti castelli!
Di quella razza di fraternità
Anco Abele e Caino eran fratelli!
Finche ci fanno il pelo e il contrappelo
Che c'entra stracchiare anco il Vangelo?
- * Questo vostro dolceumanitarismo,
Questa fraternità tanto esemplare,
Che di santa, che fu là sul Calvario,
L' hanno ridotta ad un intercalare,
Vo' l' usereste, ditemi, appunto
Tanto al ladro diritto che al manicino?
- * Oh io per ora a dirvela sincera,
Mi sento paesano paesano;
E nel caso, sapete in qual maniera
Sarei fratello del genere umano?
Come dice il proverbio: amici cari,
Ma patti chiari, e la borsa al pari.
- * Prima, padron di casa in casa mia;
Poi, cittadino nella mia città;
Italiano in Italia, e così via
Discorrendo, uomo nell' umanità:
Di questo passo do vita per vita,
E abbraccio tutti, e son cosmopolita.
- * La Carità l'è santa, e tra di noi
Che siamo al sizio, venga e si trattenga!
Ma verso chi mi scortica, po' poi,
Io non mi sento carità che tenga:
Padrino, chi mi fa *tabula rasa*,
Pochi discorsi, non lo voglio in casa.

* This swarm is not contented
With standing on our neck, but wants to
cut up,
Wants to clip the wings, and pluck the fowl
(So to speak) without its even crying out :
And patience, in such extremity,
To me, becomes the patience of an ass.

* *Anger is sin! Yes, when anger
Throws Justice upside down :
But, if I aim at righteous end,
I do not feel anger contrary to goodness:*
If I were pope (excuse me) there are times
When I could place anger among the sacra-
ments.

* Christ, on this subject, has given us,
Gentle as He was, a beautiful example,
(And He gave it, that it might be followed,)
When, as you know, He entered the Temple,
And cleared its profaned thresholds
By His most sacred scourge.

* So far as not connecting pies : and to Utopias
Keeping the eye open, but the gate shut ;
So far as defying prisons, spies,
Exile, the executioner, and laughing in their
face ;
So far as giving time to time ; O, my father,
So far I too go, and there I stop.

* But prudence never was idleness.
If your excellency sings sext or nones,
You sing, *Servite Domino in latitid* :
And you do not sing, Serve Him in pol-
troonery.
Who acts as a saint, with his hands folded,
Father, is no Catholic, but a pagan.*

* Questa marmaglia di starci sul collo
Non si contenta, ma tira a dividere
Tira a castrare e a pelacchiare il pollo,
Come suol dirsi, senza farlo stridere :
E la pazienza in questo strugbibuco,
La mi diventa la virtù del ciuco.

* L' ira è peccato : Sì quando per l' ira
Se ne va la giustizia a gambe all' aria :
Ma se le cose giuste avrò di mira,
L' ira non sento alla virtù contraria.
Fossi Papa, scusatemi, a momenti
L' ira la metterei tra i Sacramenti.

* Cristo, a questo proposito, ci ha dato,
Dolce com' era, un bellissimo esempio,
(E lo lasciò perché fosse imitato,)
Quando, come sapete, entrò nel Tempio,
E sbarazzò le soglie profanate
A furia di santissime funate.

* Fino a non far pasticci, e all' utopie
Tenere aperto l' occhio e l' uscio chiuso ;
Fino a sildare il carcere, le spie,
L'esilio, il boia, e ridergli sul muso ;
Fino a dar tempo al tempo, oh Padre mio,
Fin qui ci sono, e mi ci firmo anch' io.

* Ma, la prudenza non fa mai pigrizia.
Vossignoria se canta o sesta o nona,
Canta ; *Servite Domino in latitid* :
E non canta ; servitelo in poltrona.
Chi fa da santo, colle mani in mano,
Padre, non è cattolico, è pagano.

The next, of which we shall give a literal version, is that composed in 1838, upon the occasion of the diadem of the iron crown of Lombardy being placed upon the brows of Ferdinand, Emperor of Austria. The thin plate of iron which lines this diadem has been hammered, according to popular legend, from one of the actual nails employed in the Crucifixion of our Lord; and though this tradition was opposed by the Church at Milan, the congregation *dei sacri riti* decided in its favour.¹ Hence the allusion in the following poem :—

* THE CORONATION.

* To the Emperor² who keeps us slaves
May Heaven prolong both stomach and
claws ;
Of crowned foxes and rabbits
A lesser herd

* Around him swarm, and their furs
Offering, cry to the sovereign shearer,
We will shear, at second hand,
Father (*Babbo*), in thy name.

* See first to kneel in the dust
The Savoyard, yellow with remorse,
He who expiated a brief shade of glory
At the Trocadero.

* O Carbonari, it is your leader, it is he
Who to the scaffold and to the stern prison
brought you ;
He royally the agreements of '21
Now maintains.

* With his mantle the soil behind him sweeps
The infirm Lazzarone paladin :
It is scarce a year since Palermo felt in
him
The ancient breed.

* The Tuscan Morpheus comes slowly, slowly,
Wreathed with poppies and lettuce,
Who in his desire to immortalize himself,
dries up
Pockets, and swamps.*

¹ Sir F. Palgrave, in the *Hand-book for North Italy*, First Edition, 1842. An excellent engraving is given in a rare book, *Cadell's Journey in Carniola*, &c. Constable, 1820.

² In the original *Re dei Re*. This is, no doubt, the old idea of the German Emperor; but the literal English might, from association, suggest a very different allusion, not in the least in the poet's mind.

Lucca, Modena, and other lieutenants of Austria, are depicted : then,

- ' Alone at Rome remains Pope Gregory,
Made the toy of the Ansonian peoples.
The storms of the age, in the colonies
Of purgatory,
- ' Have rendered sterile the soil of indulgences
That used to grow the flower *Sequin*.
Now, the unfruitful bier, the grave-digger
Scarce satisfies with food.
- ' O, intended to maintain alive !
The sacred stem of Christ's Tree,
The rich poverty of the Gospel
Take in peace again.
- ' Let others tear the body ; do not thou our souls
Tyranny to earth beneath thy double yoke :
If the hope dies which, beyond the stake,
Is fixed in calmness,
- ' Thou wilt see terror ruining, with
Every misery, man, no longer believing.
Ah, thou wilt see, in search of a new
faith,
The world lose itself.
- ' Thou, beneath the shadow of modest robes
Receive the miserable who doubt ;
First, from thyself remove the mask,
Then, from the tyrants.
- ' 2 For, if thou persist to sell the " anathema,"
And to approach thy lip to the cup of the
great,
A far other voice from the crowded peoples ;
" That diadem "
- ' " It is not (they will say), It is not of the
holy nails,
As was reported by popular frenzy ;

*Christ gives not the instruments of His martyrdom
To weave deccits.*

- ' " It is not of the ploughshare by which re-sounded
High the fame of our ancient fathers :
3 *It is a northern robber's sword,
Twisted into a crown.*"
- ' O Latin seed, to whom kneel ye ?
These who tear thee are heirs of those ;
The chain that rounds about thy feet
Is of the same iron.
- ' Ah ! how the people look angrily on me
Whilst, turned to the mock fights,
They lavish foolish *vivas* to the gathered
German horde !
- ' The " people," no ! the wretched mob,
Drunken with idleness, degraded in bastard
joys,
That runs, thick, in the Lombard cities,
Made sewers :
- ' By false laurels, and by a servile tiara,
Purchased actors; and Orders, and liveries,
Patrician, diplomatic, and plebeian,
Each more degraded than the others;
- ' And of both sexes, immoral idlers,
Worn by premature old age ;
And with galvanic love busy,
Foppish grandsires.
- ' Like to the madman, who kills with dagger
thrust
Him who, moved by pity, succours him,
And at the dress that is burning on him,
Laughs and jests.'

The police, who have had to enact the part of agents and instruments of the despotic powers, are always liable to become victims of the most fearful vengeance, when any turn of the tide takes place. This happened in Sicily on the occasion of its lately throwing off the Bourbon rule. It was probably no bad thing for the *Birri* of Tuscany that they should be made objects of ridicule rather than of wrath, just before the outburst of 1848. In November, 1847, our poet imagined a parliament of these gentry, composed, like the French Chamber of Deputies, of centre, left, and right:—

¹ We subjoin the thunder of the original:—

- ' O destinato a mantenere vivace
Dell' albero di Christo il santo stelo,
La ricca povertà dell' Evangelo
Riprendi in pace.
- ' Strazii altri il corpo ; non voler tu l' alma
Calcarci a terra col tuo doppio giogo ;
Se muor la speme che al di là del rogo
S' affisa in calma
- ' Vedi sgomento ruinare al fondo
D'ogni miseria l' uom che piu non crede ;
Ahi ! vedi in traccia di novella fede
Smarrirsi il mondo.'
- ' 2 Che se pur badi a vender l' anatema
E il labbro accosti al vaso dei potenti

Ben altra voce all affollate genti :
Quel diadema

' Non è, non è (dirà) de' santi chiodi,
Come diffuse popular delirio :
Cristo l' armi non dà del suo martirio
Per tesser frodi.'

3 ' È settentrional spada di ladri
Torta in corona.

' O latin seme, a chi stai genuflesso ?
Quel che ti schiaccia è di color l' erede ;
È la catena che ti suona al piede
Del ferro istesso.'

'THE CONGRESS OF BIRRI.

- ' For lack of rhetoric I have decided
Not to stay to describe the room
That in its bosom received this noble senate—
- ' Only I will say that the meeting
Into three herds of Birri was divided,
Similar to the "Chambers" of modern times.
- ' On the right, the Birri, in whom shone bare-
faced
The pure Birri blood; on left, the enraged;
In the centre, the Birri of no colour;
- ' Birrucoli these, that is, helpless
Birri, who are Birri, happen what may;
Hounds no, but *locusts* of the State.
- ' I will cut short even the speechifying,
Made with a compline tone
By the great head of Birridom,
- ' Who deplored in all the letters of the
alphabet,
The Birresque glories, and the horrid inroads
Brought to these by time with silent step.
- ' Also he spoke of tremendous perils,
And said he had called them together
To consult on the *modus tenendi*;
To repair the breach in time.
- ' From the Left (orator
Of those bestial Birri)
Rushed full of fury
- ' A *Mangialiberali*;
And, grinding his teeth,
Burst forth in these accents:
- " It seems impossible,
That, in a country
Where people fall sick
Of *crimen lese*,
- " Even the hypocrites
Of our office
Should waste in chatter
Both time and wisdom,
- " When by the docking
Of a few heads
You can with a breath
Extirpate the pest;
- " Why, cradling itself,
Allow to grow
This wretched fungus
Of liberalism,
- " And lay its touch on
Both State and monarch
And to sound of child's toys
Steer the ship?
- " Fool, he who thinks
To rule a country
With the absurdities
Of a paternal rule.
- " Reforms, graciousness,
Laws, and pardons,
Are vain glories,
Follies, on the throne.
- " Flatter a people,
Who enact the master?
Suppose in brute beasts
Right, and good reason?
- " Do you praise a royal
Sense, corrupted
By this logic
Of Sansculottism?
- " No: *in the hangman
Lies the State's life*;
All politics
Smell of a rope,
- " And a king, who, in his girdle
Keeps his hands thrust,
If he falls (to the devil),
Let him fall, he is as well there.
- " What has one's neighbour to do with it?
I with rebels
Am an *anthropophagus*;
I acknowledge no brothers.
- " I say not to the prince,
Slacken the rein.
Vacillate, warm thyself
The snake in thy breast,
- " And when the ocean's depth
Rises in tempest,
Sink, and stuff
The laws in thy pocket.
- " I, old, I, virgin
Of ideas so strained
With the mobocracy
Take shortest route.
- " Keep them well watched
(Be it who it may be),
Get a good hold of them,
Strike, and away!
- " This is the maxim
Speedy and safe:
Galley and hangman,
Hangman and galley."
- ' He spoke: and at the soft discourse
Of that bear on the left side
Every bench was excited.
No one moved or made sign
Either of anger or of irony
Among the pride on the right,
And sat quiet the pit.
There moved slow in that while,
Down the centre of the room
The proportions rubicund
And rotund. . . . of a Lieutenant of police
Of his salary much enamoured;
Who having given . . . a yawn
With an aspect . . . of a pig,
With a pinch of *maiale*
Gave forth this moral:
- " I do not deny: the axe
(*If the times will but allow it*)
Quite regenerates a people,
And the rest, is all lost time.
- " But, when the inundation
Of philanthropists grew strong, and grew too
This heap of *Codici*
Steeped in sugar:
- " When to the multitude
(A presumptuous beast)
Chance has somehow shown
That a head is something;

- " Will you stop the age,
You there, with your headsmen in hand?
Comrade, reform yourself!
You are antediluvian!
- " You think we are still
In those blessed times
When the cry 'Italy!'
Came but from the learned man.
- " My friend, now the nurses
Teach it to the infants;
And that name, from the Arcadians
Has gone down to the very peasant!
- " Yes, the spies work hard;
I know it, as well as you.
But after all what have they effected
From the fourteen, to now?
- " If then, condescended to them
Even the cavalieri,
Now, will not have them
Even the Caffettieri.
- " Prosecutions, dungeons,
Do more harm than good,
A patriot, in prison
Gets fat, holds firm.
- " And when he is uncaged
He is feasted with sugar-plums,
And is held for a martyr,
And we—for assassins.
- " Pooh! I hope too that the peoples
Will go to perdition.
But what if it were the princes
Who got the 'turn-over'?
- " My comrades, the times threaten,
And wherever I turn
I tell you the din is full
Of storm—aye, and of much!
- " The world of these days is a demon
Of a world, so corrupted,
It seems the facsimile
Of a horse unbroken.
- " If you leave it free
It stays still, or goes quietly;
The more you pull the rein
The more it grows restive.
- " I—these things—to the public
Certainly would not say;
In piazza, I act the cannibal,
But here, gentlemen—
- " Here, where it is presumable
There are no Liberals,
An honest man is forced
To speak his mind clearly.
- " Hear me—I, for my part,
Should wait and look out,
Should see what turn would take
The Country's concerns.
- " And then, (without tying myself
On this side, or that,
Whether Prince or Republic)
Should hold by the pay."
- " The Centre applauded,
The Left snorted with rage,
A third Demosthenes
Arose to his feet,
To whom with sensation
The Right—
- " Silence, silence,
Hear the side,
The side that unfolds
The secret of our Art."
- " The honourable colleagues, to whom it was
given
Before me, to express an opinion,
Have not, I think, rightly conceived
The object of the Office, and its true arts;
Here is no question of saving the State,
Of captivating either people or noble,
Of assuring ourselves a future—of pay;
The question is, to have an 'arm'—to be
'we.'
- " I do not hold as articles of faith
Nor do I reject, blood, and vengeance,
I say that the thing is to keep upon our legs;
As to the how, that events will dictate.
Systemless, the wise man works, and
believes
Always that, which suits him, and serves.
To look to the end, is the safest rule,
And he who scruples, is a pedant.
- " What it behoves us to prevent is, that be-
tween themselves,
The governed and governors should have
any understanding,
If they do—adieu: the age of gold,
So golden for us—is ended—and we vanish.
Therefore we must redouble our efforts
To mystify them all, and on either side
To give things such appearances
As will keep all in suspicion and distrust.
- " We are not here to prevent evil;
I faith! that would be a fine trade.
The so-called public morality,
On the contrary, is the thing that troubles
us.
That watching over the general peaceable-
ness
Is a holding of the candles to fools.
When a State is quiet and harmonious
What figure do its Police make?
- " If the rebellions movements ceased,
If the Governments' fears all faded,
In the public stagnant pool unemployed
Ye will all sleep in mire an eternal slumber.
Peoples in fury, Princes in alarm,
Are, of our edifice, the double base.
That the wheel may roll and roll well
It is needful that disorder should be its
mover.
- " There was a time, I speak it with reluctance,
When we, base instruments of Justice,
Upon the robber, upon the evil-doer,
Wretched dogs, exercised our teeth.
But, since Kings took us into favour;
And made us Ministers and Confidants,
We—from Servants of Servants—in three
mouthfuls
Here we are, Masters of the Masters.
- " Divide and reign". . . at this point
The neighbouring piazza resounded with
hurrahs
"For the Prince, with the people, reunited:
For Italy, and the Citizen Guard."
All, made a grimace of despair;
In one moment—Centre—Right—and Left,
And died—struck sudden—on his lips
The genius of that most enlightened Birro."

The instructions to an Austrian emissary are, as we have inti-
mated, in our judgment only too well founded:—

'INSTRUCTIONS FOR AN AUSTRIAN EMISSARY.

- ' You will go to Italy : here are ready
Your bank-notes and your passport.
You will travel styling yourself Count,
And as if wholly for your pleasure.
When there, play the fool, play the Rodomonte,
The indolent, the gambler, the lady-killer ;
Enjoy yourself and live merrily,
For these are what attract people.
- When you see (as it certainly will happen)
The birds fall into your nets,
Be bold ; speak with open heart ;
Show yourself all frankness and gaiety ;
Say that the North is a dungeon, a desert,
A true home for January,
When compared to the garden of the world,
So beautiful, fertile, free, and joyous.
- ' That word *free*, thrown out
Thus in your talk as if from negligence,
Watch narrowly amid the company
If you can see a chance of its taking hold.
If it falls, and you have to beat a retreat,
Go on speaking of this or that ;
If, on the contrary, any one takes it up,
Go on boldly, for your road is made :
- ' Boldly, but dexterously. At first it is not
well
To plunge into deep water, as do some
Who, when once in, cannot face it,
But struggle so that every one discovers
them.
It requires to go on softly,
Give play, and urge no one,
Feel the way, and work cautiously
With a judgment that seems rashness.
- ' Play the victim ? No, I do not advise it,
For that dodge is well known in these days ;
These sixteen years back that bait
Has hooked such numbers in those parts,
That they scent a mile off
The true sore and the false.
So boast and pride yourself
That none ever touched a hair of your head.
- ' When you have thus made yourself a warm
bed
In the hearts of many, and hear yourself
Landed as an honest man,
And are, of events down there, well informed,
Tell horrors, of me, I quite allow it :
Say that I am asleep, am getting old,—
Invent some, if you find you are lacking,
For, as I have said, I give you *carte blanche*.
- ' Of the Ministry there, say just the same,
In the cafés, the theatres, in every circle ;
For, on this head, I have put
On your passport certain hieroglyphics
That signify, *inter nos*, an express order
To let you act and shut their eyes.
Allons ; now that we are on the high seas,
Here is the route that remains for you to go.
- ' Make yourself a centre for the warm party
That lives on whispers and on newspapers,
And, whether in jacket or in founce,
Raves always, nor comprehends one atom.
- Easily for these may you beat
With nothings the brain, and when any one
gives them
Room to play, in troubled times
They upset everything and act like fools.
- ' Bewail the country ; discredit
That rule, that uniformity ;
Deride the moderate clods
As folks who vacillate and sleep ;
Abuse the Government ; declare
That peace, laws, and reformation
Are trifles to quiet asses
And to throw dust in eyes.
- ' Above all, excite the discontented
On the ill-doings of the new school
Which suppresses all wild expressions
And wants the *thing* without the *words*.
This is a morsel that edges my teeth,
And sticks a bone in my throat ;
As for me, it would be more appetising
By the *words* to blacken the *thing*.
- ' Spread republican notions,
Say that the rich and all the well provided for
Make all one—people and dogs,
And are all brigands and sanfedists :
That the question really is bread,
And those only who understand it are the
Communists ;
And that an enemy of the Agrarian law
Condemns four-fifths to live on air.
- ' When you perceive the storm coming,
And that, the gale growing worse,
The holy republic of the pocket
Begins to roar and make commotion ;
Give it rope, and make me
An *émeute*, a tumult, a pillaging ;
So much, that the kings, being in straits,
Shall ask from here congresses or bayonets.
- ' If you require to spend, spend,
For money is no great harm ; there are
Birri in repose—spies—if you want any,
Idle, ruined . . . they will all do.
If you succeed in netting a few people,
Or do so much as to shake a throne,
Spend me treasures, I am content,
For I shall have invested at sixty per cent.
- ' And, by the way, in case any discover you,
Tell me ; in a moment
I come down in thunder upon you,
And you become a martyr—in the act.
Then there's the minister makes a commotion
And the Government helps you to run,
And thus the pancake is turned,
And you—are good for another time.
- ' Not to give cause to the Post-office
To suspect this arrangement between us,
You will correspond with A— of A—,
And may be sure I shall have it.
He, as you are aware, is a Liberal,
And revolutionising the country—on my account.
We understand each other: you work, and
then
If you get us up a war—well, for you.'

We should much like to have given some extracts from the poem called 'Gingillino.' As, however, our limits will not permit of this, we must be content with remarking that this term, which used to be applied to any one who tried to attain

an object by a course of small policy, has been stamped by Giusti as meaning in future the mean and cunning applicants for office. There is a refrain, 'but if thou desirest to die in easy circumstances' (*pur se desideri morir vestito*); and the poem is replete with advice tending to insure the attainment of this one great object. The aspirant is to crush self, avoid originality, banish all visions of honour or glory, to serve the real and eschew the ideal, to incense the idol of 'four and four = eight,' to believe the oracle which says that 'the Being consists in the Having,' and in all other respects to think as the masters think. Thus much will serve to give the reader some idea of the sort of personage of whom people in Italy now say, 'Oh! he is a mere *Gingillino*.'

But not alone in satire did Giusti excel. There is another Giusti, revealed in his poetry as well as in his letters; the warm friend, the dutiful son, the man never losing affection for her who had rejected him, the loving brother, the kindly neighbour, the hearty patriot, the sincere Christian. And it is because he is all these, that we believe in his satire as being based upon truth. Indeed, not all his command of metre and power of expression could possibly account for the extraordinary circulation of his poems (by *writing*, be it remembered, not by *printing*) unless it had been felt by his countrymen that they did afford a true representation of the state of things. They will, we believe, be appealed to hereafter as throwing light upon history; even when that history has become a narrative of much that may seem to pass the limits of credibility.

But we wish to give a specimen or two of our poet's gentler verse. From among many lovely poems and sonnets, we shall select two; the one, a poem addressed to that high-born statesman friend who, though the senior by some seventeen years, yet lived to follow Giusti to his grave; the other, a sonnet to the memory of the poet's foster-sister. Much has been written on the desire of genius of the creative order to reach an ideal standard of perfection; but seldom, we think, has it been expressed with more grace, either of language or of metre, than in the following verses to Gino Capponi. Not even in a mere line by line version, it may be hoped, can the whole of its fragrance disappear.

TO THE MARQUIS GINO CAPPONI.

'Like one floating with the stream
Down the currents of a rapid flood,
Who seems to himself moveless, and that
the banks
Fly, and the mountains and distant woods;
So my spirit floats on the wave
Precipitous, of human destinies;
And whilst before it, of universal life,
Passes the infinite scene,
Mute, and stupor-struck, remains.

NO. CXVI.—N.S.

'Come colui che naviga a seconda
Per correnti di rapide fiumane,
Che sta gli sembra immobile, e la sponda
Fuggire, e i monti e le selve lontane:
Così l'ingegno mio varca per l'onda
Precipitosa delle sorti umane:
E mentre a lui dell'universa vita
Passa dinanzi la scena infinita
Muto e percosso di stupor rimane.

'And with hidden tumult trouble me
I feel the secret powers of my soul,
And I look, and think, and seem not to
understand
The sights unwinding before my attentive eye,
And I have not spirit of such perfect melody
That may in me answer to that grand har-
mony:
So, rapt in midst of the motion and sound
Of things, I dream, and am swayed to and fro
As the leaf that the wind makes tre-
mulous.

'But, when again remote from men,
Meditating work of subtle skill,
In the sweet fatigues of mind
I seek repose from troubles of heart,
Here assail me suddenly
Like a sounding cloud of insects
The remembrances of things gone by,
And horrid forms with scornful gestura
Strive with me, and I with them.

'Thus, returned to her lonely room,
The lovely girl, in whom the keen
Zest of music and of dance
Nor weariness nor sleep can smother,
The noises of the feast and its exultance
Resound still round her in the silent air,
And the engraven image of loved features,
Of lights, and of festive whirl,
Change into a wearying dream.

'Like one on whom flashes sudden
Something he fears to forget,
So the pen I seize, in that flood
Of warm imaginings that struggles within.
But if, gushing from difficult source,
Word and thought battle together,
I, doubtful of myself, refrain
From the audacious verse, and remain
thoughtful,
And the anguish of a doubt grieves my
heart.

'So on this sea, whereto thou trustest thyself
Adventuring with so poor a sail,
Always the storm and clouds are raging,
And the plaint of the drowned and their wail?
And the wave never rests; and never smiles
The air, and the sun with ceaseless shade is
veiled?
Of this brave and much-troubled dust,
That with thee breathes, and with thee to
God returns,
Nought but vice to thee has been revealed?

'And what art thou, who the ready scourge
Brandishest, harshly pointing out the truth;
Who, stint of praise to the good and beau-
tiful,
Chantest a bitter note of blame?
Didst thou earn, following thy model,
The secret of thy art and its ministry?
Didst thou first uproot in thine own self
Vain pride and folly,
Thou who upbraidest, and to others
show'st the path?

'Then, with sorrow struck, sighing
I gather up the reins of thought;
And marking the where, the how, the when,
My brief history I turn and re-turn.
Alas! re-treading the footsteps of the past,
From a thousand thorns one wretched flower
I gather.
Disdainful of error, with error stained,
Now I feel raised on high with the few,
Now I fell and erred with the many.

'E di sordo tumulto affaticarme
Le posse arcane dell' anima sento,
E guardo, e penso, e comprender non parme
La vista che si svolge all' occhio intento,
E non ho spirito di sì pieno carme
Che in me risponda a quel fiero concento:
Così rapito in mezzo al moto e al suono
Delle cose, vaneggio e m' abbandono
Come la foglia che mulina il vento.

'Ma quando poi remoto dalla gente,
Opra pensando di sottil lavoro,
Nelle dolci fatiche della mente
Al travaglio del cor cerco ristoro,
Ecco assalirmi tutte di repente,
Come d' insetti un nuvoloso sonoro,
Le rimembranze delle cose andate;
E larve orrende di scherno atteggiare
Azzuffarsi con meco ed io con loro.

'Così tornata alla solinga stanza
La vaga giovinetta in cui l' acuta
Ebbrietà del suono e della danza
Nò stanchezza nè sonno non attua,
Il fragor della festa e l' esultanza
Le romba intorno ancor per l' aria muta,
E il senso impresso de' cari sembianti,
E de' lumi e de' vortici festanti,
In faticosa vision si muta.

'Come persona a cui ratto balena
Subita cosa che d' obliar teme,
Così la penna afferro in quella piena
Del caldo immaginar che dentro freme.
Ma se sgorgando di difficili vena
La parola e il pensier pugnano insieme,
Io, di me stesso diffidando, poso
Dal metro audace, e rimango pensoso,
E l' angoscia d' un dubbio in cor mi geme.

'Dunque su questo mare a cui ti fide
Pericolando con sì poca vela,
Il nembo sempre e la procella stride.
E de' sommersi il pianto e la querela?
E mai non posa l' onda, e mai non ride
L' aere, e il sol di perpetue ombre si vela?
Di questa ardita e travagliata polve
Che teco spira, e a Dio teco si volge,
Altro che vizio a te non si rivela?

'E chi sei tu che il libero flagello
Ruoti, accennando duramente il vero,
E che parco di lode al buono e al bello,
Amaro carme intuoni a vitupero?
Cogliesti tu, seguendo il tuo modello,
Il segreto dell' arte e il ministero?
Diradicasti da te stesso in pria
E la vana superbia e la follia
Tu che rampogni, e altrui nostri il
sentiero?

'Allor di duol compunto, sospirando
De' miei pensieri il freno a me raccolgo;
E ripetendo il dove, il come, il quando,
La breve istoria mia volgo e rivolgo.
Ahi del passato l'orme ricalcando
Di mille spine un fior misero colgo!
Sdegnoso dell' error d' error macchiato,
Or mi sento co' pochi alto levato,
Ora giù caddi e vaneggiar col volgo!

'Miserable wrath that alone inspirest me,
The heart is wearied and saddened by thee !
O butterfly, that gladdenest thy flight,
Reposing on thy way on flower and flower ;
And thou that always goest, O sad nightingale,
From grove to grove, singing of love ;
Compared with your sweet lives,
In what strife of thoughts places me—
This, that seems a smile, and is sorrow.

'Beyond the cloud that circles me, and in its
bosom
Agitates the winds and bolts of anger,
To a wider horizon, to a serener
Sky, to a gladder flight my soul aspires,
Where (conjoined with free rein)
The vigorous notes and the gracious lyre
May make the ether resound with exuberant
harmony,
And hymns of praise may be effective spurs
To virtue, so much sighed for.

'Oh, my Gino, if from thee this secret
Conflict of the mind I did not conceal,
When, accused, of the song, sorrowful or glad,
In me, the note or cause thou hearest,
Tell of the strong and anxious heart-beat
(Thou who in others understandest it, and
in thyself knowest)
Of those who inflamed by the beauty of the
truth,
Feel a ray of it in their thought,
And for ever strive after, but never
reach it.

'And I also that lofty image of art,
(Which is bride to genius and daughter of
nature,
And in part displays its mother's form, in part
Sets forth the image of a loftier model ;
As the lover who teareth himself not away
From her who most assures him of her love,)
Woo lovingly, anxious to ameliorate myself,
And of refreshing me in the chaste embrace,
The trembling hope abideth with me still.'

'Misero sdegno che mi spiri solo,
Di te si stanca e si rattrista il core !
O farfalla che rallegrì il volo,
Posandote per via di fiore in fiore,
E tu che sempre vai, mesto usignolo,
Di bosco in bosco, cantando d'amore,
Delle vostre dolcezze al paragone,
In quanta guerra di pensier mi pone
Questo che par sorriso, ed è dolore !

'Oltre la nube che mi cerchia e in seno
Agita i venti e i fulmini dell' ira,
A più largo orizzonte, a più sereno
Cielo, a più lieto vol l' animo aspira,
Ove congiunti con libero freno
I forti canti alla pietosa lira,
Di feconda armonia l'etere suoni,
E sian gl' inni di lode acuti sproni
Alla virtù che tanto si sospira.

'O Gino mio, se a te questo segreto
Conflitto della mente io non celai,
Quando accusar del canto o mesto o lieto
In me la nota o la cagion udrai,
Narra quel forte palpito inquieto,
Tu che in altrui l' intendi e in te lo sai,
Di quei che acceso alla beltà del vero
Un raggio se ne sente nel pensiero,
E ognor lo segue e non lo giunge mai.

'E anch' io quell' ardua immagine dell' arte,
Che al genio è donna e figlia è di natura,
E in parte ha forma della madre, in parte
Di più alto esemplar rende figura ;
Come l'amante che non si diparte
Da quella che d' amor più l' assicura,
Vagheggio, inteso a migliorar me stesso
E d'innovarmi nel pudico amplesso
La trepida speranza ancor mi dura.'

With the sonnet on the death of his foster-sister we conclude :¹—

'TO HIS FOSTER-SISTER.

'We, as infants, were lulled to sleep
Gently soothing our childish woes
By the same voice ; and the same bosom
In the same robes gave our sustenance.

'Why is our companionship grievous to
thee ?
Why to other regions hast thou spread thy
wings ?

With thee, my sister, I had ever hoped
To divide the last bread of my latest years !

'Thou, from the board below raised
Before me, art seated in God's presence ;
And at the feast of angels, thou, blest,

'Drinkest oblivion of all mortal things :
I, of this uncertain and not happy life,
Feel the bitterness increasing to my lips.'²

¹ One of the shorter poems, addressed to a medical friend, Carlo Ghinozzi, is directed against 'the abuse of sulphuric ether,' namely, as a means of producing *anæsthesia*. Perhaps Giusti ought to have read, upon the other side, the powerful arguments of the inventor of chloroform, Professor Simpson, of Edinburgh.

² 'Noi pargoletti al sonno lusingava,
Dolce acchetando i puerili affanni,
Il canto istesso, e fra gli stessi panni
Una stessa mammella alimentava.

'Perchè la nostra compagnia ti grava
E ad altra region dispieghi i vanni ?
Teco, sorella mia, degli ultimi anni
Partir l'ultimo pane omai sperava.

'Tu dalla mensa di quaggiù levata
Prima di me, t' assidi innanzi a Dio,
E al convito degli Angeli beata

'D' ogni cosa mortal bevi l' oblio ;
Io della vita incerta e sconsolata
Crescer sento amarezza al labbro mio.

With one or two general reflections, we must now bring to a close this protracted disquisition.

The task which has been undertaken is not altogether one in which the writer feels the most enjoyment. It is more to his taste to be engaged in trying to defend, against scepticism and neology, those fundamental dogmas of the faith, which are still the common heritage of Christendom. But several considerations have induced him to attempt this inquiry, feebly and imperfectly as, after all, he knows it to be executed—the presence of an assistance close at hand, without which he could never have pretended to have offered to the reader what is here set down; affection for the beautiful country which he has more than once visited; above all, he trusts, an earnest desire to make known, so far as in him lies, the truth of facts so sadly at war with the ideal pictures imagined by many, who either lack the will or the opportunity to examine more closely into details.

It is, indeed, a noble doctrine, that of Plato concerning archetypal ideas. It seems to gain ground in the regions of science, and may possibly be more countenanced by theology than appears at the first glance, in the scriptural revelations concerning the patterns of heavenly things, and concerning One who is indeed the *αὐτοάνθρωπος*, the ideal man. Only—only, while we cling fast to such truths, and may well believe that we have met saints at home, and not merely in books, we must not surely here below expect to find ideal *communities* of men either in Church or State. Not such were even those primitive brotherhoods of Christians at Corinth or in Galatia whom S. Paul addressed; not such the Church either in the catacombs, or under Constantine; not such the Mediæval Church, nor the Church, as we know well, of our own age and clime. But there are those who believe in its existence elsewhere. Like one of Pindar's heroines (as it was happily applied by a poet of our own) they are lovers of things distant. They have learnt to think thus of Italy; and to believe that all opposition to the Governments, or to the Church, in that land, can only proceed from bad and designing men. We, too, can grant much, very much, to Italy. We know her wondrous richness in what Azeglio calls 'the Divine beauty of created things;' we remember how she has, once and again, ruled the world; we acknowledge how completely she has led the van in almost every form of art and literature, and Christian civilization. But it is impossible to hold converse with the written thoughts of her greatest and best men in this century, and to believe that, either in Church or State, her Governments have at all approximated to the merest semblance of a lofty and ideal standard; impossible to look there any more than at home for

even the outlines of that sight that is promised indeed to all the faithful, but not in this their hour of mortality: 'Thine eyes shall see the King in His beauty; they shall behold the land that is very far off.'

APPENDIX.

As Cantù's '*Storia di Cento Anni*' is but little known in England, we subjoin a portion of his account of Austrian rule in Italy since 1815:—

'The unity of the empire so much desired by Francis I. compelled our being ruled by the same laws as the Croat and the Galician, even to the depriving us of the publicity of trial and defence, always practised until then; even to the sending regulations concerning water to a country which had invented artificial irrigation; and our conscripts were now incorporated into German regiments, under German officers; in consequence of which, all who had any sense of national honour, and could purchase a substitute, avoided the profession. . . . Even the Church was reduced to servitude by means of the Josephine system; the parish priests were required to swear fealty to the sovereign; the bishops were all nominated by the emperor, and restricted from all intercourse with Rome, and even from addressing their own flocks without the previous censure of a *subaltern employé*.

'Moreover, many details, excellent in themselves, were corrupted by the police, the arbiter of everything. An Aulic police, a vice-regal police, a general police, a police belonging to the borough, and one for the Government, one for the presidency of the Government, all rivalling one another in espionage. In the hands of the police were all employments, all honours, offices in the institutes, professors' chairs, even the ecclesiastical ministry; since its informations were necessary for every nomination, and irreparable, because secret. It threw difficulties in the way of obtaining passports; it poisoned all the sweetness both of domestic and of civil life, by making each one believe the other a traitor, in order that mutually fearing one another, they might never acquire the power given by concord. It hunted out secrets to divulge them for the shame or destruction of all it hated, or, not finding them, invented them. It protected the base, that they might trouble or persecute solid merit and fearless characters; it violated without scruple the privacy of letters; it kept men long in prison on simple suspicion, and then released them without even deigning to say why.

'And yet this Government, sole disposer of terrors, flatteries, places, honours, and decorations, never found one to laud it, one apologist, I do not say in heart, but even in mind; so that it has had to buy them, and such, that their ignorance was only equalled by the baseness with which they prostituted it. Posterity will take account of this noble freedom from contamination in Lombard genius.'—Vol. iii. p. 486.

This article, though too late for our January number, was in type on the 27th of last December. We have now, after an interval of nearly two months, given the last corrections to the proof sheets; and it seems right to subjoin a brief notice of

such books as have in the meantime come in our way, in so far as they appear to bear upon the points at issue.

1. Firstly, it must be recorded that an *anathema* of great length and extraordinary violence has been uttered against Father Passaglia. This sentence does not, however, proceed from a bishop, nor from an ecclesiastic of any order, nor from an Italian. It is a self-educated French layman, M. Louis Veuillot, who thus devotes to every possible form of evil the most learned member of the Italian priesthood. Several considerations prevent us from reprinting this truly wonderful fulmination. In the first place, we have no wish unnecessarily to load our pages with what to us looks like most unchristian, and even blasphemous, declamation. Secondly, the *anathema* may be found in the *Times* about the middle of February, 1862. Those who find the search too troublesome, may form a faint—a *very* faint—idea of the vehemence of M. Veuillot's language, by turning to the second part of King Henry VI. (Act III. Sc. 2), and reading that speech of Lord Suffolk, which is thus interrupted by Queen Margaret:—

'Enough, sweet Suffolk ; thou torment'st thyself ;
And these dread curses, like the sun 'gainst glass,
Or like an overcharged gun, recoil,
And turn the force of them upon thyself.'

We will not wish for M. Veuillot anything so tremendous as is implied in this last line. He is capable of better things, and will, we trust, live to regret an ebullition of feeling alike disgraceful to himself and injurious to the cause for which he pleads. Meanwhile, the title of his book, which he gives as '*Parfum de Rome*,' will suggest to most minds the idea of a perfume strangely different from the odour of sanctity.

2. Mr. Roebuck is no longer the only liberal defender of the Austrian occupation of Venetia. A gentleman of very high ability, generally supposed to be the advocate of the most extreme liberalism both in Church and State, Mr. Bonamy Price, has come forward with a plea on behalf of the retention of the Quadrilateral by Austria. We have not yet had an opportunity of examining Mr. Price's pamphlet with the attention that it deserves, but we hope to be able to criticise it in our smaller notices at the end of this number.

3. On the other hand, some works either overlooked, or only just published, seem to bear striking testimony in support of our views, especially when their authorship is taken into account. We had forgotten to look again at that well-known and standard book, Eustace's '*Classical Tour in Italy*.' Eustace was a highly cultivated Roman Catholic priest of the old *régime*. We should be glad if any of our readers could

compare his concluding pages with our article. His account of the Neapolitan nobility strongly corroborates our teaching about enforced idleness. It is very remarkable that Eustace, writing more than forty years ago, pleaded earnestly on behalf of the erection of a kingdom of Poland and a kingdom of Italy.

4. 'The Memoir of Alexis de Tocqueville,' by M. de Beaumont, is also important. De Tocqueville was a sincere Roman Catholic, and certainly one of the first political thinkers of the age. It is worth observing that, as Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1849, he sanctioned the French expedition to Rome, on the understanding that the Pope, when restored, would grant a reorganization of the Courts of Justice, a *Code Civile*, Elective Councils, and Lay Administration.

5. 'The Journals and Letters of Sismondi' have appeared since this article went to press. Sismondi always avowed himself a Protestant and a republican. His Protestantism was, however, too vague and syncretistic in its character to allow us to lay much stress upon his judgment of any religious question. Disliking every species of priestly authority, and (apparently) disbelieving in the real existence of dogma, he yet greatly admired the Roman system of casuistry; and when, in his 'Histoire des Français,' he arrives at the latter half of the eighteenth century, he always inclines to the side of the Jesuits, as against their crowned opponents. Though republican, he always added that he was no democrat; and that he was not insensible to the influence of ancient and illustrious *souvenirs*, nor of sublime devotion to a nation's chief. He could not forget that in him was extinguished one of the very oldest families of Europe—a family named by Dante in the best known canto of the 'Divina Commedia,' as among the greatest in Pisa—a family among the very earliest of those that are *known* to have had the right to armorial bearings. The Sismondi war-cry was a motto¹ given by an emperor of the house of Suabia to one of the house, who, at the peril of his own life, saved that emperor from the stroke of an assassin. In the *Revue des deux Mondes* for the 1st of January, 1862, the reader will find an account of Sismondi's letters. In connexion with our present theme, we would call attention to, (a) Sismondi's strong sense of the deeply religious character of some political victims of Austria—viz. Silvio Pellico, Oroboni, and Maroncelli—however unable he might be to understand (as he himself remarks) the poetic and enthusiastic character of

¹ The motto was, 'Dear faith is thine to me' (*Cara fè m'è la vostra*). Sismondi refers to it in a spirit not wholly unlike that of 'Marmion':—

'Last of my race, on battle-plain
That shout shall ne'er be heard again!'

their faith; (b) his deep conviction of the *intense* harm done to the *Austrian* mind by the entire character of their rule in Italy.

Finally, but that we must not trespass further upon the reader's patience, we would transcribe one more passage from *Cantù*. Its drift is, that even Austria once begged the Papacy, under Gregory XVI., to make some reforms; but that the minor Duchies for once dared to exhibit a will of their own, and begged the Pope not to accede to the Austrian requests; fearing lest (lamentable thought!) under such circumstances *they* too might be expected to make changes in a similar direction. To their own grievous detriment, as well as that of the Papal Government, these princes obtained their request. We have lived to witness the result.

ART. II.—1. *La Kabbale, ou La Philosophie Religieuse des Hébreux*. Par ADOLPHE FRANCK, Professeur Agrégé à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris, Professeur de Philosophie au Collège Royal de Charlemagne. Paris.

2. *Etudes Orientales*. Par ADOLPHE FRANCK, Membre de l'Institut. Paris, 1861.

THE question that Pilate put to our Lord—without, however, expecting an answer, from his belief in the impossibility of its being answered—has been the question that all great thinkers and philosophers have ever been proposing in all countries, and in all ages of the world—What is truth? What is the *rationale* of my own being, my beginning, my end, the purpose of my existence? Who and what is that Being whom we call God, and what is my relation to Him? Finally, what is the origin of the universe, and what will be its end? To solve these mysteries, the philosophers of Greece and Rome addressed themselves; with what success our classical readers well know. Without a direct revelation from Heaven the attempt was, and proved itself to be, impossible: though they had glimmerings of a belief in the immortality of the soul, and of a judgment after death, yet, ignorant of the doctrine of the Fall and the Redemption, they could never realize the great truth of a state of probation, and so they sunk down into a condition of Atheism, believing in a God, but denying His Providence. The glimmerings of light, scintillations from traditions of Eden, made many of them believe that there was a time when man was unfallen, and lived without war or lust, contented with his own;¹ but this failed to help them to *truth*, because they were ignorant that the loss of this state resulted from the temptation of a being external to man, and was to be repaired by Another, at once Man, and man's Creator. Human nature could not remain content with this negative state, priests and priestesses would lose credit with the lay people, if they, who had been, as it were, taken into the confidence of their Deity, could account no better for the condition of mankind, than to confess that they knew nothing about it. An esoteric theology was therefore invented, into which the initiated only were admitted, while an exoteric one, of types and symbols of the esoteric, was published to the generality: among the initiated

¹ * *Etiam tum vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur; sui cuique satis placebant.*—Sallust, *Catilinea*, ch. ii.

alone was the truth ; a knowledge to be attained only at the cost of study and self-discipline, in some case of mortification, which, by subduing the flesh, was supposed to purify the spirit. For purification of the spirit so as to become Divine, and perhaps, as in Pantheistic Asia, to be absorbed into the Deity, was probably the final 'truth' that these mysteries taught. Egypt, according to Jamblicus, was the parent of religious mysteries—at least, those of Europe and Western Asia ; perhaps India may claim an equal, if not a superior, antiquity for hers ; but it may be safely doubted, whether the Eleusinian, Samothracian, and other mysteries had not also an independent origin : in other words, whether a 'mystery' be not an almost necessary accompaniment of all religions ; from the elaborate systems of Egypt and Eleusis to the witch-doctors of Greenland and of Equatorial Africa.

It is not, then, to be expected that a religion which alone possessed a Divine origin, should lack its esoteric mystery ; especially one like the Mosaic, which was essentially a 'shadow of things to come.' Full of types, figures, dark and obscure prophecies, which, until fulfilled in their antitype, were almost an impenetrable mystery, the Old Testament presented to the mind of the student the richest storehouse from which to frame a mystery. Accordingly there arose that stupendous monument of patient investigation and learned invention—the KABBALA: an edifice carefully planned and laid out at first, and receiving additions from the intellectual Jew of the golden age of Jewish literature, in the schools of mediæval Spain and France ; founding a science which far overflowed its original boundaries, for it infected largely the Christianity of that time ; and, as we shall afterwards prove, has its imitators among religious writers of our own day, and in our own country. The Kabbalists would persuade us that their science is the oldest in existence, nay, that it preceded the creation of this world, for it was taught by God Himself to the angels ; that after the Creation, they communicated it to Adam, and to certain favoured ones of his posterity ; that the writings of Moses and the Prophets contain the exoteric form suited for the generality, while the initiated were Divinely instructed in the esoteric ; by it they not only knew heavenly mysteries, but that they acquired supernatural powers ; they commanded the aid of good angels, and brought evil ones into subjection ; they controlled the forces of nature, and made the elements of the world subservient to them. In King Solomon was centred the utmost extent, as well as the highest perfection, of Kabbalistic wisdom ; by Kabbalism he penetrated the secrets of the universe, understood the language of birds and beasts, and made them obey him ; nay, he reduced to slavery demons and genii, and made them execute his com-

mands. His body is supposed to be yet sitting on a throne in the tomb of the kings, holding that awful sceptre, with which he ruled all creation : this sceptre is to be the inheritance of the Messiah, who shall, like his ancestor, hold universal sway.

Passing from the extravagances of Oriental imagination, and coming to more sober history, we inquire when and how did Kabbalism arise? The answer must be, to a certain extent, based on a weighing of probabilities; the Book of Jetzirah, attributed to the Patriarch Abraham, but written in the first century, and the Book of Zohar, composed a little later, were the first works on Kabbalism; but we must give the science itself a far greater antiquity.

It seems, then, most probable that Kabbalism arose after the Return from Babylon, when a great and lasting change took place in the religious habits, thoughts, and manners of the people. We hear no more of that once besetting sin of idolatry; we find an attachment to the Divine law and worship, contrasting most remarkably with its former neglect; an attention to the minutiae of the Commandments, which was not long in growing into Phariseeism. Whether intercourse with a more polished and intellectual people during the Captivity, whether the severity of the lesson they had received, or whether the germ of moral and intellectual powers long lying dormant in their half-savage youth, were now developing into civilized manhood, similar to other ancient nations, like Greece and Rome, is to account for the phenomenon, we shall not stop to inquire; the fact remains evident, that the Jew after the Return was eminently superior to his fathers before it. The long captivity, and the very general previous neglect, had, no doubt, rendered it a difficult matter to follow accurately the requirements of the Law; besides, the loss of many parts of the Divine furnishing of the Temple necessitated a certain adaptation to circumstances, not experienced before; all this gave birth to a study of the law, such as had been unknown in older Israel: orders of scribes, doctors, and rabbin, now begin to appear, and learning to be valued. Again, an impression was gaining ground that the Law was a perfect system of theology, and had the promise of eternal life attached to it; that, being a Divine revelation, it contained the whole cycle of Divine wisdom: this latter, not to be found in the mere bare command, was to be sought out by intense study; that then God would open the eyes of the student to 'see the wondrous things of His law;' added to this, that the Jew probably brought back with him a knowledge of astronomy, perhaps astrology; of magianism, perhaps of magic; and we see sufficient materials, as well as sufficient predisposition, to create Kabbalism. Viewed in this

light, it appears as the spontaneous growth of a people who now acknowledged the Divine injunction to study their religion, aided by the feeling so strong in human nature, to find out the mystery of one's own being.

Another element of equal, if not superior importance to the former, was introduced by the Alexandrian Jews; this colony, founded by Alexander the Great, enlarged by Ptolemy Lagus, soon lost all knowledge of their own language and spoke only Greek; with the latter language flowed in also a knowledge of Greek philosophy.

'From this period, there can be no doubt that the doctrine of the Jews was known to the Egyptians; and, on the other hand, that Pagan philosophy was known to the Jews. Grecian wisdom, corrupted by being mixed with the Egyptian and Oriental philosophy, assumed a new form in the Platonic school of Alexandria. This school, by pretending to teach a sublimer doctrine concerning God and Divine things, enticed men of different countries and religions, and, among the rest, the Jews, to study its mysteries, and to incorporate them with their own. The symbolical method of instruction, which had been in use from the most ancient times among the Egyptians, was adopted by the Jews; and it became a common practice among them to put an allegorical interpretation upon their sacred writings. Hence, under the cloak of symbols, Pagan philosophy gradually crept into the Jewish schools; and the Platonic doctrines, mixed first with the Pythagoric, and afterwards with the Egyptian and Oriental, were blended with their ancient faith in their explanations of the Law and the traditions. The society of the Therapeutæ . . . was formed after the model of the Pythagorean discipline: Aristobulus, Philo, and others, studied the Grecian philosophy, and the Kabbalists formed their mystical system upon the foundation of the tenets taught in the Alexandrian schools.'¹

The first community that adopted a 'mystery' was that of the Essenes: these recluses, of whom we first find mention in the times of the Maccabees, appear to have had their origin in Egypt, from whence they drew their peculiar opinions; they then came and settled in the hill country about Jordan: they enforced celibacy, had a community of goods, and practised great austerities, especially on the Sabbath. To be admitted into their society, the candidate had to undergo two years' probation and instruction within the college; after this, he was received as a brother, with a solemn oath to conform to the discipline and observe the rules of the community; to guard its sacred books, and the names of the angels, and not to divulge its mysteries. Another class of these recluses is mentioned by Philo under the name of Therapeutæ; their religion was essentially contemplative, and their interpretation of Scripture allegorical. It was from these various elements that Kabbalism arose.

The system may be described as philosophico-religious, professing to enter into and explain the mysteries concerning God,

¹ Enfield's History of Philosophy, book iv. chap. i.

angels, demons, man—both soul and body—his origin, his end; in a word, very similar to the speculations of Plato and other heathen philosophers, only that the Kabbalist had actually, which was wanting to them, a Divine Revelation to rest upon. His grand mistake was, that he looked upon the Old Testament as a final and complete revelation, and as containing an entire system of philosophic theology. We shall see presently that he not only supplemented Divine revelation with other systems, but that he actually founded his idea of creation on the theology of Zoroaster, and, by adopting the doctrine of emanations and metempsychosis, rendered Pantheism the inevitable result of his system. Assuming, as we think we may safely do, that Kabbalism developed itself after the return from Babylon, we can easily imagine how, when the conquering arms of Persia introduced the religion of Zoroaster, which probably supplanted the older idolatry of Babylon, the captive Jew would imbibe something of a religion which concurred with his own in rejecting idols, and approximated to the Mosaic account of the creation; and how he would be inclined to look at it, not as a thing of heathen invention, but as being the recovery of a long-lost tradition. No Kabbalistic book was, however, written before the first century; whatever had been taught before that, had been, like the *Mischna*, merely oral. The two oldest are the *Sepher Jetzirah* (Book of the Creation), and the *Sepher Zohar* (Book of Light). The exact date of these books is uncertain. *Jetzirah* is mentioned as a well-known book in both the *Talmuds*. Kabbalists tell us that it was written by the Patriarch Abraham; most probably it was composed by the Rabbi Akibah. *Zohar* is commonly attributed to Simeon ben Jochai, who, living at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and by him condemned to death, concealed himself in a cave, when he was visited by the Prophet Elijah, who, instructing him in Kabbalism, enabled him to write the book. The early date of this book is doubted by Franck,¹ because it is not, like the *Jetzirah*, alluded to in the *Talmud*, nor, as he declares, until the thirteenth century. Into this investigation we do not intend to enter; we are, however, sure of one thing, that, whatever may be the date of the first Book of *Zohar*, the present book has received very considerable additions.

From this latter book we learn that all things existed, before creation, in idea—an ideal creation preceded the actual. Nay, there is even an ideal conception of God Himself, a description of Whom is given in the third part. This description is evidently borrowed from that of 'The Ancient of Days' in

¹ *De la Kabbale*, p. 91, *et seq.*

Daniel, only with Oriental exaggerations and extravagances. Thus: 'The white light of His Head illuminates four hundred thousand worlds. These four hundred thousand worlds produced by that white light, become the inheritance of the saints in the world to come. Each day sees to come to light from His Brain thirteen thousand myriads of worlds, which receive from Him their subsistence, and of which He supports the weight. From His Head He shakes off a dew, which awakens the dead, and gives them a new life. . . . The length of His Face is three hundred and seventy times ten thousand worlds, &c. &c.' The forehead, the eyes, the brain, the hair, the head, the whole face, are invested with some mystical meaning. Of these the 'long face' and the 'short face' contain most important mysteries. The 'long face' is identical with the 'Sephiroth' (splendours), which hold such a remarkable place in Kabbalism. These Sephiroth answer to the ten names of God. In Zohar we read, 'When any one addresses himself in prayer to God, let him invoke equally the Holy Names of God, Eli, Jah, Jehovah, Elohim, El, El-Hai-Zadik, Jehovah-Zabaoth, Elohi-Zabaoth, Shaddai, Adonai; which answer to the ten Sephiroth; viz. The Crown, Wisdom, Intelligence, Power or Severity, Mercy or Magnificence, Beauty, Victory or Eternity, Glory, The Foundation, The Kingdom.' These Sephiroth are generally represented in the form of ten concentric circles, the outermost being 'The Crown,' the innermost 'The Kingdom.' They further connected these to each other by canals; in which case the Sephiroth were represented by ten separate circles, viz. two surrounded by eight joined to each other by canals. By this system the Kabbalists intended to instruct their disciples in the knowledge of all the Divine perfections, on which depend the creation and government of the world. Thus in Jetzirah we are told, that the world could not be governed by Mercy alone, nor by Grace, therefore God has been obliged to add to it Power. It was then necessary to join the two, in order to put everything in a natural order and proportion. This is the reason that Beauty holds the central place, and reconciles Justice with Mercy, without which order the universe could not subsist. From Mercy, which pardons our sins, goes a canal ending in Victory or Eternity. Lastly, the canals which flow from Mercy and Power, and which discharge themselves into Beauty, are filled with a great number of angels. There are thirty-five in the canal of Mercy, who reward and crown the virtues of the saints; an equal number in that of Power, who chastise sinners. These Sephiroth are all emanations from the En-soph (the Infinite), as rays of light from the sun. Through them was the world created, and by them it is sustained.

Another sort of mystery belonged to these Sephiroth, that drawn from the letters which compose the words: thus, the 'Kingdom' is the last of them, to it is attached the word *Koh*, i.e. *so*. Whenever this word occurs in Scripture then the mystery of the 'Kingdom' is hid: the 'Kingdom' itself is called *Koh*, because of the twenty-five gates on the right side, and the twenty-five on the left. This *Koh* is the gate of mysteries: by it the prophets were admitted to the prophetic sphere; it is also the Gate of Prayer. From this it is said that Abraham obtained a son; for when God led him out to look at the stars of Heaven, He said to him, 'So (*Koh*) shall thy seed be:' i.e. by passing through that gate thou shalt reach the source of generation: 'So shall thy seed be.' Again, this Gate of Benedictions was committed to the priests, for it is said in Numbers, 'on this wise (*Koh*) shall ye bless the children of Israel.' We might multiply examples without end of such-like Kabbalistic interpretations of Scripture, by which everything and anything might be made of the Word of God: it was to a further development of this, as we shall show presently, that S. Paul refers when he warns S. Timothy against those who 'consent 'not to the wholesome words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to 'the doctrine which is according to godliness;' of such he says, 'He is proud (*τετύφωται*, he is wrapped in clouds of conceit and 'folly—*Liddell and Scott*), knowing nothing, but doting (*νοσῶν*, 'being diseased, applied to mind as well as body—*Liddell and Scott*) about questions and strifes of words (logomachies).'

Again, 'of these ten Sephiroth there is no limit, not in the 'past, nor for the future, not in goodness nor evil, not in height 'nor in depth, nor in the east, west, south, or north;' for the Sephiroth contain all these. Though different, they are not separate; they are like the fingers on the hands, both as being united by the hand, and also as being five against five; i.e. each one has its opposite.

Again, there is another way by which they may be regarded: 'The first of the Sephiroth is the Spirit of the living God; . . . 'the Spirit, the Voice, the Word; this is the Holy Spirit. The 'second is the breath which comes from the Spirit: in it are graven 'and sculptured the twenty-two letters, which form only, how- 'ever, our sole breath. The third is the water which comes from 'the breath or the air; in the water were the darkness and the 'void, from whence was formed the earth. The fourth is the 'fire which proceeded from the water, and with which He has 'formed the throne of His glory, the celestial wheel [an allusion 'to Ezek. i.], the Seraphim and ministering angels: as it is 'written, "He maketh of the winds his messengers, and of the 'flames of fire His ministers."' The six remaining Sephiroth

represent the different extremities of the world, viz. : the four cardinal points, together with height and depth.¹ These extremities have also as emblems, the different combinations of the four letters of the word Jehovah.

These emanations, it appears, become more and more material the further they extend from the En-soph : apparently, in the end becoming actually matter. The nearer they are, the more spiritual they are : thus, the first, as we have seen, is the 'Voice,' and the 'Word;' the second is the 'Breath of the Spirit,' attached to which are the letters of the alphabet; in other words, the verbal inspiration of the Bible. This seems to be that Trinity of which Philo speaks, the En-soph, the Λόγος, the Πνεῦμα : still more remarkably manifested in the Targum of Onkelos, where the 'Word' is so frequently used, as a sort of mediator between God and man. Besides this, there are notices of a belief in a male and female principle as pervading the Deity; the 'long face' was male, the 'short face' was female; in some instances it seems that the Shekinah is spoken of as female: so also the three elements, water, air, and fire (earth is included in water, being supposed to be water condensed), are called, in the formation of the world, the *Genetresses*. There can be little doubt that the idea of a male and female principle was borrowed from the Egyptian mysteries through the Alexandrian school; though the system of emanation is Persian, or perhaps Indian. We have also some curious speculations about Being, and non-Being, in the Deity. The latter is spoken of as having three Heads, 'the one in the other, and the one above the other: above the first Head is the Ancient of Days; then comes the Head which rules all the others: what it incloses no one knows nor can know; for it is equally beyond our knowledge and our ignorance. This is why the Ancient of Days is called the non-Being.' Thus there is a unity in the Being, and a trinity in the intellectual manifestations. 'Thought is the beginning of all existence, but it is at first ignorant and shut up in itself: when thought begins to expand itself, it arrives at that point where it becomes spirit; then it takes the name of intelligence, and is no longer shut up in itself. The Spirit in its turn develops itself in the midst of mysteries with which it is surrounded, and it utters a voice which is the combination of all the heavenly choirs. . . . This thought allies itself to the non-Being, and is never separated; such is the meaning of the words, "Jehovah is one, and His name is one."

¹ It is probably in allusion to these that S. Paul uses the otherwise inexplicable phrase, Rom. viii. 39, 'Nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature.' His use of the word *κτίσις* is very remarkable: perhaps it is a protest against the doctrine of emanations.

... The name which means "I Am" indicates to us the union of all that exists. . . . When we intend to describe the Genetrix having in her bosom all things, and about to reveal the great name, then God speaking of it, says, "I am that I am."¹

Besides answering to the name of God, the Sephiroth answered likewise to the hierarchies of angels, the heavens, and planets, the parts of the human frame, and the Ten Commandments. To the nine hierarchies of angels is added that of the human soul, to make the tenth. The heavens and the planets are as follows: The empyrean, the *primum mobile*, the firmament, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, the Moon. The ten parts of the human frame are the brain, the lungs, the heart, the stomach, the liver, the gall, the spleen, the reins, the membrum virile, the matrix.²

As there was an image of God, so also there was one, or rather two of man; a macrocosm and a microcosm: the macrocosm, or Adam Kadmon, is an ideal image with the parts of a human frame, each containing some profound mystery. Thus: wisdom is the skull; intelligence is the right ear; prudence, the left: on the diaphragm is a spot of condensed light, from which is communicated the power of producing other worlds. In man, there is a sort of trinity: first, the spirit, the highest part; secondly, the soul, the seat of good and evil, of desire, and of all the moral attributes of man; thirdly, life, immediately connected with the body, the seat of all animal instincts and actions. Sometimes these three are comprehended under one common name of the soul; this soul descends from heaven at the moment of conception to unite itself to the body. 'At the moment when is accomplished the union with the earthly body, the Lord sends down a form which is the likeness of the man, and having the stamp of the Divine seal . . .; if

¹ This system of the Kabbalists, as M. Franck observes, is similar to that which Germany regards as the grand discovery of our day, viz. the absolute identity of thought and of existence, or of the Ideal and the Real; so that the world could only be the expression of the absolute ideas and forms of intelligence. 'Everything,' says Hegel, 'commences with pure Being, *reine Seyn*, which is nothing more than thought entirely indeterminate, simple, and immediate, for true beginning can be nothing else But pure Being is only the purest abstraction; it is a term absolutely negative, which can thus, if we conceive it in a manner mediate, be only non-Being.' Verily, there is nothing new under the sun.—*Encyclopedia of the Philosophic Sciences*, §§ 86, 87.

² It will be easily seen from this, how astrology allied itself with medicine in imagining that particular planets ruled over parts of the human frame; and how, also, the Ten Commandments were used as charms in certain diseases. The great physicians of the middle ages were, most of them, astrologers, who, as we showed in a former article ('Sephardim'), learnt their science from the Jews, and who, while they possessed a vast amount of real knowledge, yet, from their entire faith in the Kabbala, were led away into astrology and magic. It is also worthy of notice, that the reference of the two latter parts of the human frame, to Mercury and Luna, is clearly borrowed from heathen sources.

'the eye could see what then takes place, it would perceive
'above its head an image in every way resembling a human
'face, the image of that in which we are afterwards formed.'
This is the 'image of God,' and is the microcosm—a term often
applied to man even by Christian philosophers; it is developed
with us, and grows with our growth. All souls are pre-existent,
having been created on the first day, immediately after the
light; they are sent down to earth for the purpose of being
disciplined for a higher state of existence. Metempsychosis
became a necessary doctrine, in order that this education might
be complete: it was apparently the general doctrine of the
Kabbalists, while at the same time some of them held that
of the resurrection of the body; two doctrines seemingly in-
compatible. In each soul was the male and female principle,
for, indeed, it is said, 'every form which contains not the male
'and female principle is not a form superior and complete:
'... blessings do not descend when this union does not exist;
'as we learn from the words, "He blessed them, and called
'their name Adam, in the day when they were created."'
Again; 'each soul and each spirit is composed of a man and a
'woman united in one being; in descending on earth, these
'two halves are separated and go to animate different bodies.'
Marriage is the reunion of these two; happy marriages are
those in which these souls have found each other; unhappy,
when they are united to others. There is much in this that
reminds us of Plato's *androgynes*: perhaps it was borrowed
from him through the Alexandrian school.¹ By adopting the
doctrine of metempsychosis, by which souls, passing through
different bodies, completed their discipline, and were at last
joined to their proper halves, they solved the difficulty attend-
ing on the fact of divorce, separation, and unhappy unions. At
night, during sleep, each soul went up to heaven to render an
account of those things done during the day.

Opinions on the origin of matter, as well as that of evil,
are various; and they are frequently confounded. According
to the theory of emanations, matter is the extremity of the
emanation of spirit; the nearer to the En-soph it is the more
purely spiritual, the further its extension the grosser it becomes,
till at last it degenerates into matter. In following out this
opinion, we can see how easily the parallel of sin would be
imagined, so that while, in the one case, distance from pure
spirit thickened the emanation till it became matter, so, by the

¹ We are reminded here of the question put to our Lord of the woman who had seven husbands; in the Resurrection, 'whose wife will she be of the seven?' If the Kabbalistic doctrine was one commonly held, we can well understand the difficulty of its solution.

like process, would be produced sin, sin being extreme distance from God morally, as matter is physically; sin becoming, as it were, an opposite magnetic pole. In accordance with this notion, the worlds were created, or rather produced, by the immediate action of the Sephiroth; thus, when it is written, 'The Lord by *wisdom* hath founded the earth; by *understanding* He hath established the heavens: by His *knowledge* the depths are broken up,' &c., the Kabbalists understood the terms to describe the action of the Sephiroth. It will be remembered that the Targum of Onkelos constantly interposes the 'Word' as the immediate agent in God's action and providence, which *word* is identical with the Sephirah 'Wisdom,' and is the immediate agent in creation.

According to this system, there are several heavens and several worlds. Different writers differ much in their description, both of their numbers and kind; though they generally agree as to there being three superior heavens; the heaven of heavens, the heaven, and the firmament. Then come in the seven spheres of the planets; these latter are generally attached to the second heaven. We have, next, sometimes seven worlds, but generally four; of which the first, Aziluth, is the home and birth-place of light and life; the second, Briath, is the world of souls; the third, Jetzirah, is that of angels; the fourth, Asiah, is that of body and of matter. Sometimes they are distinguished into fire; the world we inhabit; man, who is a microcosm himself; that of the planets; that of angels.

We have already mentioned the nine hierarchies of angels, which, with the human soul, answer to the ten Sephiroth; many very different opinions are found among the Kabbalists as to their nature and office; many seem to have thought that they had a sort of corporeity, an opinion shared by Origen and some other Christian Fathers. By some they were supposed to have been created on the second day; by others, on the fifth; by others, on each day of the creation. We again find mention of a male and female principle, or, perhaps, of male and female angels: among the latter is Lilith, so often mentioned in the Talmud. She is spoken of by some as the first wife of Adam, discarded on account of her disobedience, and, by him, the mother of the demons; by others, as the wife of Leviathan. Angels presided over the powers of nature, the sun, moon, planets, &c. These were of two classes; one engaged in the perpetual worship of God, the other in acting as His messengers and ministers. Of their fall, opinions, too, were various; the commonest seems to have been, that, discontented and envious of the high position that God assigned to man, as lord of the earth, they determined to work man's ruin, so the chief of them,

Samael, tempted Eve. Here, again, opinions vary as to both the cause and manner of the fall; the idea of lust being somehow the sin of our first parents, was very general, and appears in various ways; it is sometimes that Samael seduced Eve, sometimes that, under the form of a woman, he seduced Adam: in either of these cases Cain was the child of the Wicked One. This notion of demons being produced by a union between fallen angels and woman seems to have been universal: Naamah, the sister of Tubal-Cain, was the first who openly joined herself to these fallen angels; then came the 'daughters of men,' the mothers of the 'giants,' before the Flood. In this latter case, there seems to have been a belief in a second fall of angels, since the term 'sons of God' would not be given to angels already fallen.¹ The 'giants' were demons, incarnations of angels, having the properties of either parentage; thus the 'mixed multitude' that accompanied the Israelites out of Egypt were a mixed race, not of those whose one parent was an Israelite, the other an Egyptian, but were a mixed race of demons, half man, half devil. It was these who caused all the rebellions in the wilderness; it was one of these who, taking the form of King Solomon, sacrificed to Ashtoreth and Milcom. Sometimes they united themselves with women, as in the case of Sara, the wife of Tobias;² at others they are the beings who 'possessed' people; who tempt, who plague and torment them in various ways. As partaking of angelic nature, they know the future, they fly over the earth in an instant; as partaking of human nature, they eat and drink, marry and produce.³ It is these beings that are controlled by magic; and one of the great secrets of the Kabbala was, how to make one of these a servant to do the behests of the magician. According to the Talmud, Solomon controlled all the demon world, each of whom he compelled into his service.

The above is but a slight and very incomplete sketch of the principal doctrines of the Kabbalists on the great points of the being of God and of man. We have scarcely at all alluded to the works of the later Kabbalists—all our quotations being taken from the Books of Zohar and Jetzirah, the earliest Kabbalistic books—since they would have led us into disquisitions far beyond the limits of an article. What we chiefly design at present is, to trace the development of Kabbalism into regions and religions far beyond direct Jewish influence. Before doing this we must explain another part of the system, far more curious than the

¹ Comp. S. Jude 6.

² Some curious facts as to modern Jewish belief in these Shedim or demons will be found in Dr. Frankl's 'Jews in the East,' vol. i.

³ These Shedim correspond closely to the 'Dews' of the Zend Avesta.

philosophical speculations; we mean the esoteric interpretation of Holy Scripture.

The Kabbalist, then, believed that under the letter of Scripture there lay a hidden meaning which could be discovered by the application of certain rules of interpretation; and that each history contained an allegory, which was really the most important part of Divine Revelation. To give an instance of both of these kinds of interpretation: It is said (Gen. xxxvi. 31, *et seq.*) that there reigned seven kings¹ in Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel; and who died one after the other. These 'ancient kings,' as they are called, are ancient worlds, which existed and had been destroyed previous to the creation of the present; while the kings of Israel represent absolute Being in its double form of the male and female principle. These worlds were destroyed, because God did not descend upon them, nor manifest Himself in them; and because man was not yet created, for the being of man contains all things, and all things are maintained by it. Another proof is derived from the fact that the account of the Creation commences with the second letter of the alphabet and not with the first, which it might have done; it would have had equally the same meaning had it commenced with אלהים, and not been written as it is, בראשית אלהים, but from its commencing with ב it is clear that this was not the first world;—an important mode of argument, which we recommend to the attention of those who endeavour to reconcile the facts of geology with the Mosaic account of the Creation. The allegorical interpretation given by S. Paul of Hagar and Sarah (Gal. iv. 22) will, no doubt, occur to many readers as an instance of this mode of interpreting Scripture; the writings of many of the Fathers, especially Origen, will afford numberless others; some modern German writers—many of whom are converted Jews, or are pupils of such—who thus allegorise the whole of the earlier histories of the Old Testament, have merely followed the steps of the Kabbalists in this matter, for certainly the later Kabbalists seem to have given up altogether the literal meaning. Thus in the history of the Fall we are told that Eve means sensation; the serpent sensuality; Cain selfishness, produced by the union of man with sensation, after listening to the serpent, or sensuality; Abel, the spirit which despised the body entirely, and yields through its ignorance of the world; Abraham, Divine knowledge;

¹ It is right to mention that this number of the kings of Edom does not agree with the Hebrew, LXX. or Vulgate, or with 1 Chron. i. 43. There were seven 'dukes of Edom,' but nothing is said of their reigning before the kings of Israel, or of their death. Our account is taken from the Book of Zohar; we give it as we find it there.

Hagar, human knowledge; Sarah, virtue; Isaac, the regeneration of primitive perfection; Jacob, ascetic virtue; Tamar, faith, for she united herself to Judah without removing her veil.¹ Our readers will remember a similar interpretation of this latter in Mr. Neale's *Text Emblems*.

The Mercavah, or Chariot of Ezekiel, is the grand subject of Kabbalistic inquiry; it contains the greatest mysteries, the mystery of mysteries; it was written upon, studied, and meditated on by all the great doctors. Some of the writings of the Spanish Jews have come down to us, but far the greatest amount of mystical exposition has perished, from the superstitious reverence which forbade committing such Divine knowledge to paper, lest it should fall into the hands of unfit persons. It was forbidden for any one under the age of forty to study it; if unprepared by discipline the very reading of it was dangerous; a story is told of a young student who commenced to read the prophecies of Ezekiel, with the intention of explaining the vision; he was, however, fatally interrupted by a supernatural fire which consumed him at once. A certain rabbi walking with R. Jachanan, asked permission to speak of the Mercavah; the latter immediately got off his ass and sat under a tree, not venturing to listen to such awful mysteries while seated on an ass. When the latter spoke, a divine light descended from heaven, and the trees immediately began to chant Psalm cxlviii. No less has this vision been a grand subject with Christian Kabbalists, who have found in it—on equally sound

¹ S. Paul's use of the allegory in Gal. iv. 22, of Hagar and Sarah, is probably an *argumentum ad hominem* of irresistible force against the Judaism of his day. It stands thus: 'You contend for the obligation of the Mosaic law of circumcision, &c., yet what say your own interpreters of the law? Do they hold to the literal sense? Do they not all teach the law spiritually, that there is a hidden meaning lying under the letter, of far greater importance, and far deeper signification than the literal? I will show you, on your own principles, that such observance of the law gendereth to bondage; and, since it is all fulfilled in Christ, naturally passes away, and we are delivered from its bondage; for instance, take the case of our first father Abraham; for it is written that Abraham had two sons, &c.; these are the two covenants, &c.; thus on your own acknowledged system of interpretation, I show you the disinheritance of the first to make way for the second; that the bondwoman and her son are cast out, to make way for the freewoman and her son, though the latter is younger. See, therefore, on your own principles, that the Scripture teaches that the law is to give place to the Gospel, the Jewish temple to the Christian Church.' Our Lord, also, sometimes used the same kind of *argumentum ad hominem* in confuting His opponents, by appealing to an acknowledged interpretation of some passage of Scripture: thus He confuted the Sadducees, when He instanced God calling Himself the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; for, as they acknowledged, 'God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.' Again; at the same time He posed the Pharisees by an appeal to an acknowledged principle, that a father or an ancestor must be greater than his son or descendant, if merely human: 'If David, then, call Him Lord, how is He his son?' Again; when He quoted Psalm lxxxi. 6, 'I said, Ye are gods,' adding, 'If He called them gods, unto whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken,' &c. Such argument was unanswerable to a Jew.

principles of interpretation—the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation.

It is more than probable that Kabbalism had its *arcana*, which were never committed to writing, but were taught to the initiated; what we possess is the shell or covering, under which lay the hidden mystery, orally explained by the professor to those worthy of being instructed into its secrets; perhaps this initiation into the mysteries of the Kabbala was, like all other ancient, and some modern, mysteries, accompanied by an oath not to divulge its secrets. Thus, much of the language of the Kabbalists, many of their expressions, still more their explanations and interpretations of Scripture, appear to us absurd and extravagant; they were, however, but the parable, the allegorical picture, which symbolized, as well as concealed, the esoteric meaning: until we know what the meaning is, we have no right to ridicule the fantastic dress, the 'rough garment,' 'the ashes,' which concealed the prophet's face.

Another part of Kabbalistic interpretation, was that supplied by letters and numbers; later Kabbalists added another, that by the stars, which they called the 'Alphabet of Heaven:' we shall touch but slightly on this. In the first place, each letter was supposed to have relations with the Sephiroth; for instance, $\aleph$ indicated the unapproachable light where dwelt the Deity; and had reference to the first Sephirah, the Crown. In its form it is composed of a *Vav* between two *Jod*—the *Vav* is the intelligence engendered by Wisdom: the upper *Jod* is knowledge ever looking upward; the under *Jod* is understanding produced by intelligence. Transposing the word Aleph (which signifies an ox), we have *pala*, which means *to conceal*. Thus we are led to conceive of the unfathomable abyss of the Wisdom of God. As $\aleph$ is male, so $\beth$ is female; the two arms of the latter embrace her husband. Again, Beth signifies a house, so 'Wisdom hath builded her house;' Wisdom being the second Sephirah. Again, Beth opens her two arms to receive the Holy Spirit. Applying the whole description of 'Wisdom' in Proverbs viii. to the second Sephirah (as the Fathers did to Christ), they make out that it was by the instrumentality of this Sephirah especially that God created the world. For this reason, the account of the creation commences with $\beth$, in the word *Bereshith*. We need not follow this further. Again, each letter is a numeral; each word, by adding the numerical value of each letter, has a certain value which may be represented by the sum total of the letters: when another word was found, composed of different letters, but in sum total equalling the first, these two words were in some way equivalent to each other, and might in any case be substituted for each

other, and thus a wholly new meaning given to a sentence: this was especially true of proper names: by both these means, endless mysteries were found in the different names of God, especially in the Tetragrammaton.

As might be expected, the Kabbalists used amulets and talismans in various forms, and under various circumstances. The names of God, written on parchments, strung round the neck, were specifics against fevers and diseases. The word *Shivariri*, written as below, was a cure for affections in the eyes:—

ש
ב
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ר
י
ר
י
ר
י
ר
י

The origin of this is curious. Where it is said, Gen. xix. 11, that the angels smote the men of Sodom with *blindness*, the Chaldee paraphrase reads *Beshivariri*. This was thought to be the name of a demon who blinded people; so this name, used as a charm, would drive away the demon. Portions of the Psalms, written in peculiar forms, were used as talismans; so were the seventy-two names of God, and the blessing of Melchizedek. We need hardly remind our readers that Christians soon began to use the Scriptures in the same manner. It was commonly believed that demons would fly at the name of Jesus, and on repeating the words of the Psalm, 'Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered.' S. Chrysostom reproves the people in his time for using the first verse of S. John's Gospel as a charm. This Kabbalistic use of Scripture may yet be found in existence in many parts of our own country, among the ignorant and superstitious.

We cannot omit mention of apparent allusions to, and agreements with, this system in the New Testament. Nor shall we be surprised at the fact, for undoubtedly Kabbalism, as based on the Old Testament, had in it a large amount of truth. Thus far the Apostles would be willing to allow it, though, of course, when it exceeded these bounds, it would not be tolerated. They were ready, so far, to become all things to all men, that by all means they might gain some. They did not wish to repel, but to draw. When, however, Kabbalism assumed a new development—which we shall presently speak of—then they condemned it in no measured terms. Thus, in the opening verses of S. John's Gospel, and in the Epistles to the Hebrews, we have our Lord spoken of in terms which a Kabbalist would not hesitate to use with regard to the Sephirah Wisdom.

The 'Word,' be it remembered, was a term invented by them; this, spoken of as being 'with God' in the beginning; as creating all things; as being the source of 'life,' and that 'life' being the 'light of men;' as shining in darkness, and the darkness comprehending it not; also our Lord's words, 'I came forth from the Father,' 'the Father hath sent His Son,' &c., would accord with their ideas of emanation. Again, S. Paul's phrase, 'the brightness of His glory, and the express image of His person,' 'by whom also He made the worlds,' where 'worlds' is plural:—all this, while it is in direct agreement with what is said of Wisdom in the Book of Proverbs and in the Wisdom of Solomon, is also in equal accordance with Kabbalistic teaching. Again, S. Paul's frequent mention of the hierarchies of angels, and of the principalities and powers of devils, is at least worthy of note. More so still is that of 'the beast,' 'the great whore,' and 'the mother of fornications' in the Apocalypse; for in Zohar we read that Samael, the chief of the fallen angels, has a wife, who being the personification of evil and sensuality, is called 'the whore,' the mother of fornication,' or simply 'the beast.' This creature is probably—there is some obscurity in the matter—identical with Lilith, so often mentioned in the Talmud.

We must now turn our attention to another phase of Kabbalism, which was apparently developed out of the former, or purely Jewish. We mean the Gnostic. Into the origin and history of this remarkable sect we do not mean to enter, excepting as showing its connexion with the former. Of its extensive existence in the apostolical times we have the universal testimony of the early Fathers, as well as for the frequent allusions, condemnatory of the doctrines, in the New Testament.¹

Simon Magus is the reputed founder of Gnosticism. About this many erroneous opinions have been held, and many erroneous statements made, most, if not all, arising from writers who, unacquainted with Kabbalism, and not seeing that Gnosticism was only a different phase of an existing system, imagined that it was a new heresy, whose founder was Simon Magus. That Gnosticism borrowed much from the teachings of the Apostles there can be no doubt, but it is equally clear that these were only importations, supplementing a previously organized system. We shall give a conjectural account of the conversion of Simon Magus, which, if true, will fully account for the Christian element in Gnosticism.

¹ Considerable light has been lately thrown on the Gnostic system by the discovery of the 'Codex Nasaræus,' that 'Bible of pure Oriental Gnosticism,' as it has been called.—*Gelinck's Franck*, p. 255.

Simon was, we are told in the Acts of the Apostles, a 'magician' (*μαγεύων*), calling himself 'some great one' (*τινὰ ἑαυτοῦ μέγαν*); and that the people esteemed him as 'the (or a) great Power of God;' for 'of a long time he had bewitched (astonished, *ἐξεστακέναι*) them with his sorceries (*μαγείαις*).'¹ This man, witnessing the miracles done by Philip, especially that of exercising a power of controlling demons, believed, and desired and received baptism. Afterwards, when SS. Peter and John came down from Jerusalem, and displayed further acts of power, viz. giving the Holy Spirit by laying on of hands, which was followed by visible proofs that this supernatural influence was actually imparted, Simon offered money that this power might be bestowed on him. From this narrative we learn that Simon was a magician, *i.e.* that he actually did, or pretended to, control demons. What these demons were we have stated above. The power of controlling these demons was the art of magic, and magic is a branch of the Kabbala. Simon Magus, then, was a Kabbalist. As such he had been initiated into the 'mystery,' of Kabbalism; as such he gave himself out to be 'some great one,' and was acknowledged by the Samaritans to be 'a great Power of God,' or as it is in some MSS. and in the Vulgate, 'a Power of God, which is called Great' (*δύναμις Θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη*, *Virtus Dei quæ vocatur Magna*).¹ This 'Power' answers exactly to the Sephiroth, since the Kabbalists held that God created all things by them. The first of these, as we have mentioned above, is 'the Spirit of the living God, . . . the Spirit, the Voice, the Word—this is the Holy Spirit.' The second is, 'the Breath which comes from the

¹ We do not intend to enter into the question here whether his magic, or magic at all, is a real power, or only jugglery: we simply follow the Scripture narrative, and use Scripture terms. We need not remind our readers that the attempt to resolve the exercise of supernatural *evil* powers, like those of Jannes and Jambres, into mere sleight-of-hand, is cotemporaneous with that of resolving the exercise of supernatural good powers, like the miracles of our Lord and His Apostles, into natural causes and effects, and proceeds from the rationalistic spirit of the day. The Fathers, and the great divines of our Church in the seventeenth century, generally upheld the reality of both. (See especially Hammond's Notes on Acts xix. 13—19, besides other places both in his Commentary and Sermons.) It is true that later writers in the English Church have taken a different view of magic, and have generally denied it to be a real power; but they have done so under the mistaken impression, that they thereby secured a stronger belief in Christian miracles, when defending them against infidel writers; *i.e.* they yielded one point, hoping to secure the other and more important one. We cannot see how it can derogate from the greatness or reality of Christian miracles to deny Satanic ones; we should say exactly the contrary. Nor can we see that, if we admit demoniacal possession, and especially such a possession as that of the *πνεῦμα πύθωνος* (Acts xvi.), we can deny magic. It is surely better to take Scripture words in their literal sense, and certainly Scripture does speak of witchcraft as a real power, otherwise witches could not have been ordered to be put to death as they are in the Mosaic law. Mere jugglers would not thus have been dealt with.

Spirit.' Another Sephirah is Power, *δύναμις*, the very word used by S. Luke.¹ S. Jerome tells us (in Matt. xxiv.) that Simon thus describes himself, 'Ego sum Sermo Dei, ego speciosus, ego Paracletus.' He thus seems to have set himself up as a visible manifestation of one of the Sephiroth, perhaps as a sort of incarnation of it; and that the sorceries he worked were done by the energising power of those creative attributes of God.² Seeing the miracles of S. Philip, he at once acknowledged a power superior to his own. This he would probably ascribe to a higher kind of Kabbalistic science. He saw in the use of the 'name of Jesus' an efficacy far above any charm that he possessed. He at once, and sincerely, expressed his faith in the new manifestation, and desired to be admitted into this new society, to learn the mystery connected with the 'name of the Lord Jesus,' for he saw its tremendous power. Christianity was to him a higher development of Kabbalism, and baptism was the rite of initiation into the mystery. The further manifestation of supernatural power displayed by SS. Peter and John, only made him more eager to enter more deeply into this mystery. Ignorant of the true nature of Christianity, its true purpose and end, and looking only on its manifestations, he offered money to be allowed admittance into the deeper mysteries, such as were displayed by the Apostles, in comparison with those of the deacon Philip.

We need not follow the narrative further: it explains, however, pretty clearly, how it happened that some Kabbalists so readily adopted a certain amount of Christian doctrine into their system; and how this combination produced the new phase of

¹ 'Thus was Simon of Samaria, a native of a village called Gitto, who, in the time of Claudius Cæsar, through the craft of the devils [demons, *δαίμονες*], working by his means, performed acts of magic, and was held in your royal city of Rome to be a god, and was honoured by you with a statue like a god, which was raised on the River Tiber, between the two bridges, bearing this inscription, in the Roman language: "To Simon the holy god," whom almost all the natives of Samaria, with a few of other nations, confess to be the first god, and worship; and a certain Helena, who travelled about with him at that time, and had formerly exposed herself in the stews, they term the first idea generated from him.'—*S. Justin Martyr, Apol. i. § 26.*

The statement that this Helena was an idea emanating from Simon is worthy of notice, for the doctrine of one Sephirah producing another was common among the Kabbalists; perhaps she was 'Wisdom,' *σοφία*. For the statement that Simon was worshipped as a god, see Burton's 'Bampton Lectures,' note 42.

² It may seem difficult to reconcile the practice of magic with the positive prohibitions of witchcraft, and the having a familiar spirit, so frequent in the Law of Moses. The difficulty may perhaps be explained by supposing that the ancient magic was connected with heathen rites and invocations of heathen deities; while Kabbalism professed to be a deeper knowledge of the Scripture; and its magic was carried on in the name of Jehovah, and was only a lawful way of controlling the powers of evil for good purposes. Let it be remembered that Solomon, the pattern of the perfect development of humanity in the eyes of a Jew, of all wisdom and righteousness and favour with God, was also supposed to be the greatest magician, for all demons were made subject to him.

Kabbalism called Gnosticism; eventually completed under Valentinus and Basilides. The identity of the æons of the latter with the Sephiroth of the former is too plain to require lengthened proof: we need only compare the two together to perceive at a glance the fact. The great and distinguishing difference between the two systems is the introduction into the latter of a scheme of redemption of mankind; the former placing the whole of its mystery, and directing all its investigation, into the doctrine of creation. To effect a harmony between the old and the new system, new names, and a seemingly new position was given to the Sephiroth; but still they went in pairs, and a sort of marriage was supposed to exist between them: the two first were Depth and Silence (*Βυθός* and *σιγή*); then Breadth and Truth; then the Word and Life; then Man and the Church. Sometimes we have eighteen æons, sometimes thirty; these latter are made up with attributes of God and of man. We next come to the generations of æons, 'endless genealogies' as S. Paul calls them; thus, God dwelling in light unapproachable, conceived a plan for creating the universe: this existed first in idea; it is expressed by the æons Breadth and Truth: from these two came the Word and Life; these two inferior to the others, inasmuch as the portrait cannot equal the original: from these came the other two, Man and the Church. All this is only another way of expressing what the Kabbalists had expressed by the long and the short face. We have next the origin of matter: the æon Wisdom desiring to see her father, was punished for her temerity by becoming *enceinte*; from her was born Achamoth, matter unformed and full of ignorance; from her fear and her tears came water; the æon Christ was sent to console her, and then came forth the soul of the world; from her smiles came light, and from light came three sorts of substances—the first spiritual, which are good; animals, which are susceptible of good and evil; and finally, matter, which is wholly evil. However, lest the other æons should fall in the like manner as Wisdom had done, God sent Christ to warn them not to attempt to penetrate too deeply the mystery of the nature of God.

We need not go into this further: we see here a mystical and allegorical way of describing the creation and redemption of the world. The two first æons, Depth and Silence, only express the immensity and incomprehensibility of God; Breadth and Truth are His ideal creation; the Word and Life are the spiritual parts, and Man and the Church the visible parts, of the real creation. The fable of the birth of Achamoth is a sort of history of the Fall—man aspiring to know 'good and evil;' the æon Christ, sent to comfort Wisdom, and warn others against a similar fate, represents redemption.

We do not for a moment believe that the learned Gnostics ever conceived these æons to be anything more than ideal existences, or that these generations were any more than such an ideal generation as S. James describes, when he says, 'When lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin; and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death.' That the more ignorant of the Gnostics really believed in the actual existence of these æons is probable enough; for Gnosticism is essentially a 'mystery,' into which only the advanced or initiated were fully instructed; but it certainly strikes us as very singular that some of the Fathers should be so deceived as to imagine that this allegorical way of teaching was intended to be a reality, as, for example, Tertullian, who says that the Gnostics acknowledged many gods.

Basilides and Valentinus were both of Egyptian origin; the latter studied at Alexandria, at that time famous for Jewish learning, the home of Philo and the Therapeutics: here he became acquainted with both Kabbalism and Christianity, for he boasted of having for his teacher a learned Jew, who had been friend of S. Paul. From Egypt came the name æon, together with their charms and talismans, their Abraxas and Abracadabra.¹

The Gnostics denied the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, and consistently, the death and resurrection of Christ. S. Irenæus tells us that they held that, unknowingly to the Jews, Simon of Cyrene was crucified instead of Christ, who then went to heaven. Believing, as they did, that matter was evil, they looked only for the redemption of the soul; accordingly, they held that Christ did not take flesh, but only assumed an apparent body. Two opposite schools arose from this denial of the resurrection, one which mortified the body as something hopelessly corrupt; the other, which allowed every carnal excess, on the

¹ The use of talismans was seemingly very common among the Gnostics. Fabretti describes a seal on which is engraved a man with six arms, two of which hold torches, two swords, two whips, with the inscription, '*Saba Abraxas, the God of Armies.*' M. Germond has another, with the words, '*Abraxas, Adonai, Jao Sabaoth.*' The poet Sirenus tells us that the word Abracadabra was a charm against fever:

'Inscribes chartæ quod dicitur Abracadabra;
Sæpius et subter repetes; sed detrahe summæ,
Ut magis atque magis desint elementa figuris
Singula, quæ semper rapies, et cætera figes;
Donec in angustum redigatur litera conum;
His lino nexis collum redimire memento.'

Another talisman, of unknown meaning and use, is singular for its completeness; it consists of the words, *Sator Arepo tenet opera rotas*; which, if disposed in the manner following, will give the same words whether read from left to right or from right to left, from top to bottom or from bottom to top:—

S	A	T	O	R
A	R	E	P	O
T	E	N	E	T
O	P	E	R	A
R	O	T	A	S

plea that when the body died, it perished, and set the soul free, being only a temporary prison-house, with which all connexion ceased at death.

The Gnostic doctrines, denounced by the Apostles,¹ condemned by the Fathers, soon ceased its false *liaison* with Christianity, and retired into the more congenial climes of the further East. Then it reappeared in the form of Manicheism, in which it adopted the Persian doctrine of two antagonistic principles of good and evil. Again, under this new form disowned by the Church, it found a refuge in the new religion of the conquering prophet of Mecca. In the bosom of this new dispensation, it revels with all the extravagance of Oriental imagination, till it developed into that of which we have lately heard so much, 'the great Asian Mystery.' In order to understand this, we must give a slight sketch of the early history of Mohammedanism in the East. Its cradle was steeped in blood, its beginning was wars and dissension. Mohammed left no son, and he did not distinctly point out who was to be his successor; his followers then divided; one party held with Ali, his son-in-law, who had married his daughter Fatmah; another supported Abu-bekr: the former is called the first Imaun, the latter the first Khalif; the followers of the former are called Shiites, the latter Sunnites. Omar, the successor of Abu-Bekr, was murdered, and Othman, who succeeded him, shared the like fate; Moawiyah seized the khalifate, and held it by mere force of arms; he was the founder of the dynasty of the Omeiyades. Ali, acknowledged by the other party, had to maintain his position against Telha and Zobeir, two of Mohammed's companions, and Ayesha, his widow. Ali had two sons, two of whom, Hassan and Hosein, with nine of his descendants, are the twelve Imauns, whom the Shiites reverence as the only true successors of Mohammed. Speaking generally, the Persians and Indians, and the Mohammedans east of the Euphrates, are Shiites; while the Arabs, Turks, and western Mohammedans are Sunnites: these two great parties are not only hostile, but oppose and absolutely anathematize each other. In the West, however, there are found many sects of Shiites: the Druses, Ansaireeh, and other tribes of Mount Lebanon, as well as the turning and howling Dervishes of Constantinople and other places, are Shiites, the latter being of Persian origin; the Yezidees, devil worshippers, are probably a remnant of the Manicheans. The last of the twelve Imauns,

¹ Gnosticism is frequently alluded to in the New Testament, once only by name, 1 Tim. vi. 20, *ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως*. Rom. ii. 20 seems to refer to Kabbalism. Among others the following places seem to warn against it: Col. ii. 8—16; 1 Tim. i. 4, iv. 3, vi. 3; 2 Tim. ii. 16; 1 Titus i. 14; on all which see Hammond, who had a remarkably quick scent for every trace of Gnosticism.

Mohammed, was only six months old when his father, Hassan the Eleventh, was poisoned by the Khalif of Baghdad. Mohammed lived till he was twelve years old, when he was drowned in crossing the Tigris: the Shiites believe that he still lives, sleeping in a cave, from whence, when the hour comes, he will emerge to lead his followers to the conquest of the world.

We must now speak of the traditions and tenets of the Shiites, to illustrate our position that they have engrafted on the Khoran the Kabbalistic system of interpretation, and have adopted, and carried to excess, the Kabbalistic system of emanations. We shall follow in this the investigations of Von Hammer, de Sacy, and Mr. Lyde, into the Druse, Ansaireeh, and Ismaeleeh mysteries.

The Shiite traditions, being Persian in their origin, present themselves to us in all the wild extravagance of Oriental thought and language: immense durations of time, incalculable distances, immeasurable height and size, are the form in which Eastern imagination delights in expressing Divine things: it aims at apprehending infinity by getting beyond human calculation. The great doctrine of the Shiite is the glorification of Mohammed, Ali, and the Imauns. The world seems, to his imagination, to have been created in order to manifest the glory of Mohammed and Ali; everything else is subservient to that. Thus, the Divine light which shone on these two persons was created four hundred and twenty-four thousand years before the formation of the heavens and the earth: in this light God formed twelve compartments, viz. of Power, Greatness, Grace, Mercy, Felicity, Munificence, Official Dignity, Religious Direction, Prophecy, Exaltation, Majesty, and Intercession. In each of these successively was the light stationed, giving praise unceasingly; then it was placed in the loins of Adam, from whence it was regularly transmitted to Abd-Allah, the father of Mohammed, and in Abu-Taleb the father of Ali. Mohammed, Ali, Fatmah, Hassan, and Hosein, were created before the worlds, and they are more excellent than the heaven or the earth, or angels. The light of Mohammed passed through twenty seas of glory, patience, humility, &c. &c. till it formed one hundred and twenty-four thousand drops, from each of which God formed a prophet.

It would be useless to go further into the account of the Creation; the narrative is full of such-like extravagances; very many are clearly derived from Jewish sources, others betray a Persian origin. One thing we notice, that the allegorical element runs through the whole; thus, when it is said that the Divine light passed through twenty seas, we are told that these are not material seas, but are glory, patience, and

other virtues; in this manner, most of the descriptions are not intended to be understood literally, but figuratively; while at the same time, we must confess that there is a very perplexing mixture of allegory with historical description: one thing is clear, that the Divine light is an emanation, like the Kabbalistic Sefirah, or the Gnostic æon.

Extravagant as Shiite doctrine may be, it is far exceeded by that of its erratic children, the tribes of Mount Lebanon: the Shiite doctrine of the emanation of Divine light culminating in Mohammed, is far outstripped by the Ansaireeh conception of Ali, and the Druse belief of their founder Hakem. According to the former, Ali was not a man in reality, he was only so in appearance: in their catechism, the first question is, 'Who created us? *Ans.* Ali, son of Abu-Taleb . . . IV. If Ali is God, how did he take man's nature? *Ans.* He did not take it, but he concealed himself in Mohammed in the period of his change of shapes, and took the name of Ali . . . V. How often has our Lord changed his form, and shown himself in the likeness of man? *Ans.* Seven times. 1st, he took the name of Abel, and took Adam as his veil; 2d, Seth, with Noah for his veil; 3d, Joseph, with Jacob as veil; 4th, Joshua, with Moses for his veil; 5th, Asaf, with Solomon; 6th, Peter, with Jesus; 7th, Ali, with Mohammed . . . VIII. What is the Divine appearance? *Ans.* It is the appearance of the Creator by means of the veiling himself in human form, and the best of sheaths within a sheath. IX. Explain this more exactly. *Ans.* As the Maana [Sense] entered into the Door [Bab], it concealed itself under the Name [Ism], and took it for itself; . . . X. What are the Maana, the Ism, and the Bab? *Ans.* They are an inseparable trinity, as one says; "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful." The word God signifies the Maana; the words Compassionate and Merciful denote the Name, and the Door. XI. How did the Maana create the Ism, and how did the latter create the Bab? *Ans.* The substance of substances produced the Name out of the light of his unity.—*The Asian Mystery*, by Rev. S. Lyde, pp. 271, 272.

This so-called trinity, being in reality only another form of emanation, is a primary doctrine with the Ansaireeh; these two, the Ism and the Bab, accompanied all the manifestations of the Deity from Abel to Ali; thus, when Abel was the Maana, Adam was the Ism, and Gabriel was the Bab; thus, the twelve Imauns were Ism and each had a Bab. The Ism is sometimes called also the veil, because under it the Maana conceals his glory, while by it he reveals himself to men. The Bab is also a necessary accompaniment, because, through it, is the

entrance to the knowledge of the two former. Of all these manifestations, Ali is the most perfect, being the last: he is supposed to reside in the sun, whence he is called the 'Eye of the Sun:' to it the Ansaireeh turn when they worship: while the souls of men, which they believe to be of the essence of light, will after undergoing purifications by means of transmigrations, become stars in heaven, 'which were their first centres.' The seven appearances of the Deity, from Abel to Ali, are said to have taken place in seven *Kubbehs*, which Mr. Lyde translates as 'literally domes, that is, periods [why not æons?], such as the period, or dome, of Abraham,' &c. Among the Druses, a more distinctly marked system of emanations or æons exists, which are supposed to have taken up their residence in certain individuals, who are the great teachers of the sect. Hakem indeed takes the place of Ali; he appeared ten times under human form as a veil, yet 'that the Deity, and the human form which serves him as a veil, are so united, that the actions and words of this form are truly the actions and words of the Deity; that the merit of faith consists in believing that the Deity, in rendering himself accessible to sense by the form which serves him as a veil, does not cease to be infinite, incomprehensible, inaccessible to the senses. First, that notwithstanding the diversity and the succession of his manifestations, there is, nevertheless, in respect of him, neither succession of time, nor any numbers; that the Divine humanity of the Deity is antecedent to all created things, and is the prototype of the human form that it was necessary that Divinity should thus manifest itself under a human form, that men might be able to acquire a full conviction of his existence; and lastly, that the last manifestation of himself under the name of Hakem is the most perfect, that of which all the preceding manifestations were in some sort but the daybreak and sketch.'—*De Sacy*, vol. i. p. 66.

Hamza, one of the followers of Hakem, reduced this religion to a system, and interposed between Hakem and his believers a series of existences, which also appeared in human shape: thus he styled himself, 'The Universal Intelligence;' Ismaeel, 'The Universal Soul;' another, 'The Word;' another, 'The Great Door;' another, 'The Successor;' these are superior; the next inferior, 'The Application;' 'The Opening;' 'The Appearance.' Comparing what is believed of Ali and Hakem with that which Simon Magus said of himself, when he called himself 'The Word of God, and the Paraclete,' we cannot but perceive a very strong resemblance between them, while the manifestations of the Druses especially bear a strong likeness to the æons, or their predecessors, the Sephiroth; indeed, Mr.

Lyde tells us that the American missionaries in Syria stated their belief, that 'these people became impregnated with the Gnostic heresies;' and that Volney mentions the probability of the Ansaireeh inheriting some of the old Gnostic rites. It is unfortunate that these writers were unacquainted with Kabbalistic philosophy, and have therefore failed in tracing 'the Asian mystery' to its true source, and also have missed a full comprehension of it. For instance, Mr. Lyde tells us that 'among the many worlds which are known to God alone, and which form the higher and lower worlds, are two others, the great and the little world; the luminous world, or the great world of light, and the earthly world.' Here is clearly the *macrocosm* and the *microcosm* of the Kabbalists: Mr. Lyde adds, improperly, 'for this notion they are indebted to Hindoo philosophy.' Again, in the precreation of Mohammed, according to the Shiites, we have under another form the Adam Kadmon of the Kabbalists. In more places than one we have the doctrine of the long face and the short face: also in the notion that all souls were emanations from light, and that all were created at once before the world was brought into being, and that they undergo transmigrations in order to be purified, we have precisely the Kabbalistic doctrine. No less manifest is the next particular that we shall mention, viz. the interpretation of the Khoran.

Any one at all acquainted with that book, will at once see that the religion of these sects, especially in the deification of Ali and Hakem, is directly opposed to its whole tenor, and even to its plainest declarations: the difficulty of reconciling the two is a serious one; it is, however, got over in precisely a similar manner that the Kabbalists adopted when they invented an esoteric doctrine, underlying the historical statements in the Bible: 'The only possible way in which the heretical sects could maintain any connexion with Mohammedanism, was by allegorising the Khoran, and teaching an inner or esoteric meaning, *Il-Batin*, in opposition to, and to the entire subversion of, the outer or apparent meaning, *Iz-Zahir*. Mohammed, son of Ismaeel, and grandson of the Imaun Djaafar-is-Sadik, is sometimes said to have been the author of this allegorisation, which he may have learnt from his grandfather. This allegorisation, or interpretation, is called Taweel, in contradistinction to Tanzeel, *descent*, which is used for the literal interpretation of the words of the Khoran, as they were sent down by Mohammed. The Taweel opened a wide door to all kinds of heresy, and led, as Mussulman authors complain, to an entire explaining away of the positive precepts of Islam. Those that pretended to this Ulm-ul-

‘Batin, or knowledge of the inner meaning of the Khoran, were called Batineel, which name embraced a wide circle of sects; and they are said to have based their system on words of the Most High, when he says, A wall was thrown between them, which had a door, on its inner side (Batin) mercy, and on its outer side (Zahir) torment.’—*Lyde*, pp. 78, 79.

The next developement brings us more directly to the ‘mystery.’ Following out the notion of an esoteric teaching in the Khoran, each sect has a secret doctrine, to which only a few initiated are admitted, and these proceed by certain degrees to the great truth. These degrees are generally seven, in one case increased to nine. The following is the description of these degrees given by Von Hammer. ‘The first degree was the longest and most difficult of all, as it was necessary to inspire the pupil with the most implicit confidence in the knowledge of his teacher, and to incline him to take that most solemn oath, by which he bound himself to the secret doctrine with blind faith and unconditional obedience. For this purpose every possible expedient was adopted to perplex his mind by the many contradictions of positive religion and reason, to render the absurdities of the Khoran still more involved by the most insidious questions and the most subtle doubts, and to point from the apparent literal signification to a deeper sense, which was properly the kernel, as the former was but the husk. The more ardent the curiosity of the novice, the more resolute was the refusal of the master to afford the least solution of these difficulties, until he had taken the most unrestricted oath: on this he was admitted to the second degree. This inculcated the recognition of Divinely appointed Imauns, who were the source of all knowledge. As soon as the faith in them was well established, the third degree taught their number, which could not exceed the holy seven, for as God had created seven heavens, seven earths, seven seas, seven planets, seven colours, seven musical sounds, and seven metals, so had he appointed seven of the most excellent of his creatures as revealed Imauns: these were Ali, Hassan, Hosein, Ali Zeyn-il-Aabideen, Mohammed-ul-Bahir, Djaafar-is-Sadik, and Ismael his son, as the seventh and last. The fourth grade was, that since the beginning of the world there had been seven Divine lawgivers, or speaking apostles of God, of whom each had always, by the command of Heaven, altered the doctrine of his predecessor; that each of these had seven coadjutors, who succeeded each other in the epoch from one speaking lawgiver to another, but who, as they did not appear manifestly, were called the mutes; Samit, the first of these mutes, was named Sas, Asâs, or Foundation—“the

‘seat, as it were, of the ministers of the speaking prophet,”
 ‘Nâtik. “These seven speaking prophets, with their seven”
 ‘Asâs, “were Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Mohammed,
 ‘Ismaeel the son of Djaafar, who, as the last, was called Sahib-
 ‘ez-Zeman, the Lord of the Time, and Kaim-iz-Zeman, or Chief
 ‘of the Age.” Their seven assistants were Seth, Shem, Ishmael
 ‘son of Abraham, Aaron, and afterwards Joshua, Simeon or
 ‘Simon Peter, Ali, and Mohammed, son of Ismaeel. It is evident
 ‘from this dexterous arrangement, which gave the Ismaeleeh the
 ‘name of Seveners, that as they named only the first of the mute
 ‘Divine envoys in each prophetic period, and since Mohammed the
 ‘son of Ismaeel had been dead only one hundred years, the teachers
 ‘were at full liberty to present to those whose progress stopped
 ‘at this degree whomsoever they pleased as one of the mute
 ‘prophets of the current age. The fifth degree must necessarily
 ‘render the credibility of the doctrine more manifest to the
 ‘minds of the hearers. For this reason it taught, that each of
 ‘the seven mute prophets had twelve apostles for the extension
 ‘of the true faith; for the number twelve was the most excellent
 ‘after seven: hence the twelve signs of the Zodiac, the twelve
 ‘months, the twelve tribes of Israel, the twelve bones of the
 ‘fingers of each hand, the thumb excepted, and so on. After
 ‘these five degrees the precepts of Islamism were examined;
 ‘and in the sixth it was shown that all positive legislation must
 ‘be subordinate to the general and philosophical. The dogmas of
 ‘Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras, were adduced as proofs, and were
 ‘laid down as axioms. This degree was very tedious, and only
 ‘when the acolyte was fully penetrated with the wisdom of the
 ‘philosophers, was admission granted him to the seventh, when
 ‘he passed from philosophy to mysticism. This was the Oriental
 ‘mystic theology, and the doctrine of unity, which the Soopees
 ‘have exhibited in their works. In the eighth the positive
 ‘precepts of religion were again brought forward, to fall to dust
 ‘by all that preceded; then was the pupil fully enlightened as
 ‘to the superfluity of all apostles and prophets, the non-existence
 ‘of heaven and hell, the indifference of all actions, for which
 ‘there is neither reward nor punishment, either in this world or
 ‘in the next: and thus he was matured for the ninth and last
 ‘degree, to become the blind instrument of all the passions of
 ‘unbridled thirst of power. To believe nothing, and to dare all,
 ‘formed, in two words, the sum of the system, which annihilated
 ‘every principle of religion and morality, and had no other object
 ‘than to execute ambitious designs with suitable ministers, who,
 ‘daring all, and honouring nothing, since they considered every-
 ‘thing a cheat, and nothing forbidden, are the best tools of an
 ‘infernal policy.’—*Von Hammer, Assassins*, p. 34.

We need not describe the degrees of other of the secret sects, they resemble more or less the Ismaeleeh, described by Von Hammer, as given above: the Assassins, so well known in the history of the Crusades, were a branch of the Ismaeleeh; from what we read of their acts we can quite understand how thoroughly efficacious must have been their training, and how completely they carried out their principles.

Mohammedanism being so far corrupted, we shall not be surprised to find another element introduced, evidently borrowed from the heathen mysteries of Syria; for, as Mr. Lyde shows, many of the Lebanon mountaineers are descended from the old inhabitants of Canaan, who had never been Christianized up to the time of the Mohammedan conquest; and who, therefore, would be very likely to retain some of their old heathen rites, and to mix them up with the new religion; and though in some way they might profess the dominant Mohammedan religion, yet were very far from being true followers of the prophet of Mecca; they seem rather to have engrafted as much of Mohammedanism on their old religion as suited their fancy, while retaining the essential characteristics of the latter.¹ The prevailing religion of the Syrian and Canaanitish nations was, in some form or other, the worship of nature; their mysteries were probably all Phallic: bearing this in mind we shall not be surprised to learn, as we do from Burckhardt, that the Ismaeleeh, even to this day, adore Phallic emblems; and from the American missionaries that such signs are openly used about their houses; and from Mr. Walpole—who gives an Ismaeleeh prayer as proof—that such worship is practised. It was against this worship that the Hebrew religion and ordinances were a standing protest; and probably that their distinguishing rite was specially directed:² it is easy, from this point of view, to understand the proneness of the people to idolatry, when the idolatrous rites were of this sort. Their ever recurring apostasy did not arise from any doubt or disbelief in the power and supremacy of Jehovah, but from a feeling of restraint which His service required, and from a longing for such a religion and such a worship as the heathen presented—a religion and a worship entirely congenial to the feelings and propensities of a gross and sensuous people such as Israel was in its earlier and middle history.

Leaving the mountains of Lebanon, and the whole East, we

¹ The same is true of several of the tribes in Mount Atlas; where, among professing Mohammedans, heathen rites and sacrifices are mixed up.

² *Verisimile videtur τὴν περιτομήν, ritum alioqui tam singularem, tam primo intuitu ex mero Dei arbitrio impositum, aliquā saltem ex parte propter cultum phallicum Israelitis injunctam fuisse; quippe quo gentium adjacentium, præcipuè Egyptiorum, religionis μυστηρίον esset. Membri virilis mutilatio, ut conjicere par est, ne quis ejusmodo arcanis initiationem obtineret, impediret.*

must search for a development of Kabbalism in the mountains of Germany, and in the West. It may seem a mighty leap to take, a spring from one point to another which has no connexion with it; but really the two are connected by a series of links forming a complete chain. The first teacher of this new phase of Kabbalism was the famous Raymond Lulli, certainly one of the most remarkable men of his age, as a philosopher, alchemist, and theologian, and lastly, as an enthusiastic but injudicious missionary. His end was in accordance with his life. He was killed in a vain attempt to convert the Mohammedans of Northern Africa, when nearly eighty years of age. By birth a Spaniard, he learnt Moorish philosophy and Jewish Kabbalism in the universities of Spain. He died in 1314, leaving behind him nearly five hundred volumes, and an European reputation. It was not, however, till the beginning of the sixteenth century, that Kabbalism became an accepted science among Christian philosophers. At that time the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, and the large settlements of these exiles in Holland, imported a new element into Northern Europe. The refugees brought along with them their philosophy and theology. Kabbalistic works were read and translated; and the principles of the Kabbala largely believed in, and extensively followed. The new science ramified itself into two schools, sometimes united, but easily distinguishable, of philosophers and mystics. Among the former were Pico de Mirandola, Reuchlin, Cornelius Agrippa, Paracelsus, Henry More, and Robert Fludd; while Jacob Boehme, and the celebrated school of mystics, including Tauler and Thomas à Kempis, are instances of the latter. Besides this, these philosophers practised magic, alchemy, and astrology, as parts of the same system.

We have before us a folio of about a thousand pages, containing the principal works of these Kabbalistical writers.¹ In this volume we have the philosophical principles of the Jewish Kabbala taken as the basis of the system, with considerable additions, drawn chiefly from the writings of the Spanish Jews. Engrafted on this, and made to harmonise with it, are the revealed truths of the New Testament and the dogmas of the Catholic Church. Scripture is interpreted allegorically, and, as in the ancient

¹ This volume contains the '*Cœlestis Agricultura*' of Paulus Riccius, together with nine other tracts by the same author; the '*Porta Lucis*' of Rabbi Joseph of Castilla; the treatise '*De Amore*,' by R. Judah Abarbanel, generally known as Leo the Hebrew; the '*De Arte Cabalistica*' of John Reuchlin; the '*De Verbo Mirifico*,' by the same author; the '*Interpretatio in selectiora obscurioraque Cabalistarum dogmata*' of Frater Archangelus Burgonovenais, and the '*Sepher Jetzirah*,' of which we have spoken above, printed at Basle in 1587. A second volume, containing other works of like nature, was intended to be issued, but never, as far as we know, was published.

Kabbala, mysteries are discovered in letters, words, and numbers.¹ The most important work of this period is the *Kabbala Denudata*, by Baron Rosenroth; this work contains the three most ancient portions of the Book of Zohar, with extracts and commentaries from the most famous Kabbalistical works, presenting, on the whole, a most complete summary of the whole science.

In the brief space that is left us, we cannot do more than refer to this work; we have no room for quotations. We shall, however, give extracts from another Kabbalistic work by an author belonging to this later school,² partly because it sums up in a manageable compass the principal points of the system, and partly because we shall find it useful in illustrating a further development, to which we must refer. The work is in three parts, entitled 'The Literal, the Philosophick, and the Mystical or Divinely Moral Kabbala.' The Literal is nothing more than a paraphrase of the three first chapters of Genesis. The Philosophical goes further, giving the writer's speculations on the Creation and Fall:—

'Man himself rose out of the earth after this manner, the dust thereof being rightly prepar'd and attemp'r'd by these unctuous showers and balmy droppings of Heaven. For God had so contriv'd by his infinite Wisdom, that matter thus or thus prepar'd, should, by a *vital congruity*, attract proportional forms from the *world of Life*, which is every where nigh at hand, and does very thoroughly inequitate the moist and unctuous air. Wherefore after this manner was the *Aereal* or *Ethereal Adam* conveyed into an earthly body, having his most conspicuous residence in the head or brain; and thus *Adam* became the soul of a *Terrestrial living Creature*.

'But how it is with *Adam* before he descends into this lower condition of life, I shall declare unto you in the ænigmatical narration that follows, which is this: That the Lord God planted a Garden Eastward in *Eden*, where he put

¹ A curious instance of this took place on the conversion of Solomon Meir, a celebrated rabbi, in the year 1664. In a controversy with a certain Italian Jew, called David the Jeweller, commonly known as the Duke of the Hebrews, R. Meir took the first word of the Bible, *Bereshith*, a word in which the Kabbalists found so many mysteries: he divided the word into two, Bar Ashith, which means, 'He hath appointed the Son.' Again, Bar also means, 'a grain of wheat:' thus is Christ the Son in the Holy Eucharist. Next, he found the mystery of the Holy Trinity in the three first letters; the Son in the first, the Holy Spirit in the second, and the Father in the third; viz., ב the second letter in the alphabet, ה the first letter of *ruach* (spirit), and א the first letter of the alphabet. In the three last letters he found the words, 'The Trinity is a perfect Unity.' Again, the Son came first because it is written, 'all things were made by Him;' the Holy Spirit next, because the Son sent Him, 'the Comforter . . . whom I will send;' and thirdly, this agrees with the order of the Church, which celebrates the Feasts of Easter and Ascension before Pentecost, and these three before that of the Holy Trinity. All this being strictly in accordance with the rules of the Kabbala, he completely confounded his adversaries.

² '*Conjectura Cabbalistica*, or a Conjectural Essay of Interpreting the Minde of Moses according to a Threefold Cabbala. By Henry More, Fellow of Christ's College, in Cambridge. 1653.'

the man, which afterward he formed into a *Terrestrial Animal*: for *Adam* was first wholly *Ethereal*, and placed in Paradise, that is, in a happy and joyful condition of the Spirit; for he was placed under the invigorating beams of the *divine Intellect*, and the Sun of Righteousness then shone fairly upon him.

‘And as his soul was as the ground which God hath blest, and so brought forth every pleasant Tree, and every goodly Plant of her heavenly father’s own planting; for the holy spirit of Life hath enriched the soil, that it brought forth all manner of pleasant and profitable fruits: And the *Tree of Life* was in the midst of this Garden of man’s Soul, to wit, the *Essential Will of God*, which is the true root of Regeneration; but to so high a pitch *Adam* as yet had not reacht unto, and the fruit of this Tree in this *Ethereal* state of the soul, had been *Immortality or Life everlasting*: and the *Tree of the Knowledge of good and evil* was there also, viz.: *His own will*.’

Then comes a description of the four rivers, which, we are told, mean the four cardinal virtues. Then:—

‘In this Paradise thus described, had the Lord God placed man to dresse it, and to keep it in such good order as he found it.

‘And the divine Word or Light in man charged him, saying, Of every Tree of Paradise thou mayest freely eat. For all things here are wholesome as well as pleasant, if thou hast a right care of thyself, and beest obedient to my commands.

‘But of the luscious and poisonous fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil, that is, of thine own will, thou shalt not by any means eat; For at what time thou eatest thereof, thy soul shall contract that languor, debility, and unsettlednesse, that in processe of time thou shalt slide into the earth, and be buried in human flesh, and become an inhabitant of the *Region of mortality and death*.’

Then comes a description of the creation of a lower faculty in man, which was to be a vehicle for the soul—

‘From whence divine joys themselves are by a kinde of reflexion strengthened and advanced. Of so great consequence is that vital principle that joyns the soul to the matter of the Universe.

‘Wherefore God to gratifie *Adam* made him not indefatigable in his aspirings towards intellectual things, but Lassitude of Contemplation, and of Affectation of Immateriality, (he not being able to receive those things as they are, but according to his poor capacity, which is very small in respect of the object it is exercis’d about) brought upon himself remissnesse and drowsinesse to such-like exercises, till by degrees he fell into a more profound sleep; at what time divine Providence having laid the plot aforehand, that lower vivificative principle of his soul did grow so strong, and did so vigorously, and with such exultant sympathy and joy, actuate his *Vehicle*, that in virtue of his integrity which he yet retained, this became more dear to him, and of greater contentment, than any thing he yet had experience of.

‘I say, when divine Providence had so lively and warmly stirr’d up this new sense of his *Vehicle* in him,

‘He straightway acknowledg’d that all the sense and knowledge of any thing he had hitherto was more lifelesse and evanid, and seemed lesse congruous and grateful unto him, and more estranged from his nature: but this was so agreeable and consentaneous to his soul, that he looked upon it as a necessary part of himself, and called it after his own name.

‘And he thought thus within himself, For this cause will any one leave his own tedious *aspires* to unite with the *Eternal Intellect and Universal Soul of*

the World, the immenseness of whose excellencies are too highly raised for us to continue long in their embracements, and will cleave to the joyous and cheerful life of his *Vehicle*, and account this living *Vehicle* and his Soul one Person.

'Thus Adam and his new-wedded Joy stood naked before God, but was not as yet at all ashamed, by reason of his Innocency and Simplicity; for Adam neither in his reason nor affection as yet had transgressed in any thing.'—*Philosophick Cabbala*, pp. 37—43.

Next comes a description of the Fall, by which it appears that Adam had no earthly body; but that by reason of the Fall he acquired one; or rather, that the Fall was that—

'The Eternal Lord God decreed that he should descend down to be an Inhabitant of the Earth, and that he should not there indulge to himself the pleasures of the body without the concomitants of pain and sorrow, and that his *Feminine* part, his Affections, should be under the chastisement and correction of his Reason. . . . At last the *Plastick Power* being fully awakened, Adam's Soul descended into the prepared matter of the Earth, and in due processe of time Adam appear'd cloth'd in the skin of beasts; that is, he became a down-right *terrestrial Animal*, and a mortal creature upon Earth.'—P. 49.

In this temptation the devil is a real person, who addresses himself to the 'feminized Adam,' and this—

'Feminine part in Adam was so tickled with this doctrine of the *old Deceiver* that the *Concupiscible* began to be so immoderate, as to resolve to do any thing that may promote pleasure and experience in things, and snatch'd away with it Adam's Will and Reason by his heedlessness and inadvertency.'—P. 46.

We shall now give the same history as it appears in the 'Moral Cabbala.' After giving a mystical interpretation to the work of the six days' Creation, we come to Paradise:—

'Hitherto I have showed unto you how mankinde is raised up from one degree of Spiritual Light and Righteousnesse unto another, till we come at last to that full command and Perfection in the Divine Life, that a man may be said in some sort thus to have attained to the Kingdom of Heaven, or found a Paradise upon Earth. The narration that follows shall instruct you and forewarn you of those evil courses, whereby man loses that measure of Paradisiacal happinesse God estates him in, even while he is in this world. I say, therefore, that the Lord God planted a Garden Eastward in *Eden*, and there he put the man whom he had made; that is, man living under the Intellectual rayes of the Spirit, and being guided by the morning Light of the Sun of Righteousnesse, is led into a very pleasant and sweet Contentment of minde, and the testimony of a good Conscience is his great delight.

'And that the sundry Germinations and Springings up of the works of Righteousnesse in him is a delectable Paradise to him, pleasing both the sight and taste of that measure of divine Life that is manifested in him: But of all the Plants that grow in him, there is none of so sovereign virtue as that in the midst of this Garden; to wit, the *Tree of Life*, which is a *Sincere Obedience to the Will of God*: nor any that bears so lethiferous and poisonous fruit, as the *Tree of the Knowledge of good and evil*, which is *Disobedience to the Will of God*, as it is manifested in man. For the pleasure of the Soul consists in conforming herself faithfully to what she is persuaded in her own Conscience is the Will of God, whatever others would insinuate to the contrary.

'And all the fruit-bearing Trees of Righteousnesse are watered by these four Rivers, which wind along this Garden of Pleasure, which indeed are the *four Cardinal Virtues*. . . .

'But withall he [God] bade him have special care how he relisht his own Will or Power in any thing, but that he should be obedient to the manifest will of God in things great and small, or else he would assuredly lose the life he now lived, and become dead to all Righteousnesse and Truth. . . .

'But the Wisdome of God saw that it was not good for the soul of man that the *Masculine Powers* thereof should thus operate alone, but that all the Faculties of Life should be set afloat, that the whole humane nature might be accomplisht with the divine. . . .

'Wherefore divine Providence brought it so to passe, for the good of the man, and that he might more vigorously and fully be enrich'd with delight, that the operations of the *Masculine Faculties* of the Soul were, for a while, slaked and consopited; during which time the Faculties themselves were something lessened or weakened, yet in such a due measure and proportion, that considering the future advantage that was expected, that was not miss'd that was taken away, but are as handsome and compleat as before.

'For what was thus abated in the *Masculine Faculties* was compensated abundantly in exhibiting to the Man the grateful sense of the *Feminine*; for there was no way but this to *create the Woman*, which is to elicit that kindly *flowering joy, or harmlesse delight, of the Natural Life, and health of the Body*; which, once exhibited and joyned with Simplicity and Innocency of spirit, is the greatest part of that Paradise a man is capable of upon Earth. . . .

'But so it came to passe that the Life of the Body being thus invigorated in man straightway the slyest and subtlest of all the *Animal Figurations*, the *Serpent*, which is the *inordinate Desire of Pleasure*, craftily insinuated itself into the *Feminine* part of *Adam*, viz.: the *kindly Joy of the body*, and thus assaulting man, whispered such suggestions as these unto him: What a rigid and severe thing is this businesse of Religion, and the Law of God, as they call it, that deprives a man of all manner of Pleasure, and cuts him short of all the contentments of Life? . . .

'But the *Serpent*, which is the *inordinate desire of Pleasure*, befooled *Adam* through the frailty of his *Womanish Faculties*, and made him believe that he should not die; but with safety might serve the free dictates of Pleasure, or his own Will and the Will of God, that *Flesh* and *Spirit* might both rule in him, and be no such prejudice the one to the other.'—*Ibid.* pp. 64—71.¹

As the Fall was but the lower faculties gaining a mastery over the higher, so the voice of the Lord God is nothing more than awakened conscience; and Redemption is the subduing the earthly to the heavenly faculties in man.²

We need not go further into this subject than to point out how much of German neology is a legitimate following up of

¹ Dr. Henry More, generally known as the Christian Platonist, would be more fitly termed the Christian Kabbalist, for all his writings are deeply tinged with both Ancient and Modern Kabbalism. His great poem, 'Psychozoia,' or the 'Life of the Soul,' is wholly Kabbalistic, with a large infusion of Platonism. This adoption of Platonic philosophy is not uncommon in later Kabbalists, both Jewish and Christian.

² The latest work on this sort of Kabbalism that we are acquainted with is one entitled, 'La Langue Hébraïque restituée;' par Fabre d'Olivet. Paris. 1815. The writer adopts a system similar to Dr. More in his interpretation of Genesis; only goes much further, and would have us believe that this interpretation is literal.

the principles of Kabbalistic interpretation of Scripture, only that the former have applied to the New Testament the like principles which guided the latter in the Old. Perhaps the mystic school of Jacob Boehme has no small share in this matter. We may add, that no one can doubt from whence came the reveries of Emmanuel Swedenborg, and the principles of the strange sect which bears his name. In this system the literal disappears altogether, and nothing but the allegory remains; this spiritual sense, or rather fantastical, is set before us as the only one worthy of notice, the literal being merely the casket that contains it. His notion of the allegorical nature of the history of the Creation and of Paradise is very similar to that of Dr. More, just quoted; in both cases Adam is not one individual, but is mankind, the first Church, the whole being a figurative description. Still more in the heretical notion of the Trinity, the substitution of 'Manifestation' for 'Person,' the threefold soul in man, and doctrines of angels, all bear a close resemblance to ancient Kabbalism. We might also allude to certain schools of Scripture interpreters in our own country whose manipulations of prophecy to suit their own prejudices, whose strange explanations of the figurative language, whose persevering attempts to find allegory under the literal, and lastly, whose Kabbalistic dealings with letters and numbers, might claim a niche in the gallery of Kabbalism, did not the utter want of philosophy, and the transparent motive of polemical necessity, preclude them. We may safely leave the lucubrations of Mr. Elliott and Dr. Cumming to the safe and sure operation of time, being assured that it will annihilate their theories, as it has done those of Dr. Faber and others, their predecessors.

Before closing our notice of modern Kabbalism, we must not omit to mention one great name, whose greatest work is everywhere tinged with the same principles: in Milton's *Paradise Lost* there is a strange struggle between Kabbalistic philosophy and heathen mythology. The names and the hierarchies of angels and of devils; the introduction of the Mercavah, or Chariot of God; the various heavens inclosing each other like the skins of an onion; the outer rim of the world on which Satan first alights before arriving on the earth; the notion that darkness is positive, and not negative; the idea of heaven and of hell; the fall of angels; the making lust a part of original sin; all this, and much more that we could point out, shows how deeply read was this great Puritan in the lore of the Jewish Kabbala, and how closely he followed out its principles in his description of the Creation and Fall.

While Christian philosophers were adopting the system of

Jewish Kabbalism, and accommodating it to the principles of the faith of the Gospel, another development of the like principles was growing up, and has maintained itself up to our own day—we mean Freemasonry. This association, so vaunted by its members, so ridiculed by those who have not been initiated into its secrets, resembles, in many respects, those societies of Mount Lebanon, of which we have given some account; perhaps its origin may be even traced to the same spot. After examining the authorized works of its professors, and the learned researches of others, we have no doubt remaining that the Freemasons derived their origin, as well as their 'mystery,' from the Knights Templars,¹ who, in their turn, were taught in the East.

That the Templars had a 'mystery,' that they employed signs and passwords among themselves, is well known: from whence they learned their mystery, and from whom they received their passwords, are questions upon which we do not intend to enter further than to give the most probable solution, that having been in close and immediate contact with the Ismaeleeh and Assassins—at that time these were powerful and important bodies—they learnt from them a system, which they soon elaborated and adapted to their own use. That system the Assassins had found eminently useful in maintaining their own independence, and annoying their enemies. The Templars, in somewhat a like position, adopted the tactics of their foes, and turned their own weapons against them. We can thus readily understand why they established a system of signs and passwords, which would be of great value in a country where they were surrounded with secret and open enemies; but when they proceeded further to adopt a mystery, we have some difficulty in divining the cause, unless it was to make themselves feared and dreaded: if the latter was the reason, they succeeded only too well, for it was to suspicions caused by their secret practices, as well as their restless intrigues, and interference in politics, that they owed their final ruin; for they were accused of various monstrous crimes, magic, idolatry, blasphemy, and

¹ This fact, which Freemasons endeavour in vain to deny, in order to enhance the asserted antiquity of their society, is evident even from their own writings. Most of their degrees bear some relation to the Templars; all, we believe, in Sweden, where Masonry is strong—in which country the connexion is not denied. In Scotland, a country in which Freemasonry earliest established itself, and where it has never been suppressed, we find its early history so mixed up with the institutions and preceptories of the Templars, that we have some difficulty in distinguishing the one from the other. The latter, having generally fallen under suspicion in Europe, and especially in England, found a ready patron in Robert Bruce, who granted them large privileges, which they requited by rendering important services at Bannockburn: a 'Lodge' was granted by the king to them at Kilwinning; Freemasons say that it was granted to them: perhaps both may be right.

secret promiscuous debauchery.¹ That this mystery and those secrets have been inherited by the Freemasons seems more than probable; and that the philosophy of the Kabbala composes a considerable part of the Freemasons' 'mystery,' we learn from an examination of their own published works. Indeed, no one can read their 'Lectures' without perceiving such to be the case: for instance, we find the Sephiroth occupying an important place in the symbolism of a Lodge, even appearing in the form of the Kabbalistic tree, described above. Again, we have frequent reference to the practice of Kabbalistic interpretation by changing letters according to their equivalents in value or number: the constant mention of the *Shekinah*, especially in relation to the doctrine of emanations; the acknowledged allegorical system; the use of the legends of the Talmud, applied to Masonry; all show from whence this society derived its 'mystery.' As an example we may quote the following note, taken almost at random from many others of like nature:—

'The order of Templars originated about this period. We find it asserted in a manifesto, issued A.D. 1802, by the Sovereign Grand Inspectors General in Supreme Council, addressed to all the fraternity throughout the two hemispheres, that 27,000 Masons accompanied the Christian princes in the Crusades to recover the Holy Land from the Infidels. While in Palestine, they discovered several important Masonic manuscripts among the descendants of the Ancient Jews, which enriched our archives with authentic written records, on which some of our degrees are founded. In the year 5308 and 5315

¹ The Grand Master [of the Assassins] was called Seyyidna, our Lord, and commonly Sheikh-ul-Djebel, the old man, or supreme master, of the mountain, because the order always possessed themselves of the castles in mountainous regions. He was neither king nor prince in the usual sense of the word, and never assumed the title either of Sultan, Malik, Emeer, but merely that of Sheikh, which to this day the heads of the Arab tribes, and the superiors of the religious orders of the Soofees and Dervishes bear. His authority could be over no kingdom or principality, but over a brotherhood or order; European writers, therefore, fall into a great mistake in confounding the empire of the Assassins with hereditary dynasties, since in the form of its institutions it was only an order like that of the Knights of S. John, the Teutonic Knights, or the Templars. The latter of these, besides having a Grand-Master, Grand-Priors, and religious nuncios, had also some resemblance to the Assassins in their spirit of political interference and secret doctrine. Dressed in white, with a distinctive mark of the red cross on their mantles, as were the Assassins in red girdles and caps, the Templars had also secret tenets, which denied and abjured the sanctity of the Cross, as others do the commandments of Islamism. The fundamental maxim of the policy of both was to obtain possession of the castles and strong places of the adjacent country, and thus without pecuniary or military means to maintain an *imperium in imperio*, keeping the nations in subjection as dangerous rivals to princes.—*Von Hammer*, p. 55. The guilt of the Templars remains one of those historical problems which probably will never be solved. The reader may consult a note in Vol. I. of last edition of Hallam's Middle Ages; also the far more elaborate work of Michelet, '*Procès des Templiers*.'

' some very extraordinary discoveries were made, and occurrences took place, which renders the Masonic history of that period of the highest importance, a period dear to a Mason's heart, who is zealous in the cause of his order, his country, and his God.¹' These documents, if they existed at all, could be nothing else but Kabbalistic writings, though Masons would tell us that they contained histories and legends of their craft from the creation of the world to the destruction of Jerusalem; for, like the Kabbalists, they would have us believe that their system is as old as the world.

The lectures delivered at the lodges on the history of Masonry commence with the Mosaic record of the Creation, and go on through the sacred annals to the final destruction of the Temple: they read for the most part like second-rate lectures addressed to such bodies as 'Young Men's Christian Associations,' with a certain exception; and that exception is, that on every possible occasion some allusion to Freemasonry is brought in, and legends from the Talmud introduced, slightly manipulated to serve the same purpose, till the reader becomes absolutely nauseated with the same *cocta atque recocta* special pleadings for utterly impossible statements. On arriving at the account of the building of the Temple by Solomon, the reader's patience is tried to the utmost. Solomon is there styled 'our Grand Master,' his workmen are ranged in degrees and in lodges, bearing titles like modern Freemasons; thus we are told, 'The nine degrees of Freemasonry were placed by this wise Grand Master under the superintendence of seven expert and worthy Masons, whose experience suggested a course of discipline which produced the desired effect. These seven grand superintendents were Tito Zadok, Adoniram, H. A., G., Stolcyn, Joabert, and Mohabin. There were nine lodges of excellent Masons, nine in each; over which presided as many super-excellent Masons as Masters; and these met in lodge under the superintendence of Tito Zadok, Prince of Harodim; twelve lodges of Master Masons, 300 in each, ruled by twelve Grand Architects, and twenty-four Architects, as Wardens; 1,000 lodges of Fellowcrafts, eighty in each, with so many Mark Masters in the chairs, and 2,000 Mark Men as Wardens;' &c. &c. with page after page of the like stuff: and these lectures are written by priests of our Church, Doctors of Divinity, men who have evidently carefully read and studied their subjects, yet in every part of the work there perpetually appears all this farrago of nonsense. It is, of course, impossible to suppose that the writers believe all this themselves, nor can we imagine that they expect to impose a

¹ Landmarks of Freemasonry, by Rev. G. Oliver, D.D. Vol. i. p. 342, note.

² Ibid. vol. i. pp. 431, 432.

like belief on their hearers; men, even of the lower orders, are too much instructed to take such stuff for history. What then can be the use of such lectures? Why are they published and read? The answer lies in the fact that Masonry has a 'mystery,' and this mystery is taught by outward signs and symbols. In this respect it resembles the Kabbala, and may best be understood by adopting the threefold arrangement as given in our quotation from Dr. H. More's *Conjectura Cabbalistica*—the literal, the philosophical, and the moral: the first being the shell which holds the other two. The writers indeed are careful to point out the latter, the moral meaning, in many places, and to give us a key whereby we may always discover this meaning in the various symbols they use, and in the artificial arrangement of their lodges: they tell us ostentatiously how that the principal end of Masonry is the cultivation of the great virtues, both heathen and Christian, and how that brotherly love and mutual help are the distinguishing features of the association. But of what we have termed, for want of a better word, the philosophical, not the slightest hint is given, the very existence of it is not even whispered. It is this that is the 'mystery:' in this respect it resembles its forerunners in the 'Asian mystery,' and the still more ancient Jewish Kabbala, and Gnosticism; or to go still further back, in the Egyptian, Syrian, and Eleusinian mysteries. Indeed, these lectures almost acknowledge the fact, though unconsciously, by calling those mysteries 'spurious Freemasonry;' and still more by adopting many of the mystical words and terms which they have borrowed from them, e.g. the Gnostic word 'Abraxas.' This mystery has never been committed to writing, or if it was in earlier times, the writings have been carefully destroyed; all is now delivered by word of mouth: for each degree a certain amount of this philosophical Kabbala is taught, just as we saw was the case with the Ismaeleeh in our quotation from Von Hammer, till the supreme philosophy is arrived at in the highest degree. We thus understand how it is that the 'Masonic secret' has been so well preserved, and never disclosed: it is an elaborate system of philosophy underlying a literal history; to attain to a complete knowledge of it requires such a vast amount of diligence and instruction, that few, except a small number of enthusiasts, ever think of exercising. By far the majority of Freemasons know as little of the 'secret' as the uninitiated; it is only safe men that are advanced to the higher degrees, and are instructed into the higher mysteries. The signs and passwords are, of course, common to all, and used by all, but these are quite unconnected with the 'secret.' We may see a proof of this in the fact that Mohammedans, Brahmins, and other heathens are

admitted into the association, and to the lowest degrees, but cannot rise to the higher, which involve a profession of faith in the Trinity, and the doctrines of the Gospel generally.

We have thus endeavoured to trace the various developments of Kabbalistic philosophy through its different stages, from its earliest appearance to its present phases: we are quite aware that the sketch we have given is a very imperfect one, but this is entirely owing to the great mass of materials which collected round us in our investigations, the difficulty being on all occasions to make a proper selection: for while on the one side the subject is often abstruse, and requires explanations and illustrations; on the other, we could only have given those explanations at the expense of more important matter. The subject has never, as far as we know, been treated as a whole, nor its connexion with modern philosophy and theology, nor its influence on modern thought, adequately considered. A work treating the subject in this manner would be of great value at the present day, and would be of considerable assistance to the student of philosophy.

- ART. III.—1. *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament, for the Use of Biblical Students.* By FREDERICK HENRY SCRIVENER, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge; Rector of St. Gerran's, Cornwall. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co. London: Bell and Daldy. 1861.
2. *Étude sur le Texte et le Style du Nouveau Testament.* Par BERGER DE XIVREY, Membre de l'Institut de France, &c. Paris: 1856.
3. *Novum Testamentum Græce ad fidem potissimum Cod. Vatican.* B. recensuit, &c. PHILIPPUS BUTTMANN. Lipsiæ: (Teubner) 1856.
4. *Danger to the Bible from Licentious Criticism. Letters to Sons in the Universities.* By PRESBYTER SEPTUAGENARIUS. Letter IV. on the Vatican MS. London: Bell and Daldy. 1862.

It is well remarked by the author of one of the very best¹ treatises in what we must now call the literature of 'Essays and Reviews,' that the present is 'a time when religious questions are being sifted with an apparatus of knowledge . . . seldom, if ever, before brought to bear upon them. The entire creation of new departments of knowledge—such as philology; the discovery, as of things before absolutely unknown, of the physical history of the globe; the rising from the grave, as it were, of whole periods of history contemporary with the Bible, through newly found or newly interpreted monuments; the science of manuscripts and of settling texts—all these, and many more that might be named, embrace in themselves a whole universe of knowledge, bearing upon religion, and specially upon the Bible, to which our fathers were utter strangers.' It is high praise of textual criticism to be admitted to such company, to be ranked among the subjects which are commanding the profoundest attention of the masters of modern thought: and yet it does not seem to be an exaggerated commendation; for although last in this enumeration, 'the science of MSS. and of settling texts' partakes very much of the character of a prime element in 'religious questions'—the motive-wheel (if we may use a suitable simile) in the 'apparatus of knowledge.' It must be regarded as an evidence of the divinity of Sacred Writ, which we are favoured with beyond our fathers, that in an age unprece-

¹ 'Rationalism' [No. VI. in *Replies to E. and R.*] by the Rev. A. W. Haddan, B.D. Rector of Barton-on-the-Heath, Warwickshire, pp. 349, 350.

dented for activity, depth and amplitude of thought, the intellect of the world pursues its profound investigations, whether of science or of literature, more or less directly with an eye, friendly or hostile, to Revelation. Very right therefore is it, in such an upgrowth and amid such tendencies of knowledge, that our science of textual criticism should not be without its full share of attention. We accordingly find, in the investigations of friend and foe alike, a demand that the way should be cleared to the Bible, in the shape of the natural inquiry at the outset, What are the textual contents of its several books? Nor does it lessen our own respect for this science, that its latest and certainly not least illustrious interpreter, in the important work which occurs first in our list, puts in its claim in modest terms:—

‘Though the criticism of the sacred volume is inferior to its right interpretation in point of dignity and practical results, yet it must take precedence in order of time :¹ for how can we reasonably proceed to investigate the sense of Holy Writ, till we have done our utmost to ascertain its precise language?’—P. 5.

Wherein, then, lies the dignity of the science, which is so unpretendingly introduced to us? We can find no better answer than is supplied to us in Mr. Scrivener’s own description of its object:—

‘By collecting and comparing and weighing the variations of the text to which we have access, it [the science of TEXTUAL CRITICISM] aims at bringing back that text, so far as may be, to the condition in which it stood in the sacred autographs; at removing all spurious additions, if such be found in our present printed copies; at restoring whatsoever may have been lost or corrupted, or accidentally changed in the lapse of eighteen hundred years. We need spend no time in proving the importance of such a science, if it affords us a fair prospect of appreciable results, resting on grounds of satisfactory evidence. Those who believe the study of the Scriptures to be alike their duty and privilege, will surely grudge no pains when called upon to separate the pure gold of God’s Word from the dross which has mingled with it through the accretions of so many centuries.’—P. 5.

As we have no intention of embracing the whole contents of Mr. Scrivener’s massive volume in our present review—which we decline attempting, in justice no less to the author than to ourselves—it is only fair that we should state our opinion at once, that Mr. Scrivener has, in this cyclopædic treatise, with all honesty and as much accuracy as is possible under such an accumulation of details, kept steadily in view the high purport of his long-cherished science, and has conscientiously presented to the reader all the facts and prospects thereof; so that, from the careful perusal of this work, the inquirer may safely gather how far textual criticism has advanced towards the accomplishment of its object.

¹ Kennicott long ago put it tersely and well; ‘Statuatur vera lectio, et hanc presse sequetur vera interpretatio.’

Four-fifths of Mr. Scrivener's work is occupied in the description and classification of the copious materials with which his science is conversant. After a preliminary chapter, mainly devoted to a statement of the nature and extent of the various readings met with in MSS. and Versions of the Greek Testament, and of the distinct heads under which they have been reduced, the author proceeds, in his second chapter, to consider the manuscripts themselves—their material, shape, style of writing, date, arrangement of contents and notation. We shall not linger on this portion of the work longer than to express our concurrence with the author's views of the defective state of MS. *Notation*; a defect, as may be supposed, which bears with special weight on the *Cursive* documents, of which we shall have more to say by-and-by. We see a better day at hand for these slighted records; and we are not unmindful of our obligations to Mr. Scrivener himself for the reactionary industry which is rescuing these later MSS. from their obscurity, and making them of value in critical determinations. The following extract it is worth while to give, for the valuable information it contains, and because of the author's views, of which we have expressed our approbation:—

'It remains to say a few words about the *notation* adopted to indicate the several classes of MSS. of the Greek Testament. These classes are six in number; that containing the Gospels, or the Acts and Catholic Epistles, or the Pauline Epistles, or the Apocalypse, or Lectionaries¹ of the Gospels, or those of the Acts and Epistles. When one MS. (as often happens) belongs to more than one of these classes, its distinct parts are numbered separately, so that a copy of the *whole* New Testament will appear in four lists, and be reckoned four times over. In this way we calculate that there are little short of one thousand MSS. proper or Lectionaries of the Gospels, and about another thousand of all the other books put together; whereof those of St. Paul are more numerous, those of the Apocalypse fewer than those of the Acts and Catholic Epistles. All critics are agreed in distinguishing the documents written in the Uncial character by capital letters; the custom having originated in the accidental circumstance that the Codex Alexandrinus was designated as Cod. A. in the lower margin of Walton's Polyglott. These uncials are few: in the Gospels, indeed, they amount to thirty-four; but far the greater part of these are fragments—most of them of inconsiderable length; in the Acts they are ten; in the Catholic Epistles, six; in the Pauline Epistles, fourteen—many of them fragments; in the Apocalypse four only; Lectionaries in uncial letters are not marked by capitals, but by Arabic numerals, like cursive MSS. of all classes. Michaelis judges that the use of these numerals, which were first introduced by Wetstein (N. T. 1751—52) is likely to lead to confusion and faults of the press; one can only say in reply that Mill's mode of citing copies by abridgments of their names (e.g. *Alex. Cant. Mont. &c.*) is more cumbersome,

¹ He had just before defined *Lectionaries* as 'the Service Books of the Greek Church, in which the portions of Scripture, publicly read throughout the year, are set down in chronological order without regard to their actual places in the sacred volume; in length and general arrangement resembling the Epistles and Gospels in our English Book of Common Prayer, only that *every* day in the year has its own proper portion and the numerous Saints' Days Services of their own.'

and has been found just as liable to error. A more serious cause of complaint is the facility with which documents have been admitted to crowd a list, when they have not been subjected to a thorough collation; many without being examined even cursorily. Such a practice commenced by Wetstein, too much countenanced even by Griesbach (N. T. 1796—1806), conscientious labourer though he was in the field of critical study, was carried to its height by Scholz (N. T. 1830—36), who professes to have collated entire no more than *twenty-two* of the six hundred and seven MSS. which his edition added to previous catalogues . . . the result has been to convey to the inexperienced reader a totally false notion of our actual acquaintance with the contents of the cursive or later copies. Hence, while we owe a large debt of gratitude to those who have done so much for the Uncial MSS. of the Greek Testament, and freely accord the highest praise to Tischendorf and Tregelles for their indefatigable exertions in making them known to us, we are bound to state that the long list of the cursives is at present but a snare and a delusion, "a splendid wretchedness," as it has been called by one who knows its nature well.—Pp. 65, 66.

It is less, indeed, on account of the latter topic here adverted to, in which the author condemns the manifest impropriety of overcrowding critical lists with uncollated MSS. than of the former, which exposes the most embarrassing notation of critical documents, that we have extended this quotation. But, while we are on the subject, we will put in a slight demurrer to Mr. Scrivener's sweeping censure of his predecessors, especially Scholz; Mr. Scrivener was not always so severe on this fellow-labourer as he shows himself, more than once, in his present volume.¹ But of this, as a mere change of opinion, founded on the increased knowledge which qualifies us to be 'critics of the critics,' we do not, of course, complain; we only regret that allowance is not made for comparative disadvantage of circumstance in favour of the great names who incur the censure we have quoted. The fault which Mr. Scrivener sees beginning with Wetstein and countenanced by Griesbach, culminated, he thinks, in Scholz. Now, not to say that the censure is likely to be overwrought which includes Griesbach and Wetstein with Scholz as its objects, we demur to Mr. Scrivener's sentence of condemnation on two obvious grounds; first, because in the rigorous terms of it, as applied to Scholz, 'who professes to have collated 'entire no more than *twenty-two* of the six hundred and seven 'MSS. which his edition added to previous catalogues,' he overlooks the modifying circumstance of the *Recension theory*, on which Scholz, no less than Griesbach, proceeded; according to which theory those eminent men were content with the examination of but few documents, deeming these to be samples of large families of texts; but we still more strongly demur to Mr. Scrivener's censure of Scholz, secondly, because, as we venture

¹ See pp. 238, 339, as compared with his 'Supplement to the Authorized English Version of the New Testament,' Introduction, p. xvii., and his 'Collation of Greek Manuscripts of the Holy Gospels,' Introduction, pp. ix. x. lxx.

to suppose, Scholz did a service to criticism in this very list of his, which deserves rather commendation than blame. J. D. Michaelis, in his 'Introduction to the New Testament,'¹ had said:—'A description of all the MSS. of the New Testament which have never been used for the purposes of criticism, and which lie buried in the different libraries of Europe, would be a task to which my abilities are unequal; since, without printed catalogues, it is impossible to know the treasures which each library contains. . . . If a literator who had made a study of this branch of knowledge would, in a particular treatise, favour the world with his discoveries, we should derive from it very great advantage . . . because many valuable MSS. are often neglected for no other reason than that we are unacquainted with the place in which they are preserved.' Now, in this point of view, it is impossible not to acknowledge with gratitude the labours of Scholz as they began to be described in his 'Bibl.-kritische Reise in Frankreich, der Schweiz, Italien, Palästina, und in Archipel.' (a work commended by a genuine critic, D. Schulz),² and assumed the shape of a very useful and well assorted list in his 'Prolegomena in Nov. Test.' cap. vi., of which we would note especially the last section, headed, 'Enumeratio bibliothecarum, in quibus codices vel N.T. vel evangeliorum vel evangelistariorum supra sub lit. A—Δ, 1—469. et ev. 1—178 laudati servantur.'³

The frankness of Scholz in this list is not to be overlooked—he carefully tells you what he has done, and what others have done, and what has been left undone. All this is known to no one better than to Mr. Scrivener, who is therefore of course not to be regarded as imputing any *mala fides* to Scholz, when he represents him as indicating so many, and collating so few, manuscripts. It may not be altogether superfluous to mention this, lest 'the Biblical Students' for whom Mr. Scrivener's valuable pages are written—'those (as he says) who have no previous knowledge of the textual criticism of the New Testament'—might chance to misunderstand their learned author's strong and nervous censure of a critic, whom in our school days we ourselves remember it was the fashion to praise to adulation—palmy days were they of 'English Hexaplas' and 'Critical Greek Testaments,' when the Scholzan text prevailed with every attraction of splendid type! We the more wonder at the turn taken against this unfortunate critic by his censor, because,

¹ Marsh's Translation, Vol. II, part I, p. 184.

² In third edition of Griesbach's New Testament *Preface*, p. xvii.

³ By the bye, an interesting tabular conspectus of this list may be found in Mr. Scrivener's earliest work, 'Supplement to the Authorized Version of the New Testament,' drawn up, it would seem, in former days, before Mr. Scrivener had discovered Scholz's faults.

with all his faults, Scholz was at least an ardent labourer in that department of the science with which Mr. Scrivener's name is characteristically associated, the vindication of the Cursive MSS. But leaving this¹ we return to the subject of *MS. Notation*. We have the pleasure of repeating our agreement with Mr. Scrivener, that the *notation* employed in textual criticism is provokingly embarrassing. He hopes that the race of textual critics is destined to increase in this land of Bentley, Mill and Kennicott—we share his wishes, if not his hopes; of one thing we feel certain, that to nothing would the frustration of such hopes be so due as to the existing method (or rather want of method) of indicating our MS. copies of the New Testament. Mill and Bengel noted their MSS. by initial letters or syllables, writing for instance *Al.* for Cod. Alexandrinus—but mistakes arose in those abbreviations, which Wetstein in his *Prolegomena* sometimes noticed and corrected. He himself marked the ancient copies with the letters *A, B, C, &c.*, and those which he held to be more modern, with figures from 1 to 112—'a mode of notation,' observes Michaelis,² 'which frequently exposes us to error, since it is more difficult for the memory to retain the figures which denote each MS. than the abbreviation of their names.' We have already seen Mr. Scrivener's reply to this objection of Michaelis—to the effect that Mill's mode of citation by abridgments of their names is 'more cumbersome and just as liable to error;' besides, it must be observed that something more than the convenience of the *memory* has to be considered, as the student knows full well who has to wade throughout the critical apparatus of Griesbach or Tischendorf. Concinnity and consistency of *printed* formulæ would be a vast gain to his weary eye. Mr. Scrivener, in his most elaborate and

¹ We relegate to a note a small vindication of Scholz from a charge which Mr. Scrivener, following Mr. Scott Porter, has advanced in one of his notes (page 338). With all Scholz's miserable inaccuracies he was not guilty of 'claiming as his own' the 'Symbolæ Criticæ' of Griesbach, in his note on 1 Tim. iii. 16; Mr. Scrivener (we suppose on Porter's authority merely, without examination of the passage) represents Scholz as transferring to his page a long note of Griesbach, and in the process, with egregious folly, forgetful of the plagiarism, adding Griesbach's words—*uti docuimus in Symbolis criticis*. We are glad to find that Scholz did not commit so arrant a blunder. He adduces from his own MSS. evidence in favour of the reading *Θεός*, and quotes for the other reading the testimonies collected by Griesbach, N. T. 1 Tim. iii. 16. Griesbach's note he abridges (it may be somewhat clumsily), but he expressly refers to his authority at the beginning of his note, in these terms: 'Codices *A C* a primâ manu non *ΘΣ*, ut nonnullis visum fuerat, sed *ΟΣ* habuisse . . . Griesbachus in *Symbolarum Criticarum*, tomo 1. pp. viii.—liv. et tomo 2, pp. 56—76 demonstrare studuit.' After so distinct a reference to Griesbach's elaborate demonstration as contained in the 'Symbolæ Criticæ,' it seems to us to be a gratuitous fault-finding to fasten so absurd a charge on Scholz as claiming the 'Symbolæ Criticæ' 'as his own!'

² Introduction, by Marsh, II. 1, 185.

very valuable lists and descriptions of the known MSS,¹ follows the notation of Tischendorf,² who, in the major part of the cursives, found he could not do better than follow Scholz, who was the first to strike out a course differing from the older lists, as indeed he had entitled himself to do, by his great additions to MS. lore. We tender to Mr. Scrivener our best thanks for this portion of his work. His descriptions of the MSS. full in all cases, without prolixity, and (as we believe, judging from his former tried works) accurate and trustworthy always, cannot but prove a boon to the biblical student, and, we will add, realize the author's reasonable 'hopes, that they may prove of service to more advanced inquirers.' While however he was laudably occupied in endeavouring to perfect the lists, we regret that he did not follow Scholz to the end, instead of turning off, at page 178, after Tischendorf. If the numeral notation be tolerable as far as 469 we believe that readers and students would have gladly borne with it farther still. Inured to the system, they would have preferred 470 to '1^{po}'; and 481 to 'a^{Scr}'; and 506 to 'tischⁱ' and so on. We venture to say that if he had thus catalogued his MSS. to the end in a uniform series, he would, by a scheme as simple as it is consistent, have gone far to bring about a correction of the evil he deprecates. The incongruity of his present notation cannot be other than provisional and we hope quite temporary; if in forthcoming labours he would use his influence with his critical brethren, Tischendorf, Tregelles and others, and induce them to concur in a uniform and coherent notation of all the MSS., he would render a signal service to his favourite science. And in the suggested reform we would also include the uncials. Mr. Scrivener seems to regard their notation as already satisfactory: 'In describing the uncials,' he says, 'our course is tolerably plain.' (Page 67.) We regret to differ from him in this opinion. The uncial indication now in use is mainly Wetstein's; one difficulty of it is thus fairly stated by Michaelis:³ 'This difficulty he has rendered still greater by not retaining the same marks throughout—for his letters have a different meaning in the Epistles of S. Paul from that which they have in the four Gospels; a still different meaning in the Catholic Epistles and Acts of the Apostles—and lastly, they are taken in a fourth sense in the Book of Revelation. Wetstein, who devoted his

¹ Sections II. III. IV.; pp. 76—224.

² Seventh Edition of New Testament, *Prolegomena* pp. cxxxv.—cxxxvii. How arbitrary is the notation among the critics, especially of the obscurest MSS., is curiously indicated in a sentence of Mr. Scrivener's (page 181); 'Tischendorf [N.T. 7th edition, p. cxxxiv, note 1] names a copy of the Gospels dated 1254, at S. Geneviève's in Paris, "4. A 34." This however seems to be Cod. 121' &c.

³ By Marsh, II. 1, 186.

' whole life to the study of these MSS., might retain these marks ' of distinction, but it is almost impossible for his readers.'¹ With the exception, we believe, of only *Σ*, *A* and *C*, the designation of the greater MSS. is equivocal: *B* itself (from the imperfection of the renowned Cod. Vaticanus) is ambiguous—for the *B* of the Apocalypse is the Codex *Basilianus*; *D* is Codex *Bezae* in the Gospels and the Acts and the General Epistles, but *Claramontanus* in S. Paul's Epistles. With similar (or even greater) diversity, *G* is Codex *Harleianus* 5864, or *Wolfii A* (in Scrivener), or Cod. *Seidelii* (in Tischendorf) for the Gospels, but *Passionei* for the Acts and the General Epistles and *Boernerianus* for S. Paul's Epistles, and so again *K* symbolises Codex *Cyprius* for the Gospels, but *Mosquensis* for the Acts and the Epistles. This is enough to prove how unfit for its purpose is the present state of even the Uncial Notation. Common sense will soon be found in open rebellion against its continuance. We are inclined to hope that alongside of the Arabic notation for the cursives might suitably be placed the Roman numerals for the uncials, the series I. II. III. IV. V. etc. having the manifest advantage over the letters of the Alphabet of not being limited to its twenty-six places: this limit has driven the critics to other alphabets, so that a long line in a critical apparatus bristles with Hebrew, Greek and Latin characters, in a barbarous confusion which resembles the clumsy amalgam of Yankee towns, where Jerusalem or Jericho jostles against some Plymouth or Carthage or Cincinnati. In no case would we split up the same MS. book into *different* numerical designations; if 1 is to indicate the *Codex Sinaiticus*, let it do so from S. Matthew to the Revelations: 1 Ev., 1 Act., 1 Paul, 1 Apoc. would mark the sections, without sacrificing the homogeneity of the symbol, as is so miserably done in the existing notation. This suggestion we respectfully, but without misgiving, offer to all whom it may concern; for we feel how unfair it would be to condemn the existing practice without suggesting a substitute—and we have a strong conviction that while indeed anything almost would be better than the notation now in vogue, the reform we advocate would (like most reforms) be all

¹ Berger de Xivrey (Etude, p. 102.) has some sensible remarks on the painfully complicated state of this portion of the Textual Science; in a note he says: 'La complication est telle que Michaëlis disait, vers la fin de sa carrière, employée tout entière à cette étude: "J'ai fait usage depuis trente années du texte grec de Wetstein, et à peine puis-je reconnaître une douzaine de manuscrits sans recourir à l'index."' We only wonder that an evil, which the veteran critic so strongly deplored, has held its ground for so long a time; it must, we think, give way to a sounder notation, when greater deference is paid to the mass of MSS. which have been slighted in critical decisions hitherto, and the use of which will necessitate some convenient indication.

the wiser for adhering as closely as may be to the system which has grown into use; if no usage indeed preoccupied the ground at all we should possibly have modified our recommendation. The main inconvenience we foresee in it would be the high figures to which some of the lesser MSS. would run up. Mr. Scrivener (as we have seen) mentions some 1,000 written copies of the Gospels, while the other portions of the New Testament are said by him to amount to as many more. Now although it is perfectly true, that the contents of libraries are without inconvenience referred to by labelled thousands and even tens of thousands sometimes—it might yet be desirable if in formulæ of frequent recurrence we could keep down our numerical designations to much more modest figures. If then we were now only originating (instead of modifying) a notation, we might devise a register which should indicate our MSS. by their *centuries*; repeating our figures, say, as numerators of fractional expressions, while we prevented confusion by subscribing as denominators the centuries in which the documents were written. By some such method you would not only prevent the inconvenience of too large numbers, but you would increase the amount of information in the most interesting feature of the subject. As in the best stellar catalogues, if an illustration is allowable from only a distant analogy, you aim at more than the mere register or number of the stars, and superadd the valuable particulars of their right ascensions and declinations for given epochs; so if something like our proposal could be carried out, there would be secured—more than an arbitrary list of our MSS.—even their age also, from which, as the science is developed, intimations might be gathered of the habitude and worth of their readings, just as astronomers compute the effects of precession, aberration and nutation from the technical indications of their catalogues.

Another advantage would be secured, which, though subordinate, would have a certain importance in THE HISTORY of the subject—the comparative fertility of particular centuries in the production of manuscripts would appear at once, which would furnish us with a true gauge of the Church's industry or neglect in her great duty as a keeper, witness, and propagator of Holy Writ. It may be worth while to give an example of our meaning from the materials we find ready to hand, in Mr. Scrivener's exuberant Catalogues, one useful particular of which, it will be observed, is his indication of the *dates* of MSS. We will take the first thirty of his list, see pp. 141—145, and supposing for the moment that these were *all* the documents to be noted, we will place their centuries of date as denominators, which we surmount by such figures as indicate their *order* in the respective

centuries, in which point we cannot do better than follow the list which possesses a prescriptive right, and is honoured with the sanction of Scholz, Tischendorf, and Scrivener. Of these thirty MSS. it seems that *five* belong to the 16th century; *ten* to the 11th; *nine* to the 12th; *one* to the 13th and 15th respectively; and *two* to each of the 14th and 16th centuries. If these were all our list, they would be thus expressed:—

No. 1 would be $\frac{1}{10}$, No. 2 = $\frac{1}{15}$, No. 3 = $\frac{1}{12}$, No. 4 = $\frac{2}{12}$,

that is, the second document which bears on the list the date of Cent. XII. [for of course our fractions must in all cases resist the process of reduction of their terms.] Again:—

No. 5 = $\frac{3}{12}$, No. 6 = $\frac{1}{11}$ (the first that is registered of Cent. XI.),

No. 7 = $\frac{2}{11}$, No. 8 = $\frac{3}{11}$, No. 9 = $\frac{4}{12}$, No. 10 = $\frac{1}{13}$,

No. 11 = $\frac{5}{12}$, No. 12 = $\frac{4}{11}$, No. 13 = $\frac{6}{12}$, No. 14 = $\frac{2}{10}$,¹

No. 15 = $\frac{3}{10}$, No. 16 = $\frac{1}{14}$, No. 17 = $\frac{1}{16}$, No. 18 = $\frac{2}{14}$,²

No. 19 = $\frac{7}{12}$, No. 20 = $\frac{8}{12}$, No. 21 = $\frac{4}{10}$, No. 22 = $\frac{5}{11}$,

No. 23 = $\frac{6}{11}$, No. 24 = $\frac{7}{11}$, No. 25 = $\frac{5}{10}$, No. 26 = $\frac{8}{11}$,

No. 27 = $\frac{9}{11}$, No. 28 = $\frac{10}{11}$, No. 29 = $\frac{9}{12}$, No. 30 = $\frac{2}{16}$.

The UNCIALS being comparatively few in number would not require this mode of indication perhaps; if however the addition of their *age* were deemed of sufficient importance, they might without difficulty be assimilated to the same method. Taking as our basis the convenient list given by Mr. C. E. Stuart,³ only ranking $\aleph$ (because of its *completeness*, in which it so much

¹ Or, *honoris causa*, $\frac{A.D.}{964}$, for it might be desirable to signalise special documents like this (which is the earliest dated cursive) with the precise year of its MS. birth.

² Or, $\frac{A.D.}{1364}$, that being the precise *year* of its date.

³ In his useful little work, 'Textual Criticism for English Bible Students.' Introduction.

excels its coeval *B*) as THE PRINCE of MSS. instead of the 30th, as Mr. Stuart puts it, we thus effect our notation:—

Codex $\aleph = \frac{I}{IV}$, the denominator as before indicating the *codicis natalis* (as Scholz called it); so again $A = \frac{I}{V}$; $B = \frac{II}{IV}$; $C = \frac{II}{V}$; $D = \frac{I}{VI}$; $E = \frac{I}{VIII}$; $F = \frac{I}{X}$; $F^a = \frac{I}{VII}$; $G = \frac{II}{X}$;

$H = \frac{I}{IX}$; and so on, throughout the *Codices Evangelici*; for the *Acts and General Epistles*, $\aleph$, *A*, *B*, *C*, *D* would receive the same designations as before, only with the subjoined technical syllable Act.; thus, $\aleph$ would be $\frac{I}{IV}$ Act.; but in the other

cases *E* would be simply $\frac{VIII}{VI}$ without the technical adjunct, the numerator indicating clearly enough the distinction from the previous MSS. of the sixth century; in like manner *G* (*Cod.*

Passionei) would be $\frac{XI}{IX}$, &c. &c. In the MSS. of *S. Paul's*

Epistles $\aleph = \frac{I}{IV}$ PAUL; $A = \frac{I}{V}$ PAUL; $B = \frac{II}{IV}$ PAUL; $C = \frac{II}{V}$

PAUL; whereas *D* would be now $\frac{IX}{VI}$, being the ninth on the

list of the sixth century uncials; so $E = \frac{V}{X}$; *F* (*Augiensis*)

$= \frac{XIV}{IX}$, &c. &c. Of the very few uncial copies of the *Revelation*

$\aleph = \frac{I}{IV}$ APOC.; $A = \frac{I}{V}$ APOC.; but *B* (*Basilianus*) must fall

into the late ranks of century VIII., as $\frac{VII}{VIII}$.

By the adoption of these figures, there would be no repetition or ambiguity of symbol—an advantage which (added to the chronological information) would surely compensate for the slight addition of a second number to complete the fractional designation. Thus much have we thought fit to offer, but not without great deference, to the learned (to whose convenience we wish to be pioneers), as a small contribution on a practical point,¹ feeling assured that a readier manipulation of

¹ Our drift is to reform the notation of MSS. of the GREEK NEW TESTAMENT only, it is here alone that confusion lies; we have not touched, therefore, the subject of the nomenclature of the *Versions*. The indication of these, by *e.g. small italic letters* of the alphabet in the case of the MSS. of the Old Latin (as given by Mr. Scrivener, pp. 256—259) is sufficiently convenient; and it will be early enough to

their abundant materials is mainly wanted to advance their science.

We turn now to other subjects. Mr. Scrivener's volume, among other valuable contents, presents to the reader full information on the versions and the progress of the printed editions of the Greek Testament; this portion of the work necessarily repeats 'a thrice told tale;' and if it be inferior to the fuller chapters on the same subject, contained in the second volume of Marsh's 'Michaelis,' and even to Marsh's own briefer but very lucid description, it may be owing to the natural difficulty of any new author going over old ground.

In what has often been done as well as can be, it would not be reasonable to expect improvement even from such competent scholars as Tregelles and Scrivener; the advantage we gain lies in the *subjective* portions of the historical pages of authors like these, who fortunately, as we think, do not take the same side always; the reader, for instance, cannot but be greatly interested in the differing views and speculations of the two learned men we have just named, on the merits of the Curetonian, and again of the Peshito versions of the Syriac New Testament; such differences are never to be regretted, when elicited and maintained with the decorous energy of these gentlemen; for *progress by antagonism*, as in other pursuits, has been always the rule in our textual science. But, returning to Mr. Scrivener's book, although, in these historical chapters, he has to traverse beaten paths, he has contrived to add novel information, which gives to his pages special value; we will particularize his printed tabulated specimens in pp. 248—251 of the Peshito, the Curetonian, the Philoxenian, the Jerusalem, and the Karkaphensian Syriac Versions—an interesting comparison of the text of Erasmus' first edition of the Greek Testament, with Stephens' New Testament of 1550, throughout S. James' Epistle, 'in order to illustrate 'the gradual process by which the text was moulded to its present 'shape,' (pp. 301, 302)—and a very elaborate collation of Stephens' New Testament of 1550, with the Complutensian Text, and Beza's of 1565, and Elzevir's two editions of 1624 and 1633 (pp. 304—311). Considering the trouble of execution, and (after all is done) the unpretending appearance, of these eight pages, we the more thank Mr. Scrivener for the good service he has rendered in them. Stephens' edition of 1550, and that of the Elzevirs, have been taken as the Standard or *Received Text*, the former chiefly in England, the latter on the Continent, and inasmuch as nearly all collated MSS. have been compared with

object to the mode of indicating the MSS. of the Vulgate (given in pp. 264, 265), when the 'countless' hoards of its codices, which Mr. Scrivener speaks of (p. 264), shall turn up and produce embarrassment.

one or the other of these, it becomes absolutely necessary to know the precise points in which they differ from each other, even to the minutest errors of the press. This necessity the author has done well in deferring to—with obvious painstaking he has nearly doubled Tischendorf's catalogue of variations, distancing Mill even more than twentyfold. Mr. Scrivener has a positive passion for collation; as a thank-offering to the memory of Dr. Mill, whom he eulogises as not only the father of Textual Criticism, but one of its largest and best promoters, he furnishes his reader with a handy table of the MSS. used by Mill—in which he gives the usual notation alongside of Mill's own method of citation; hoping that his collation 'will tend to facilitate the use of Mill's New Testament' (p. 317). Not fatigued with all these lists, he appends to chap. v. of his work, a very full collation of the Complutensian Polyglott New Testament, 1514, with that of Elzevir, 1624. The learned author no doubt judges, and rightly too, that every point is of importance which is connected with the early condition of the printed text to which criticism is so constantly referring the MS. readings. Mr. Scrivener adds a note to this collation, which we quote as highly characteristic:—

'The fullest collation of any portion of the Complutensian N. T. which has hitherto appeared is that of the Apocalypse contained in Tregelles' *Book of Revelation*. On comparing my own with Tregelles' notes, I find that we differ in sixty-six places. Out of these Tregelles is quite wrong in [Rev.] xi. 17, 19; xviii. 3. He cites inaccurately in xii. 17; xv. 3; xviii. 5, 17; xxi. 8; in nineteen places he overlooks various readings of the Complutensian; the remaining cases refer to itacism and peculiarities of spelling, which it was not his purpose to record.'

It is impossible to object to this sharp *espionage* on rival labours. The result of it, pursued in good faith and with due courtesy, must needs be beneficial to a science, among the chief qualifications for which is accuracy in the minutest details. *Apropos* to Mr. Scrivener's love of collation, we must not omit to notice two conspicuous portions of his work which are novel; the Appendix to Section 1, contains a *Synaxarion*¹ and *Eclogadion*² of the Gospels and Apostolic writings daily throughout the year, gathered from certain Evangelistaria³ of the Greek Church, with a Menology.⁴ To us, we must confess the addition of these eight expensively printed pages seems to be an appendage of more labour than real value. However suitable in a work on the Eastern Liturgies, they are at the best so remotely connected with the subject of the volume, as to justify a regret that the

¹ Table of Proper Lessons.

² Table of Daily Lessons.

³ Lessons from the Gospels.

⁴ Table of Saints' Day Lessons distributed in the order of the months from September to August.

learned author should, by the obvious increase in the price of his work, entailed by this and other excrescences of small and difficult print, have contributed some obstacle to the large circulation, among Biblical students of the initial class, of his really valuable and meritorious book. Mr. Scrivener's motto, like that of many an honest labourer in a favourite pursuit, is 'THOROUGH': every minutest fact has an interest to him, beyond the proportion which general readers for whom handbooks are written can appreciate. That this 'Plain introduction to the criticism of the New Testament,' may attain to the usefulness it deserves to effect, we venture to recommend in subsequent editions a syncope of this and some other *ex abundanti* materials—unless the preparation indeed of a *Manual* of half the size of this volume for the use of early students, to whom economy of money and time is a consideration, be a more suitable suggestion; both of which we offer with the frankness which betokens a friendly spirit.

The other conspicuous novelty of this work deserves the highest commendation. In twelve beautifully engraved pages, Mr. Scrivener presents to his reader three dozen of well chosen¹ *fac-similes* of MSS. ranging in a graduated order from the Rosetta Stone, two centuries B.C., downwards to the Cod. BURNEY 22, of the fourteenth century A.D. Among these palæographic records of more than fifteen centuries, are included an extract from the papyrus cursive of Hyperides' Λόγος ἐπιτάφιος and a specimen taken from Tischendorf's *Notitia* of the already celebrated *Codex Sinaiticus*. If the reader carefully studies these thirty-six transcripts, by the help of Mr. Scrivener's description in letter-press, pp. xiii—xvi² he will make no inconsiderable step in the now important science of the diplomatics of New Testament criticism. The last valuable peculiarity of this volume which we shall mention, are its three copious Indices; the last, of the *Texts of the New Testament, illustrated or referred to*, the second of *principal persons and subjects*, and the first which is as unusual as it is useful—an Index of about 1,170 separate Greek MSS. of the New Testament, described in the work, arranged according to the countries wherein they are now deposited; 'Denmark 3 MSS.; England 250; France 238; Germany 90; Holland 6; Ireland 3; Italy 320; Russia 73; Scotland 7; Spain 19; Sweden 1; Switzerland 14; Turkey 104; Unknown 42?'

¹ We say advisedly 'well chosen.' His example from the celebrated Cod. Vaticanus, as compared with the traditional specimen given in Horne and Tregelles, proves with what care he has selected these interesting illustrations. See his own observations in page 86, and p. xiv. on Plate viii.

² Aided, we ought to add, by his well compiled Section 1, of Chapter II., in which he fully and perspicuously treats of 'the general character of MSS. of the Greek Testament.'

Students of Textual Criticism among their discouragements reckon the want of Indices in the common books of reference—such as Marsh's 'Michaelis,' Marsh's 'Lectures,' Tregelles' 'Account of the Printed Text of the New Testament,'¹ and Griesbach's works. They will not fail, therefore, to hail with thanks Mr. Scrivener's Indices, the first above all, as not the least among the many merits of his latest work.

In the last three chapters of this volume the author passes to more debateable ground; in the seventh chapter especially, he discusses some 'Recent Views of Comparative Criticism,' and of course makes an opportunity of giving an exposition of those critical principles, with which the learned public have become acquainted from his former publications, especially the Introduction to his 'Codex Augiensis.' He concludes his work by devoting the last chapter to an examination of a quarter-hundred of crucial passages of the Greek Testament, applying to their disputed texts what he calls 'the foregoing materials and principles.' There is room, no doubt, for two opinions as to the propriety of discussing questions of uncertainty, which are not only debateable, but incapable in the present stage of the science of a safe solution, in a professedly elementary work, designed for students who have by no means attained to the mature knowledge which is required for the formation of a just opinion. Accordingly, it is not surprising that Mr. Scrivener, who has his views and has not shrunk now for many years from expressing them, has been exposed to adverse criticism. Thus, in a recent volume of the *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, the writer of an article on Mr. Scrivener's 'Codex Augiensis,' censures our author expressly on this ground: 'It is a more serious matter of regret that in his first chapter [of the Introduction] Mr. Scrivener has been tempted into judging and laying down principles of textual criticism.' The regret, indeed, of this reviewer appears to be based upon his belief² that Mr. Scrivener knows too little about the subjects on which he has pronounced an opinion. It does not fall under our present purpose to discuss³ a point, on which we suppose few only

¹ This inconvenience is obviated in Dr. Tregelles' more recent book on *Textual Criticism*, in Horne's Introduction, Vol. IV. ed. 1856, by the addition of a miscellaneous index, which cannot, however, be compared with Mr. Scrivener's for either fulness or perspicuity.

² See *The Journal of Philology*, Vol. IV. pp. 377—382.

³ It seems to us that 'F. J. A. H.' in this paper, has failed to prove his own qualifications to pass so severe a sentence on a writer, who at least has been much longer engaged in Textual Science than himself: nearly twenty years have elapsed since Mr. Scrivener's first appearance (we believe) in his very respectable work, 'Notes on the New Testament:' since then, Mr. Scrivener has issued from the press three works, which have been acknowledged to be highly valuable by judges of the highest competency. F. J. A. H. is no doubt a scholarly writer, and may be

of Mr. Scrivener's readers (especially those of his latest work) will endorse the censure of his critic. Now, if this writer had laid his indictment against Mr. Scrivener for 'judging, [what-

tempted to think that a *Fellow of Trinity* has a right to be a better man than a *Scholar of Trinity*. But in science there are no prescriptive rights. Superior skill alone confers superiority. To go no farther than his present criticism, F. J. A. H. betrays much incapacity to decide so large a question as Mr. Scrivener's literary character as a textual critic. This character he impugns because three years ago (before the publication of Mai's *Cod. Vatican.*) Mr. Scrivener had said 'much doubt hangs over many of its readings.' But has not Dr. Tregelles (F. J. A. H.'s own favourite authority) stated the same unfortunate fact still more strongly [Horne, Vol. iv. p. 162]: 'There are not merely cases in which one collator has noticed something, while another is silent, but there are also contradictions and discrepancies . . . there is still enough uncertain to make a critic regret deeply that hitherto the MS. has been inaccessible for the purpose of a perfect examination.' Surely, if Mr. Scrivener is to be condemned for his opinion, F. J. A. H. is bound to include Dr. Tregelles (the very highest authority in this matter) in his sentence. But we believe Mr. Scrivener is right, and F. J. A. H. is wrong when he charged Mr. Scrivener with giving his readers 'a most exaggerated impression as to the amount of uncertainty in the readings of B. Of course the publication of Cardinal Mai's unsatisfactory edition (as F. J. A. H. calls it) has not, in the opinion of the discreetly learned, removed the uncertainty: though even if it had it would not affect Mr. Scrivener's statement, which was made in fact previous to the publication of the Vatican MS. Nor does F. J. A. H. better sustain his claim to censure Mr. Scrivener in the matter of the Peshito, 'the Vulgar Syriac' Version, and his controversy with Dr. Tregelles thereon. We have read both sides, and we have perused F. J. A. H.'s strictures (pp. 378, 379), and we cannot refrain from thinking that the critic has not proved his charge of rashness, &c. against Mr. Scrivener, who appears to us to have with ability and moderation argued the question with his learned opponent, and, on the whole, to have the best of it: at any rate, if he errs, he has Michaelis in his company. We detect no 'rashness' in Mr. Scrivener, but we regret to observe arrogance in his critic. F. J. A. H.'s next ground of impugning Mr. Scrivener's critical judgment rests (p. 380) on a vast and (considering his vituperative tone to another) inmodest *petitio principii*: when the very point in debate is, what documents best represent the most ancient text? it does not do for him to foreclose it by simply insisting that his pet MS. B is a better authority than A; that the Syriac Vulgate must be held corrupt because it displays affinities with A, and (more vaguely still) saying 'through the Fathers [which ones?] we can see that various mixed and transitional texts must have existed in the fourth and fifth centuries, and there is no difficulty in supposing it to represent one of these.' (!) We are here tempted to quote against himself F. J. A. H.'s own words on the next page; 'Such a remark as this, that "many of the Fathers must have cited the remarkable passage," betrays the random way in which Mr. Scrivener writes,' &c. We have already seen that F. J. A. H. is amenable himself to the charge he urges too flippantly on Mr. Scrivener; but the worst case remains; in p. 381, this writer, with strange inconsiderateness or want of examination makes his last attack on Mr. Scrivener thus, 'He "knows almost nothing that has been seriously attempted with respect to the application of their [the Fathers'] citations to the discussion of various readings, except Griesbach's examination of the quotations of Origen in his "Symbolæ Criticæ." A strange remark in every way. Griesbach's "discussion" of Origen's readings is in his *Diss. de Codd. iv Evv. Origenianis* and *Meletemata*: his collection of readings in the "Symb. Crit." includes, &c.' Now, we must say such criticism as this is captious and undignified (for in the critic's art there should be *dignity* as well as truth); we believe, after careful perusal, that Mr. Scrivener did not use the word *discussion* so rigorously as F. J. A. H. finds it convenient to make him do, as something different from *collection*. More than this, F. J. A. H.'s own affected erudition will not hold water. (1st) As to the *Dissertatio Critica de Codd. iv Evv.* &c.; instead of its being a 'discussion' (or critical treatise) of Griesbach's Origenian readings

ever that may mean] 'and laying down principles of textual criticism,' on another ground, which we will state presently, we should not have found fault with him; but since he puts his objection, and that not very candidly (as we have just shown in a note), on a mere personal issue, which will command nobody's assent, we dismiss the question of the propriety of introducing critical polemics into an introductory manual, by simply remarking, that every author seems to do pretty much the same thing; Dr. Tregelles' valuable treatises, and Dr. Davidson's, no less than Mr. Scrivener's, being full of debateable topics. Nor do we complain of this; these learned men have only yielded to the inevitable condition of the subject they treat. We have been calling it '*the science of textual criticism*,' in deference to their own nomenclature; but their science is only susceptible of so honourable a designation by courtesy. After all the excellent labours and ingenious speculations of such worthies as Mill, Wetstein, Bengel, Griesbach, Matthæi, Hug, Scholz, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Scrivener, textual criticism is little more than a repertory of unsorted facts,

'Rudis, indigestaque moles,'

as 'COLLECTED' in his '*Symbolæ Criticæ*,' it was rather a *prolusio* (something like Kennicott's), almost indeed a private paper ['*privatis tantum usibus*,' as the author himself says of it, see *Præf.* in '*Sym. Crit.*'], drawn up twenty-two years before the fuller '*Symbolæ Criticæ*,' of which it was only the germ. So far as the two works have anything in common, that which Mr. Scrivener well describes as 'Griesbach's *examination*' (not, observe, *discussion*, as F. J. A. H. erroneously puts it) 'of the quotations of Origen,' the subsequent '*Symbolæ Criticæ*,' is an enlargement and correction of the earlier '*Dissertatio Critica*' [Griesbach characterizes his two works thus, '*quæ in priore collatione (i.e. in Diss. Crit.) mentis oculorum aciem effugissent nunc . . . (i.e. in Symbol. Crit.) mearum esse partium duxi supplere ac perperam antehac (i.e. 'ante annos viginti duo' in Diss. Crit.) notata corrigere*]. So far as independent 'discussion' went, Griesbach in his '*Diss. Crit.*' treated of some other topics which do not bear on the question raised in F. J. A. H.'s stricture on Mr. Scrivener, such as *ingenium Manuscriptorum Codici Origeniano simillimorum*, and *indoles atque habitus universus recensionis Origenianæ*. (2) As for the *Meletemata*, which F. J. A. H. represents to us as 'a discussion' by Griesbach 'of the readings of Origen,'—'collected in the "*Symbolæ Criticæ*,"' (for such must be the meaning of the censor's obscure statement, to be of any force in his stricture on Mr. Scrivener's 'strange remark in every way,') it is nothing of the kind. The *Meletemata* are a kind of introduction to the second volume of Griesbach's '*Commentarius Criticus*' (a work which we have not mentioned before); and the author thus describes his own object in writing the two short treatises: 'in quibus I. evidenter probavi, Origenem diverso tempore usum esse duobus diversis Marci exemplaribus uno Alex. altero occidentali; deinde II. modeste sub examen revocavi Hugii, viri doctissimi et celeberrimi, placita nonnulla de vetustarum recensionum originibus et auctoribus.' How different this purpose from that apparently alleged by F. J. A. H., who yet is very sensitive at Mr. Scrivener's giving his readers what he calls *exaggerated impressions* (!) We have gone thus lengthily into this case, not only because it touches Mr. Scrivener's critical character, which we conceive to have been unworthily impugned; but in the interest of honourable, generous and soundly learned criticism, which in our opinion is sorely compromised by a performance wearing the garb of learning like F. J. A. H.'s, in a publication like *The Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*.

with no certain 'principles,' if this word be pressed to its exact sense of fixed truths, leading to scientific *laws*, as opposed to empirical hypotheses. The nearest approach perhaps to a law, which textual criticism has attained to, lies in the well-known *recension* theory, proposed by Bengel and Semler. Griesbach elaborated it, and Scholz adopted it. But that it has never attained yet to the dignity of a scientific law is manifest, not only from the contradictory applications of the theory in the hands of the two critics who most developed it, but from the misgivings¹ of Griesbach himself, to whom the theory owes most of its celebrity; while recent theorists, especially Lachmann and Tregelles, agreeing with their predecessors as to the desirableness, in the face of the crowd of their MS. materials, of abridging labour in their treatment, not only rejected the recension theory, as a summary method of collecting the suffrages of the textual witnesses, but actually refused to admit the great body of the manuscripts themselves as credible testimony at all. Now, it is in no derisive spirit that we point to these failures and displacements of theories; on the contrary, we recognise thankfully the labours and even the conjectures of such men as the acute and candid Griesbach, and in full conviction of the honourable destiny which awaits the future development of textual criticism, we believe, that when it has ripened into the dignity of a finished science, it will be confessed, that the labours of every genuine critic who had once toiled in its service contributed to the great result. In his noble volume of 'Essays,' Sir John Herschel, writing on 'terrestrial magnetism,' accounts for the tardy growth of that science in words which have a significant bearing on our present subject. It is 'a science,' he says, 'of *observation*, in contradistinction to one of *experiment*;² and this character, along with some remarkable

¹ Tregelles, 'Account of Printed Text,' p. 91. Though (after Semler) Griesbach distinguished only *three* families or recensions of texts, yet in his 'Curæ in Epistolas Paulinas' he supposes the existence of *five* or *six* classes. Sect. 1. § 19. Laurence, 'Remarks on Griesbach's Classification of MSS,' p. 19, quotes, from his Edition of the Gospels, language which betokens extreme uncertainty in the great critic's own views of his theory: 'Quot fuerint recensiones? Ubi, quando et quomodo, quælibet eorum orta sit? Quantum pretium cuius statuendum sit? . . . Per harum aliarumque similium questionem solutionem pervenietur demum ad eam viam quæ ad accuratam et certam sacri textus emendationem ducit. Sed hæc via (quam unice veram esse certissime mihi persuasum est) adeo est impedita hactenus,' &c. &c. Mr. Scrivener apparently looks for a revival of the recension theory; but then he supposes, that (after due examination of all the constituent materials) they will be found to fill some six or eight classes, instead of Griesbach's three and Scholz's two.

² We should be sorry to be fastidious in our criticism; but we must take slight exception to Mr. Scrivener's phrases (p. 395) when he says, 'the mode of procedure in textual science is *experimental* and *tentative*, rather than *dogmatical*.' We are not sure that we understand the last word as it occurs in this sentence; if it means proceeding from fixed and ascertained principles of science, Mr. Scrivener of

‘peculiarities, which it possesses as such, sufficiently explains a neglect that might otherwise appear singular, and even in some degree blameworthy. No single observer, whatever be his zeal and industry—no series of observations, however long—continued and exact, made at a single place, can add much to our knowledge of the highly intricate laws and relations which prevail in it. For this purpose the assemblage and comparison of observations made in every region of the globe, and extending over long periods of time, are requisite. In order to master so large a subject, multitude must be brought to contend with mass, combination and concert to predominate over extent and diffusion, and systematic registry and reduction to fix and realize the fugitive phenomena of the passing moment, and place them before the eye of reason in that orderly and methodical arrangement which brings spontaneously into notice both their correspondences and their differences. For similar reasons, the progress of all sciences which are properly and purely sciences of *observation* (such as Astronomy, Meteorology, &c.), has necessarily been hitherto more slow, and interrupted by longer intervals of dormancy, than those in which appeal can be made to experiment. An *experiment*, if it lead to any new view or striking conclusion, may be instantly followed up, while the mind is excited and alert, by others adapted to its verification or extension; while, for corroborative *observations* or interesting conjunctures, we must wait—a condition especially adapted to blunt the keenness of inquiry and obscure the connexions of thought. An *experiment*, misstated or misinterpreted, may be repeated, rectified, and studied with better attention and success. An *observation* omitted, leaves a blank which never can be filled; inaccurately or erroneously stated, it poisons the stream of knowledge at its source, and exercises an influence the more baleful, as it tends, in proportion to its apparent importance, to warp our theories, and thereby prevent, or at least retard, the detection of its faultiness.’¹ The sciences of terrestrial magnetism and astronomy, in their respective degrees of advancement in the scientific scale, seem to us well adapted to illustrate the bearings of our textual criticism both in its existing condition and in its ulterior progress. In the following passage, we entirely agree with Dr. Tregelles in

course abjures the dignity of a *science* for his cherished pursuit in its present state; and this seems to be the sense of the following context: but as for the other phrases, *experimental* is far from synonymous with *tentative*. ‘Experimental’ processes occur under cover of a mature science, such as chemistry, where they are controlled and rectified by ascertained laws; but processes are ‘tentative,’ when they are performed either abstractedly (without reference to scientific law), or at best under the uncertain influence of hypothesis. The procedure of the textual critic may be *tentative*, but it cannot be *experimental*.

¹ Essays, by Sir John F. W. Herschel, Bart. &c. &c., pp. 64, 65.

his estimate of Griesbach's labours, whom we take to be on the whole the very greatest man that has yet appeared on the field of Greek Testament criticism:—'The influence which Griesbach's labours exercised upon criticism was most important. There are many who, when they hear his system of *recensions* has been thoroughly demolished, think that all reference to his labours may be cast aside as being *now* unworthy of attention. This procedure savours both of ignorance and temerity. Even though *facts* have been accounted for wrongly, they still remain *facts*. Astronomical observations by a Ptolemæan may be highly valued as good and useful by those who know the truth of the Copernican system. Facts in chemistry stand good, even though the first observers of those facts explained them on systems now obsolete and exploded. The *facts* to which Griesbach gave a prominence should thus be distinguished from the *theories* which he deduced from them.' But we must go farther, and (we trust with no real, if with apparent ungraciousness) record similar judgment of what is purely theoretical in his own and Lachmann's critical system.

'Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur.'

There is, however, a happy compensation in all such cases; a theory in a master's hand stimulates him to a keener evolution of facts, as well as to his own assortment of them: what assists himself in his arduous toil, amidst the mass of incongruous materials around him, to acquire subjectively a clearer perception of the end he has in view, is in fact so much gain in the long run to all who are interested in his pursuit. 'It is on this account,' to quote once more from Sir J. Herschel's beautiful 'Essay,' 'that a theory is of so much more consequence, and forms in fact so much larger a part of our knowledge in these sciences of *observation* than in those conducted by way of *experiment* . . . to the incoherent particles of historical statement, which make up the records of a science of observation, *theories* are as a *framework*, which binds together what would otherwise have no unity. They give to a collection of fleeting impressions the power of presenting itself to our intellect as an existing whole.' The philosopher might have added that, while effecting this *subjective* benefit in collecting together, as into a focus, the divergent rays of many objects, which would otherwise have remained apart and in neglect to the observer, the fancy-picture which presents to its own author a satisfactory whole, excites also in the mental vision of another (who sees its defects or exaggerations) a more earnest, because concentrated, criticism. So *he* rests not until he has built up in his turn his own ideal; and thus, in the process of counteraction and reac-

tion, which this new theory involves in its own construction and in the destruction of its predecessor, its author uses afresh the old materials, now turned over on the other side, re-examined, and readjusted, and adds fresh ones besides. The labours of Griesbach were thus supplemental as well as corrective¹ to those of Wetstein, as Scholz's and (to some extent) Matthæi's were to those of Griesbach. Lachmann's critical system is a rebound not only from Scholz's, but from the *εἰδωλα* also, which had too long perverted the critical view with the superstition of the 'Received Text.' Lachmann is the *iconoclast* of textual criticism; with lusty sledge-hammer blows he broke the image, which men, he thought, were too prone to worship. But iconoclasm has at best only a negative merit; as 'there is a time to break down,' so 'there is a time to build up.' Dr. Tregelles, accordingly, with a thorough appreciation of Lachmann's spirit and intention,² and with the additional recommendation of independent action and unborrowed views,³ has worked on closely but not servilely in the line of his revered friend, rearing an edifice of COMPARATIVE CRITICISM on the ground which had been cleared for him. But Tregelles, like other men, is not exempt from the frailty of exaggeration in the treatment of a cherished hypothesis, and on Scrivener has devolved the self-imposed, but not the less honourable mission of holding in check the rival critic; and thus in the court of textual criticism has arisen (a veritable *cause célèbre* in the literature of the day) the trial of UNCIALS *versus* CURSIVES: speaking broadly, in this country Tregelles holds the brief for the uncials, and Scrivener is the strenuous advocate of the cursives. This, of course, is from its breadth an inaccurate statement, and is only intended to be a popular one. Mr. Scrivener, however, is said to be receding from the position he formerly held. But we see no evidence of this in his latest and fullest work as compared with its two predecessors; *they*, no doubt, were more concerned with the subject of *cursive* MSS.; there would, therefore, be less prominent statement in them of

¹ See Tregelles, 'Printed Text,' pp. 91 (sub. fin.) and 92.

² To do him justice he seems to have laboured with no view to *finality*: he wished to open out a new road in criticism, and to encourage thoughtful students to pursue it, not blindly as following his lead, but with discrimination: 'non ut illi (are his striking words) me tanquam ducem sectarentur aut in his quæ tradidisset acquiescerent, sed singula ut ipsi investigarent, investigata perpenderent, perpensa probarent, corrigerent, augerent.' *Præf.* in vol. i. *Nov. Test.*, p. xxxi.

³ See Tregelles 'Printed Text,' page 153. 'It was some time [after the formation of my own not dissimilar plan] before I apprehended how far Dr. Lachmann had already acted on what I believed to be the true plan; for as he had only developed his principles in German (a language of which I then knew nothing), and as his whole system was completely misunderstood in this country, I remained unfortunately in the same want as others. I knew of his edition, but I was not aware of the claims which it had on my attention.'

the relative value of the uncials; whereas in the present volume, where the whole field of the documentary criteria has to be gone over, the author very properly, and indeed inevitably, puts in greater relief his estimate of the more ancient manuscripts. This circumstance is enough to account for the following tolerably strong opinion, as coming from Mr. Scrivener:—

‘We do not place the more modern witnesses in one scale, the elder in the other, and then decide *numero non pondere* which shall prevail; we advocate the use of the cursive copies principally, and indeed almost exclusively, where the ancient codices are at variance: and if in practice this shall be found to amount to a perpetual appeal to the younger witnesses, it is because in nineteen cases out of twenty, the elder *will not agree*. *Nor even then should we deem it safe, except perhaps in very exceptional instances, to adopt as true a reading of the cursives, for which but slender ancient authority or none can be produced.* There is a risk (we freely grant it) that in the long course of ages, and through the influence of frequent transcription, differences should be reconciled, rugged constructions made smooth, superficial (if not real) contradictions explained away; there are beyond question not a few readings pervading the more recent MSS. which owe their origin to this source, and which the consentient testimony of antiquity condemns beyond appeal.’—P. 407.

But if from this, his strongest passage, the reader is tempted to suppose that the cursive advocate is throwing up his brief, or else betraying his cause, let him read on; and if his wish be that fair-play should be given to the minor MSS., he will not be disappointed in Mr. Scrivener:—

‘Does any one suppose that the mass of our cursive documents are only corrupt copies, or copies of copies, drawn from existing uncials? Let the assertion be made and maintained, if it can with any show of reason; but if not, let us frankly accept the sole alternative, that *they are representatives of other old copies which have long since perished*, “respectable ancestors” (as one has quaintly put the matter), “who live only in their descendants.” (Long. *Ciceronis Verrin. Orat. Pref.* p. vi.) And to this conclusion we are irresistibly led by a close study of the MSS. themselves. No one who has paid adequate attention to them can fail to be struck with *the individual character* impressed upon nearly all: it is rare indeed that we find cause to suppose that one even of the latest codices is a mere transcript of any now surviving; we repeatedly find in those which on the whole recede but little from the *textus receptus*, isolated readings for which no other authority can now be alleged than Cod. B, or some such monument of remote antiquity. That the testimony of the cursives ought to be scrutinized and suspected, and (*when unconfirmed by other witnesses*) as a rule set wholly aside, may be conceded even by those who have laboured most diligently to collate and vindicate them; but we do trust that Lachmann and Tregelles will be the last, among the editors of the N. T., who will think they can be disposed of by the simple and compendious process of excluding them (the former entirely, the other hardly less so) from the roll of critical authorities.’—Pp. 407, 408.

This is an important statement, as made by one who has a right to speak of the character of cursive MSS. We beg the reader to remark the testimony here born to the *independent character*, the idiosyncrasy, of most of these documents. This is a great gain to our critical knowledge, and serves to corroborate strongly our conviction that textualists are much better em-

ployed in the patient labour of copying and collating MSS. than in fabricating theories, which turn out to be nothing more than untenable hypotheses, or framing New Testament TEXTS, which come and go with a rapidity which sadly exposes the sacred volume to indignity and disrespect. We must say that Dr. Tregelles has done no better service than by his publication of the Codex Zacynthus; we prize it more highly than the web he is weaving of a New Testament text. The redeeming feature of his Critical Edition of the Christian Scriptures is the repertory furnished in the notes of his conscientious collations; but *we wish he and every one else would, for twenty years at least, refrain from experimenting on the received text.* It is painful to those who are conversant with New Testament studies to be constantly stumbling on expositions (or rather rude exposures) of the variations and discrepancies of the holy volume. Half a dozen youths in a lecture-room, with their half a dozen different editions, are evermore jostling each other with their various readings. Presbyter Septuagenarius, one of the writers with whom we have surmounted our article (and whom we name simply as proving that, in the awakened interest which these studies have excited, men are beginning to reclaim against the critics having it all their own way), alludes to another form of the evil we are deploring—that which he strongly condemns as ‘the profane habit of meddling with the sacred text itself.’ ‘The practice,’ he says, ‘has been greatly on the increase from the days of Michaelis and Bishop Marsh, and has now reached a pitch of extravagance which, to my mind, is extremely alarming. In the words handed down to our forefathers as holy words, they suffered not so much as a letter to be changed or displaced by vulgar hands—nor until the error had been proved by undeniable and generally admitted testimony. Things are strangely altered. Now-a-days, one can hardly hear a village sermon, or read a religious tract, without being offended by some crude suggestion on the genuine readings of the inspired Word. English Churchmen, and in high places too, incompetent, it may be, to form any independent opinion whatever, adopt some fancy of continental origin, and reason upon it, as if it came indubitably from the blessed Spirit of Truth.’ There may be much exaggeration in the tone of these letters—they may be affected with the garrulity of old age; but we think that, after all fair deductions made for the prejudices of a ‘Septuagenarian’ author, these letters contain an ample residue of important statement worthy the attention of textual critics. We do not understand the writer to vilify criticism itself as an evil, after the fashion of ignorant fanaticism: on the contrary, he recommends it. ‘I would,’ he says, ‘by no means decry

'criticism of any kind in its legitimate exercise; . . . let it be encouraged to the utmost, so long as it keeps in its proper sphere and bounds.' He has high praise to bestow on most of the great names we have mentioned, including Mr. Scrivener and Dr. Tregelles; but his commendations are not indiscriminate. Tischendorf's 'zeal and success in searching for MSS. and placing so many precious relics of early ages beyond the reach of ordinary accident, and his unexampled labour undergone in collecting, arranging, and publishing the materials for a revised text of the New Testament,' are said to 'entitle him to the gratitude of the Christian world.' But then, in the general result of Tischendorf's critical work, he sees, what other observers have recognised, one more proof that 'those qualities which make men indefatigable in accumulating minute observations and facts, are not always allied with the sound and comprehensive judgment, which is essential to determine the value of the facts, and to apply them to their practical uses.'¹ No one, we suppose, can have followed Tischendorf through his consecutive editions without a strong feeling of distrust in his critical judgment. In his edition of 1859, he shows much deference to cursive manuscripts in his lectional decisions; whereas in that of 1849, the recent codices appear but rarely, and 'never (says Mr. Scrivener) seem to influence his decisions. The total sum of variations in the text of these two books being 1292, in no less than 595 of these places he has returned, in 1859, to the Elzevir readings, which he had before deserted, but to which fresh materials and greater experience had brought him back; of the rest, no less than 430 places relate to modes of spelling, for which Tischendorf is now more willing than before to accept the oldest MSS. as his guides.'² We are not of those who feel dissatisfaction or surprise at what they would condemn in Tischendorf as retrograde and deteriorated criticism; much less are we disposed to raise the curious inquiry³ as to

¹ Danger to the Bible from Licentious Criticism, by Presbyter Septuagenarius. Letter I. p. 6.

² Scrivener. Plain Introduction, page 408.

³ In *The Journal of Philology* (vol. iv. p. 207) this point is referred to; 'An impression is, we believe, abroad that Tischendorf is now beginning to entertain some respect for the *Textus Receptus*. It is quite unfounded. Many of his present readings accidentally coincide with the "received" readings, but that is all. It is not that he prefers the bulk of late evidence to the weight of early evidence: but that he makes the worst or at least very bad evidence, if supported by a canon of probability, outweigh the best evidence standing alone. He is in fact wandering farther away from authority and nearer to the most arbitrary dicta of German commentators.' It seems to us too late to object to these *dicta* from Germany—when the whole question of probability from internal evidence in its relation to what this writer calls *authority*, is about to become the problem of textual science, and demands a solution, before F. J. A. H. or any other inquirer, however ardent, can hope to see the *τέλος* of their science attained, viz. the restitution of the sacred text. The writer (F. J. A. H.) goes on to say 'we do not complain of the

what may be the precise amount of the German critic's new affection for the Received Text; for obviously if, without starting from the said text, he yet (after a long and laborious circuit through the authorities) sees fit to return to it, and bestow on it the corroboration of his wide research, we should deem it in the highest degree a weakness to suspect his lectional decisions from their mere agreement with our venerable printed text. This were a prejudice, an *idolum mentis*, as irrational as any which Lachmann did battle against. If the Received Text, in any case, is vindicated in the course of legitimate criticism by sound authority, we frankly say we rejoice at the result. The *Textus Receptus* comes to us consecrated by the respectful use of Christian students during almost two centuries and a half. When Elzevir's editor apprised his reader (in words which Mr. Scrivener thinks were boastful), *textum ergo habes nunc ab omnibus receptum*, he at least expressed a prospective fact, which all subsequent time has verified; and it is precisely on this fact of the time-honoured influence of the old Greek Testament which our fathers delivered to us, that we base our strong objection to the method pursued by Tischendorf and Tregelles, and other critics, past and present, in experimenting so freely on the *Old Text*, before they agree how to replace it with a *New*. We are sure that the sensibility of (critically speaking) 'weak brethren' has been, and is still, more rudely shocked than is allowable by the suggestions of a deep and considerate charity; and it is in the interest of this *religiousness*, which should underlie the entire subject, that we repeat our earnest wish that the critics would suspend all operations on the Received Text until they see their way to some agreement in critical principles. Dr. Tregelles has sketched the lineaments of a real science in his 'Comparative

canons themselves but of the preposterous use of them.' Of course, 'preposterous use' is a vague charge, proceeding often from opinion, and even prejudice; with some (and F. J. A. H. appears to be of the number) it is preposterous to assimilate a reading to the *Textus Receptus*, after Lachmann and Tregelles have declared against it. Tischendorf is pronounced *preposterous* in Mark vi. 30, for venturing to decide with the *Textus Receptus* in favour of the reading, πάντα καὶ ὅσα ἐποίησαν καὶ ὅσα ἐβίβασαν—because he defers to a reasonable canon of probability (which F. J. A. H. 'does not complain of'), finding himself backed by respectable MS. authority. F. J. A. H. says indeed that the evidence against the reading is 'crushing'; but there is room for two opinions on such a point, as will be at once apparent from even Tregelles' note *in loc.* 'Add. καὶ τ. (text. recept.) A. rel. (all the MSS. except such as are quoted on the other side) Syr. Hel. Goth. | om B C D L Δ. 1. 33. EV. Latt. Syr. Pst. Memp. Arm. Æth.' Tischendorf's own authorities for his reading, besides the *Textus Receptus*, he thus gives; 'A C*** (third hand) F G H K M S U T, 124. al[ii] pl[urimi] goth. syr-p[osterior]' (or Philoxenian by Thomas Hel.). It seems to us, that no evidence counter to this can be rightly called *crushing*; and that to pronounce Tischendorf's practice *preposterous* on this occasion, when he applies a canon of internal evidence against B and some other manuscripts, on the highly influential authority of A and the Gothic and the Philoxenian Syriac versions, is itself preposterous censure.

Criticism;¹ let all who are competent lend help in filling in the outline, not in the spirit of speculation, but of patient labour—not rejecting any evidence whatever on *à priori* and hypothetical grounds, but in unsophisticated faith so working as to hope that all conscientious research, intelligently executed, will forward, however humbly and remotely, the solution of the great problem of Textual Science. That problem, as we saw at the beginning of our paper, is not the restoration of the text of this or that century, however early, but the bringing back of the Greek Testament, 'so far as may be, to the condition in which it stood in the sacred autographs.' It has become a serious consideration, how far the critical plan of Lachmann, however specious (and conscientious, as we will cordially add) be the plea set up for it of *antiquity*, is not really an obstacle in the way of the natural development of critical science. Lachmann's most devoted and loyal follower is Philip Buttmann, who gave him much valuable help in the preparation of his larger Greek Testament. In 1856, this scholar published, at Leipsic, from Teubner's press, a handy edition, with the various readings of Codex B and the Received Text, together with collations of the texts of Griesbach, Lachmann, and Tischendorf. We adduce this little volume as a unique specimen of one-sided criticism;

¹ While recognising with Mr. Scrivener (p. 395) the *felicity* with which Dr. Tregelles struck out this idea, we cannot but apprehend that its author has laid too narrow a foundation for so large a superstructure. The effect of his system may be almost described in the remarkable words in which he himself has characterized Lachmann's criticism: 'It must always be borne in mind that Lachmann did not profess to give a perfect text: and thus if a certain unquestionable error was attested by his authorities, they were to be followed in editing; not as supposing that such error proceeded from the sacred authors, but on the ground that it belonged to the *traditive text of the fourth century*.' See 'Printed Text,' p. 104. It has always seemed to us that all that Dr. Tregelles certainly offers us is this '*traditive text of the fourth century*,' whatever this phrase may mean. If by *traditive text* he means the text of the fourth century as descended through the previous centuries, does he not beg the question wholly and unsettle criticism with the very plea whereby he affects to establish it? When (to take a passing instance) *A* of the fifth century reads the received lection ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπύργῳ in Luke vi. 1, while *B* of the fourth century omits the peculiar and difficult adjective, we ask which is the *traditive text*? *A* of course does not represent the reading of the fourth century, if *B* is to be regarded as the witness of it; therefore it represents either a reading which originated in the fifth century, or else one that descended from at least the third century. In such a case *A* seems to us with far greater probability to record the older reading than *B*: and this (irrespectively of the cloud of witnesses which give it their testimony) from that internal evidence, which comparative criticism, to deserve the name, must not ignore. Bengel's axiom PROCLIVI SCRIPTORI PRESTAT ARDUA (which Tregelles says 'should be used when it really can,' p. 222.) if ever useful is decisive here. The omission of the δευτεροπύργῳ in MSS. of the fourth century is infinitely more probable than its fabrication in one of the fifth (especially if on other grounds omission is proved to be a characteristic of the former); accordingly we are not surprised to find the primitive versions, which are absolutely the best historical witnesses of the pre-fourth century text, on the same side as *A*, such as the old Latin *a. f. ff.*, with which agree all copies of the Vulgate.

in rigid consistency it excels, in many readings, even Lachmann himself. Putting the Vatican MS. in one scale, and all other authorities whatever in the other, this editor discovers a prodigious overbalance in favour of the solitary *B*!—*Textus Vaticanus* ‘integritate tantopere omnes codices, qui totum fere Novum Test. amplectuntur superat, ut *unus ille codex tantundem, ne dicam plus, valere videatur, quantum omnes alii, quos habemus, conjunctim*. Quare et huic codici et ipsi Novo Test. haud parvam inferremus injuriam si ejus lectiones sperneremus solum ex hac causa quod cæteri codices quamvis consentientes aliter legant. Quamobrem verba Vaticani ubique in textu retinui ita, ut ne summo quidem omnium aliorum testium consensu deterritus sim, quominus hoc facerem.’

This is rigorously, even to fanaticism, following up his master’s idea of adherence to the earliest MS. authority. It is not our intention to enlarge on the severe simplicity¹ of this procedure; of course it is not criticism, much less *comparative* criticism; we dismiss it in the judicious words of a French layman whom we have great pleasure in introducing to our readers. M. Berger de Xivrey, in the very interesting little work² which we have put at the head of our article shows an appreciation of our whole subject which is worthy of a countryman of Saumaise and R. Simon. In the extract, which we quote, the author delivers an opinion which is obviously impartial, inasmuch as it follows a passage in which full justice is done to what he calls the *chronologically* more ancient text of Alexandria, to which Lachmann was strongly attached, ‘même d’une manière trop exclusive.’

‘Je crois cependant³ devoir lui reprocher, ainsi qu’à M. Philippe Buttmann fils, son collaborateur, d’avoir laissé entièrement de côté les MSS. d’origine Constantinopolitaine, et de s’être par là privés d’une ressource d’autant plus précieuse que la plupart des manuscrits en lettres onciales offrent d’assez nombreuses lacunes, les moyens de contrôle sont ainsi diminués d’autant sur beaucoup de passages. On est trop heureux alors d’y pouvoir suppléer par le texte officiellement admis dans une Eglise qui a des docteurs tels que Saint

¹ No wonder if one meets with a rude rebound from so stringent a view. Our old friend *Presbyter Septuagenarius* has just written his fourth letter on this thesis; ‘I undertake to show, that this boasted Vatican MS. is not merely a false witness, but that the authors of its text were wilful falsifiers; that they altered Holy Scripture not in reference to the authority of Greek MSS. which they had before them, but in compliance with their own conceits and prejudices.’ (1) As moderate critics, we of course need not add our protest against so extravagant an attempt; but we are yet not surprised at this recalcitrancy against the untenable extreme on the other side, which seems to have provoked it.

² *Étude sur le texte et le style du Nouveau Test.* pp. 112, 113.

³ *I. e.* ‘notwithstanding’ the undoubted value, if not superiority, of the MSS. of the Alexandrine type over those of the Constantinopolitan; he had been eulogising the labours of Griesbach and after him of Lachmann, and criticising with no partial hand those of Scholz, whose conclusions he censures as frequently illogical: ‘Ce savant ne se montre pas toujours logicien très ferme; il expose les faits avec beaucoup de soin et parfois en tire des conclusions différentes de ce qu’on s’attend à voir sortir de son exposé.’—*Étude*, p. 107.

Chrysostome, Saint Basile le Grand, Saint Grégoire de Nazianze, Saint Grégoire de Nyse. D'ailleurs, si les manuscrits différents du type Constantinopolitain présentent des textes dont l'incorrection même est en général un argument d'authenticité, ils peuvent aussi porter la trace de certaines erreurs dues à l'ignorance des premiers intermédiaires, qui auront pu ne pas attacher à une stricte exactitude la même importance et mettre la même attention que la critique soigneuse et éclairée des chrétiens grecs du quatrième siècle. Si la politesse de ces derniers, en révisant le style de ce livre, a porté quelque altération à son caractère original, d'un autre côté leurs lumières ont pu leur faire relever certaines erreurs qui se seraient glissées dans les copies sans contrôle. Une édition donc qui n'a pas tenu compte d'un tel secours, peut avoir sa place parmi les matériaux utiles, elle peut fournir comme une sorte de résumé des textes différents du type Constantinopolitain; mais *délaisser le travail d'ensemble de Griesbach pour cette œuvre d'un système exclusif, et croire qu'un a dans l'édition de Lachmann le Nouveau Testament tel qu'on est en droit de l'attendre des sources réunies et attentivement comparées, ce serait un pas rétrograde.*

We were going to adduce some collations of our own, for the purpose of illustrating the futility of the supposition, that the most ancient MSS. are consentient in any degree which satisfies the demands of a just criticism; but our space is filled: we must postpone to other occasions that argument. It is not, however, out of place to record here our verdict on some striking comparisons made by Mr. Scrivener the other day, in the Introduction to his *Codex Augiensis*,¹ and now again in his present work,² in order to test the alleged agreement of the oldest uncials among themselves, and with the ancient versions and the testimony of the Fathers. The seven collations of the former passage have excited some attention; they were felt to be salient instances, and so summoned to the controversy Dr. Alford, who (after a long course of critical empiricism) has espoused, with great zeal, the principles of Dr. Tregelles. The result of Mr. Scrivener's examination induced him to differ decidedly from Dr. Tregelles, who had predicated the substantial agreement of the authorities: as a rejoinder, the Dean of Canterbury³ alleges 'unfairness' (unintentional, indeed, but real) in Mr. Scrivener's selections. To this expression of his opinion, he adds, quite *more scholæ*, a demurrer based on the assumed impregnability of the ancient authorities in their generally consentient testimony. This assumption is the *ægis* wherewith they repel the attacks of every assailant; every weapon wielded by the undrilled disputant, uninitiated in the transcendental criticism of the most recent masters, is blunted against that shield!

Quid Rhætus evolsisque truncis
Euceladus jaculator audax
Contra sonantem Palladis ægida
Possent ruentes?

¹ Pages ix. x.

² Pages 401, 402.

³ Prolegomena to vol. i. of his Greek Testament (4th edition), page 91.

But, seriously! when the inquiry affects the very gist of the thing, it does not do to be put off, or thrust aside, with strong allegations about the finality of the appeal to primeval testimony; this is itself the controverted point—the very *lis sub iudice*. It seems to us to be simply gratuitous and evasive of the point to pronounce Mr. Scrivener's 'instances of discrepancy' as 'in vain used by him to produce an impression *which we know would be contrary to the fact in the majority of instances.*' This italicised sentence makes, we are sure, a perfectly untenable averment. The progress of the patient MS. research which we have advocated tends to show that the more you unfold and examine the documents, whose character is as yet latent, the more of *independent* testimony do you discover, not only among the later cursives, which Tregelles would reject, but among the veritably ancient copies, such as Codd. $\aleph$ *A B C D*. Of these five Mr. Scrivener says: ¹—'The reader has but to open the first recent critical work he shall meet with, to see them scarcely ever in unison—perpetually divided, two against three, or perhaps four against one.' Put on his mettle by Dean Alford, Mr. Scrivener very naturally vindicates his former 'proofs,' not by simply reiterating them (which he was entitled to do in the absence of counter-proof from his opponent), but by the more effective method of producing others, which should be *hoste etiam testante* unexceptionable. In his new work he takes, as examples, for comparison, 'the first twelve passages in the Gospels extant, as well in the Curetonian Syriac as in Codd. *A B C D*, with the readings of $\aleph$ besides, as given by Tischendorf, in his *Notitia Cod. Sinait.* Undue selection,' he presumes, 'will be thus deemed impossible.' We cannot adduce the collations themselves; ² but our readers will, probably, thank us if we give Mr. Scrivener's sum of them:—

'The two oldest MSS. are $\aleph$ *B*; in these twelve places they differ seven times, and agree five times. Next in age and value to these two are *AC*; it may be questioned indeed, whether they be much inferior, as critical authorities, and they are certainly not a century younger than the best MS extant.'

We interrupt our quotation to express our regret that Mr. Scrivener countenances the strange assumption, however slightly, that *A* is one whit behind *B* as a critical authority; that the

¹ Plain Introduction, &c. p. 398.

² But we give the tenth as a sample: 'to ἐρεπου ἐβδομηκοντα of the Received Text, *δvo* is added by *B D M R*². 1 (Tregelles). 42. . . Cureton's Syriac, Arm., Old Latin, *a, c, e, l*, the Latin of Cod. 130, and Vulgate. But *δvo* is omitted in $\aleph$ *A C E G H K L S U V X r Δ A Δ Z* ("et *A C L A Z* in indice capitum" Tregelles), all Cursives, Peshito and Philoxenian Syriac, Memph., Gothic, Æthiopic, Old Latin, *b, f*, Irenæus and Tertullian very expressly, Eusebius *ter*. The "Recognitions" falsely ascribed to Clement of Rome, Epiphanius, Hilary, Augustine and some others receive *δvo*.'—Scrivener's 'Plain Introduction,' p. 402.

chronological age is too similar to create a disparity in this respect; their textual value is best¹ decided by the suffrages of other documents, which are four to one in favour of *A*.

'Now *A* supports the received text in eleven of these readings, *C* in nine, even $\aleph$ six times, *B* but twice. The Curetonian Syriac too divides its countenance pretty impartially: it is found in company with *D* (whose affinity to it is well known) six times, with *A* five, with $\aleph$ four, with *B* three, and *C* two. The peculiarities which distinguish *D* from other MSS. of its date and importance do not much appear in these examples; it coincides with $\aleph$ four times, with *A* five, with *B* three and *C* six. . . . Nor are the few later uncials which usually do service to Cod. *B* so constant in their allegiance as some might have anticipated. . . . The readings of Codd *R*, Ξ &c., if scrutinised with the same minuteness will exhibit much the same result. Codex Ξ , especially, which has been justly commended by Tregelles for "the goodness of its text," though defective in three of these twelve places, accords with the received text against Codex *B* in five out of the remaining nine, with *B* against it twice only, and twice with the two united.'

Mr. Scrivener may be excused for some self-complacency when on a review of his analysis he exclaims, 'I believe that Dean Alford will see that we have changed the *venue* without much disturbing the verdict.' What then is to be done amidst this conflict of evidence? *Work and wait*, we say; let the way to an ultimate conclusion be cleared, by the surrender of partial and party views. It is still premature to mangle the Received Text; still premature to publish new ones. With the exception, perhaps,² of the very celebrated 'clause of the Heavenly Witnesses,' not a single passage is so settled by the converging testimony of the MSS. and other legitimate authority, that it may be fairly offered to Christendom as a *textus ab omnibus recipiendus*. The arbitrement, when it comes, will not be an affair of diplomatic and historical evidence, only or even chiefly, but of critical principle, which will have to undergo much modification and improvement of its yet crude condition. Some remarks of Presbyter Septuagenarius (who is not always violent in his views), may here be quoted for their just opinion and forcible statement:—

'It is to be regretted that in these critics, or in most of them, there is an ambitious eagerness to frame and put forth a complete text of the New Testament. They forget that when they have collected and digested, and arranged the *variantes* of MSS. and Versions and Authorities; when they have ascertained the age and accuracy of their *codices*, the faithfulness and idiomatic

¹ If we turn to *internal* evidence, we must say, that (with Presbyter Septuagenarius) we find in the generally *omissive* character of *B* as compared with *A* great ground for suspicion. 'In the Gospels read publicly in the Church from the earliest times an *interpolation* of importance would have been immediately detected by the hearers, not so immediately an *omission*,' &c. Letter iv. p. 8.

² Mon. Berger de Xivrey (*Étude*, &c., p. 153) is for including, however, even this text in printed editions of the Greek Testament, although he adds this recommendation—'le marquer d'un signe de suspicion très visible, pour attirer forcément l'attention du lecteur sur les graves objections,' &c.

niceties of the versions; the dependence which is to be placed on the verbal memory of the Fathers; when they have balanced all this evidence, and drawn their conclusions, and arrived at a judgment just and reasonable, the work of textual criticism is not *completed*, it is but *commenced*. There remains the far more difficult task of searching and weighing the *internal* evidence; and to this is necessary a lofty view of man in his history, thought, language; an acquaintance with the manner and tone of the whole inspired volume; the ability to dive into the mind of each individual writer; a knowledge of his exact object, of the persons to whom he wrote, of the time and circumstances of his writing, of his peculiarities in language and style, and other like points. And, for a right judgment on these, very different qualities of intellect are required from those which make men excellent readers of MSS. and collators of authorities. When the accurate and ripe scholar has accomplished all this, he may possibly be in a position to edit a text of the New Testament. Yet even then, a right-minded man would desire the aid of other qualified persons, before he set aside that which had been reputed sacred by his forefathers for generations, and had formed their godly rule of faith and practice.'

This view of the critical science may be deemed transcendental, and indeed impracticable from its very elevation:— 'perspicuum est emendationi perfectæ et absolutæ non sufficere naturæ humanæ imbecillitatem;' so said Lachmann,¹ on a point in his system, which we must notice before we conclude this article. Lachmann has been censured and defended by foe and friend too indiscriminately: on the one hand, his plan of *Recension* has been carped at, as if it were the *sole* constituent of his critical system, and narrowed unreasonably the ground of evidence;² on the other hand, his *Supplementary Emendation*, where not ignored, has been (we cannot but think) dismissed with too summary a censure, and in quarters where we should least suspect unfriendly opinion. It is in his preface to his second volume [New Testament, larger edition], that Lachmann discusses the subject of *Emendation* (as he had treated the correlative question of *Recension* in his first volume); and no portion of his learned labours seems to us to be more worthy of attention, and indeed more calculated to rescue him from the imputation of a narrow and a hasty criticism, than this discussion, and his subsequent application of it—yet, strange to say, this is the point which Dr. Tregelles singles out for his mild condemnation:³—

'Although,' he says, 'Lachmann never wrote the full remarks on passages which he had once intended to have done, he prefixed to his second volume a few notes on readings, which had called forth the observations of De Wette and others. In these notes he gives occasionally his own conjectures as to the *true* readings of passages, using the traditive reading [that attested by his few good MSS. B, etc., and his critical Latin Version] of the oldest documents as his basis of argument. These in general call for no further notice here; for they belong not to Lachmann's principles as an editor, but to his own personal opinions (!)

¹ Præfatio, tom. ii. Nov. Test. p. iii. (1850).

² Mr. Scrivener's remarks in pp. 341, 342, are but the echo of the usual opinion entertained of Lachmann's treatment of MS. testimony.

³ Printed Text, p. 111.

and though it may be freely admitted that all ancient books may contain errors of copyists, so old as to precede all documentary means of their restoration, yet, when we have such united witnesses as we possess (?) to the text of the New Testament, it would be useless and rash in the extreme to depart from what has been transmitted, in search of something which we may *suppose* or *imagine*.’

Dr. Tregelles elsewhere speaks disapprovingly of what he calls ‘Lachmann’s tendency to indulge in *subjectiveness*,’ an indulgence which, whatever is to be thought of the great German critic, is not chargeable on his censor.¹ But it is impossible to insinuate against Lachmann charges of ‘subjectiveness,’ ‘imagination,’ or yielding to ‘personal opinions,’ in his textual manipulation; this were to class him among those whom he expressly condemns as *emendationi studentes ante recensionem*. We have freely expressed censure of his too limited field of recension, and we sympathise with Mr. Scrivener generally in his views on this head; but this must not hinder us from doing justice, as we conceive, to Lachmann’s ‘Emendation theory,’ which has not received the careful attention it deserves: we cannot do better than quote some excellent remarks from his Preface to volume II—they will serve to illustrate an important subject, and to afford a sufficient answer to Dr. Tregelles’ too hasty censure:—

‘Postquam . . . de *recensendi* arte satis dixi, tempus erat agere de *emendatione*: ejus finis est veri-similia cognoscere, a veri-similibus progredi ad vera: sunt autem *veri-similia*, quorum contraria aut nullos habent testes aut produunt corrigendi consilium: *vera* sunt aut hæc ipsa veri-similia, cum scriptoris ingenio et consilio adcommodata sunt, aut alia his proxima ob sententiam auctoris recte representandam per conjecturam quærenda sive arte sive divinatione: itaque neque verum quid sit intellegi potest neque conjecturæ locus est, nisi prius quid veri-simile sit perceperis: veri autem simile esse potest omne quod a recensente aut in ambiguo relictum est aut spretum: neque vero aut id quod verum est aut veri-simile cognoscitur nisi iudicio iis quæ testes tamquam vera protulerunt adhibito: cui iudicio quoniam ratio certa ac demonstratio subesse debet ab eruditione et ab observatione repetenda, perspicuum est emendationi perfectæ et absolutæ non sufficere naturæ humanæ imbecillitatem: nam testium singulorum fidem explorare licet, singula eorum testimonia examinare infinitum est, item scriptoris et voluntas et ingenium in multis cognosci potest, in omnibus et singulis non potest.’²

Here it will be seen, emendation is based on, and comes after, recension; whatever else may be thought of it—there is nothing of the charlatan’s craft in it; no unscholarly shifts; no evasion

¹ A very friendly reviewer says, ‘We are bound however to add, that Dr. Tregelles has adhered too rigidly to what are in fact principles of *recension*, in an edition which aims at more than recension; that is, that he has been too fearful of ever trusting to slender direct authority, though supported by the conflict of other ancient authorities, or strong internal evidence: in one word the process has been too mechanical. . . . The only internal consideration to which Dr. Tregelles practically allows much weight is that of corruption from parallel passages.’ F. J. A. H. in *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, Vol. IV. p. 209.

² Prefatio Caroli Lachmanni, N. T. tomus alter, *sub init.*

of difficulties (as Paley would say); no getting at conclusions by short and compendious methods. On the contrary, Lachmann's *emendator* must be a sagacious and accomplished judge, fully conversant with evidence for and against, and able to balance it from his skill in critical diagnosis—in short (adapting the apostolic phrase to a somewhat different sense), he must be *τελεός, ὁ διὰ τὴν ἔξιν τὰ αἰσθητήρια γεγυμνασμένα ἔχων πρὸς διάκρισιν καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ*.¹ We are far from supposing that Lachmann attained to this perfection; we have seen, indeed, that he did not arrogate it—he rather presented to the public his critical labours (whether of recension or of emendation) as a contribution, which might remove impeding prejudices, and stop a gap, and excite others to 'enter into his labours,' and improve on them as far as might be possible . . . 'fortasse tamen post hæc tempora aliquem ad veram rationem cognoscendam ducere ejusque studia adjuvare possent.' We add one more quotation from this interesting preface, because of its piety:—

'Equidem ego cum ita institutus essem servi fidelis esse in talento quod accepisset operari, amicis hortantibus ante hos viginti tres annos eam artem quam me accurate cognovisse scirem ad libros sacras adhibere cœpi, nullo cum fastu, nullaque vanitate ductus, sed ut quantum possem ecclesiæ prodessem;² neque enim despiciebam theologos,' &c.

The conscientiousness and ability of the man have been acknowledged, even where his system has not been accepted; and the great unknown who is yet to put the top-stone on the edifice of a finished criticism, will be found by and by, not despising Lachmann in that which Dr. Tregelles almost ignores, his principles of emendation. We saw just now what the points were which Dr. Tregelles considers to be flaws vitiating the criticism of Lachmann: a few words are necessary on each. 'These (he says, referring to the applications of the emendation theory) call for no further notice, *for they belong not to Lachmann's principles as an Editor, but to his own personal opinions*;' this is the first allegation to which we demur, and the second follows, wherein the writer deems emendation to be in fact un-

¹ Hebrews v. 14.

² It is worth while to add the words of Dr. Tregelles, marked as they are by a similar spirit of self-abnegation and desire of labouring to benefit others: 'I trust that my labours, now carried on for many years, have been, in measure at least, under the guidance of God, and that they have been followed by His blessing. I have sought to serve Christ in serving His Church. . . . In the result I must unfeignedly rejoice: even though my Greek Testament and the labour of my life becomes merely one of the almost unnoticed steps by which the Hall of Truth is entered. Reverential, Christian men of more learning, more sagacity, and more richly endowed with critical materials may be able to accomplish more than I have done or ever can do; but thus much will still remain to me (and surely it is enough), that I have honestly and prayerfully toiled in the right direction, and that this toil has not been wholly unsuccessful.'—'Greek Testament,' part II. Introductory notice, p. iv.

called for, 'when we have *such united witnesses* as we possess to the text of the New Testament.' We should be fairly perplexed to account for such statements from so well-informed and accurate a writer as Dr. Tregelles, were we not aware that man at his best estate is full of idiosyncrasies which warp his judgment. Dr. Tregelles is so full of the notion that the MSS. and other documentary witnesses of the early centuries are to settle all the textual problems for us, that he cannot tolerate what Lachmann calls '*divination*;' still it is surprising, in the face of the passages we have quoted from this distinguished critic, that Dr. Tregelles denies the application of 'internal' considerations to be a *part* of Lachmann's system; it seems to us that no one can read Lachmann's 'notes' without perceiving that *emendation* and *recension* (i.e. internal judgment, as well as external evidence) are integral and even correlative forces in the author's critical dynamics. We will take the note on Matthew xxvii. 28, to exemplify our statement:—

'Matthæi 27, 28, και ΕΝΔΥΣΑΝΤΕΣ αὐτὸν χλαμύδα κοκκίνην περιέθηκαν αὐτῷ
hic iste De Wettii interpretes per se intellegit scribendum esse ΕΚΔΥΣΑΝΤΕΣ,
neque id multos olim vidisse mirandum est; sed recensio ab emendatione,
quantum per testes fieri potest, sejuncta hoc nobis commodi præbet, ut ex ea
appareat, mendæ antiquissimæ quàm tutæ in possessione permanserint.'

Who can deny that the emendatory element enters largely into such criticism? and if the Lachmannian text *in loco* reads the word which the critic's judgment disapproved, it was not from the love of paradox that he so constructed it, but from the fanciful desire to register, as it were, in his very text the erroneous lections, which have held their own from the earliest ages—*ut ex ea [recensione] appareat mendæ antiquissimæ quam tutæ in possessione permanserint*. We are not concerned to vindicate Lachmann in this fanciful text-making; our object for the moment is to prove that his emendation had a real part to play in his system, a fact which Dr. Tregelles unaccountably gainsays. On the whole operation of editing *ἐνδύσαντες* in the printed text, while the critic's judgment preferred the rival reading of *ἐκδύσαντες*, we know not how to express our opinion more fairly and fitly than in the words of Mr. Scrivener;¹ and these words of so competent a person will also dispose of Dr. Tregelles' strange hallucination about '*the united witnesses*,' which he fondly supposes '*we possess to the text of the New Testament*.' Mr. Scrivener says:—

'Had the whole range of MSS. Versions and Fathers been searched, no other testimony in favour of *ἐνδύσαντες* could have been found save Cod. 157, ff^o of the old Latin, the Latin version of Origen, and one Codex of Chrysostom. Against these we might set the vast mass of witnesses exceeding those on the opposite side by full a hundred to one; yet, because Cod. A, and the Latin

¹ Plain Introduction, &c., page 343.

Vulgate alone are on Lachmann's list, he is compelled by his system' [limiting his evidential documents to the fourth and fifth centuries at the latest,] 'to place *ἐνδύσας* in the text as the reading of his authorities, reserving to himself the privilege of removing it on the ground of its palpable impropriety; and all this because he wishes to keep the "recensio" of the text distinct from the "emendatio" of the sense. Surely, it were a far more reasonable, as well as a more convenient process to have reviewed from the first the entire case on both sides, and if the documentary evidence were not unevenly balanced, or internal evidence strongly preponderated in one scale, to place in the text once for all the reading which upon the whole should appear best suited to the passage and most sufficiently established by authority.¹

We now close our article, having found our way back to the valuable volume of Mr. Scrivener, with which we set out. Reiterating our opinion of the great utility of the work, presenting as it does to the student the latest researches in textual criticism, and giving him on the whole the safest opinions of the science, we conclude with a remark or two, very obvious indeed to one who travels to any great extent over this field of investigation, which may serve as a moral to our long story.

Griesbach (whom we have already eulogised, as upon the whole approaching nearest to our idea of a thorough critic of all the truly great men that have adorned the sacred science before us) said, with an admirable appreciation of the grandeur of his pursuit; 'Quidquid ad Sacri codicis integritatem tuendam, puritatemque textui Sacro restituendam pertinet, leve videri debet nemini.' Now it is much to the credit of all textual critics of any mark, that they seem to have never lost sight of the gravity of their self-assumed responsibility: amidst much exhibition of personal vanity and weakness of temper,² the men to whose labours

¹ If we wanted a salient instance of the futility of Dr. Tregelles' view of 'the united testimony' of the primitive witnesses, we could not find a more decided one than in his own note on this passage: notwithstanding his preference for *B* over *A* he is constrained to follow the latter in the text of this place, adding this note which, with scores besides, flings to the winds the dream about the *united testimony*, &c. "*ἐνδύσας* *A N L Δ*. 1. 33. 69. rel. Vulg. *f. ff.*¹ *g.*¹ (nt vid.) *g.*² *h.* Syrr. Pst. & Hel. Syr. Hier. Memph. Theb. Arm. *Evs.* *D. E.* 504^c. | *ἐνδύσας*, *B D. a. b. c. ff.*² *Orig. Int.* iii. 919^a."

² From the days of Erasmus, Stanica, and Lee to the present time a strange epidemic of personal animosity has raged among the critics; the pity is that critical differences should have so often led up to these personal dislikes. The great names of the various periods of our critical science seem in every instance to have had to contend with painful rivalry and misunderstandings—too often degenerating into private resentment. To say nothing of Bentley and Boyle (as hardly within our subject), Mill had Whitby as his 'thorn in the side,' Bengel had Wetstein, and Griesbach had Matthæi, the veriest wasp of critics. And we are sorry to add Lachmann to the list of the quick-tempered genus: Mr. Scrivener censures his irritability and Dr. Tregelles excuses it—but from the honourable motive of private friendship, which we admire, if we do not accept (Scrivener, page 341). Dr. Tregelles himself, we extremely regret to say, has suffered from the wretched temper and bad taste of no less a man than Tischendorf. The personalities of the German critic's wounded jealousy (occurring in the *Preface* of the last edition of his large Greek Testament, pp. 120, &c.) are only less violent than Matthæi's downright scurrilities, flung so wildly against the meek and patient Griesbach; this ill-tempered man used to call opinions contrary to his own

textual criticism owes its whole existence, seem always by a happy instinct to have kept their sacred subject pure and uncontaminated by subjective infirmities. We rejoice to have an opportunity of again quoting from M. Berger de Xivrey's interesting treatise, a passage, which we venture to translate:—

'One point there is which we cannot help remarking on, as inspiring a powerful interest in the study of New Testament criticism; it is, the perfect good faith of those worthies who have earned distinction in its pursuit. The search after truth is their ardent desire, the constant end of their labours; and they are in general seen pursuing their purpose, without the least bias of doctrine, whatever be the communion to which they belong, whatever the tendency of their religious views. Thus Scholz, a Catholic priest, favours the Byzantine text, although it is more remote than all others from the Vulgate. . . . On the other hand, Griesbach and Lachmann, Protestants, prefer what is called the Alexandrine text: its greater resemblance to the text favoured by the Church of Rome does not deter them from thinking it the most authentic. Wetstein is another instance of impartiality; apparently imbued with the leading error of the Socinian school, he still presents in all their force such passages as are most confirmatory of the divinity of Jesus Christ.'

At the end of his treatise, M. Berger de Xivrey offers to persons who feel disquietude at the results of Textual Criticism, some reassuring words, which remind us of some remarks of Bentley. Our readers will probably accept the following sentences of both those authors, as a suitable conclusion to our article—of more value indeed than any of our own, because of the authority they carry.

'Finally,' says our French author, 'let us observe that the various readings which are most significant in sense, including such as involve a perceptible modification in rendering, are much fewer than might be supposed from all the labours of collation. Even after the century and a half which has intervened between Dr. Mill and our own days, and which has been the most prolific epoch in the criticism of the New Testament, one is struck, on comparing any two of the most divergent texts, with the small amount of difference between them; we also perceive that the infinite variety of minute differences of reading, which have been collected at great cost of patience and learning, is mainly owing to the importance which men have felt to be due to the least words of the sacred text. One therefore admits, with the apologists of Dr. Mill,* that those countless readings, which import so few real modifications

'convicia ranarum et latratus canum;' and his adversaries were 'nova et monstrosa animalia critico-theologica, in Germaniæ quibusdam locis, tanquam serpentes in speluncis, abdita.' We know not whether Tischendorf has made amends to Tregelles for the attack, which Tischendorf's own statement alone justifies us in condemning. But an apology is due, not only for Dr. Tregelles' sake, but because of the sacred cause they both have in hand, and of the shocked sensibilities of Christianly-disposed readers.

* *Étude sur le Texte*, pp. 107, 108.

* Of these none can be compared, for a right judgment in this subject, with the illustrious Bentley; we extract one or two valuable sentences from his 'Remarks on Free-Thinking.' 'The real text of the sacred writers is competently exact indeed, even in the worst MS. now extant: nor is one article of faith or moral precept either perverted or lost in them—choose as awkwardly as you can, choose the worst by design, out of the whole lump of readings.' Again: 'Make your thirty thousand various readings as many more, if numbers of copies can ever reach that sum; all the better to a knowing and serious reader, who is

into the context, are so far from shaking the faith of the Christian, that they on the contrary confirm it; and that the more inconsiderable is the result of critical labours in a literary point of view, the greater is the advantage which accrues to religion.'

'Verbum Dei,' said the excellent Griesbach, 'verbum Dei manet in æternum, nec incertum fit studiis criticorum modestorum atque piorum, qui unice id agunt, ut, Deo auxiliante, quam possunt maxime verbum Dei reddant certissimum.'

[POSTSCRIPT.—The writer of this article has for some time had it in mind to collect the New Testament readings (such as are available for purposes of criticism, according to the rules of J. D. Michaelis and Mr. Scrivener, p. 286), which occur in the works of S. CHRYSOSTOM, S. BASIL, and S. ATHANASIUS, using the best editions to be had. As, however, a wish for the accomplishment of such collations has been for some time publicly expressed, it is not improbable that some scholars have already undertaken this valuable labour. In order to prevent useless researches, the writer ventures to make this public reference to the subject, in hopes that he is not asking too great a favour if he requests any gentleman, who may be preoccupied in a similar project, to communicate with him, through the editor of the *Christian Remembrancer*. As the writer's object is simply to effect the doing of a very serviceable work by competent hands, he would readily surrender his own labours, or pursue them in combination with others, or endeavour to carry them out himself to the best of his ability and opportunity. The value of such undertakings has been often acknowledged. Griesbach gave a practical attestation of his opinion, in his *Collations from Origen and Clement Alex.* [*Symbolæ Criticæ*, tom. II.] Mr. Scrivener has some very suitable remarks on the subject in pp. 283—286, and 394. But no one has more strikingly described the importance of textual collation from Patristic writings than the judicious and intelligent Bengel: 'Recentiores patres Græci singuli,' he says, '*fere codicibus Græcis singulis æquiparari possunt, Latini Latinis. Antiqui vero et Græci et Latini excellentem habent auctoritatem.*' *Introductio in crisin N. T.* § 32, obs. xx. consid. vi.]

thereby more richly furnished to select what he sees genuine. But even put them into the hands of a knave or a fool; and yet with the most sinistrous and absurd choice he shall not extinguish the light of a single chapter; nor so disguise Christianity but that every feature of it will still be the same.' Again: 'It is a good providence and a great blessing that so many MSS. of the New Testament are still amongst us—some procured from Egypt, others from Asia, others found in the Western Churches: for the very distances of places as well as numbers of the books demonstrate, that there could be no collusion, no altering nor interpolating one copy by another, nor all by any of them.' Once more: 'Dr. Mill did not make the various readings and coin them, he only exhibited them to our view. If religion therefore was true before, though such various readings were in being; it will be as true, and consequently as safe still, though everybody sees them. Depend upon it, no truth, no matter of fact fairly laid open, can ever subvert true religion.' § xxxii. *passim*.

- ART. IV.—I. *Antient Jerusalem*. By JOSEPH FRANCIS THRUPP, M.A. Cambridge: Macmillan & Co. 1855.
2. *Jerusalem: A Sketch of the City and Temple from the Earliest Times to the Siege by Titus*. By THOMAS LEWIN, Esq. London: Longman & Co. 1861.
3. *Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines*. By EMILY A. BEAUFORT. Vol. II. London: Longman & Co. 1861.
4. *Notes on the Site of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem*. By JAMES FERGUSSON. London: Murray. 1861.
5. *Plan de Jérusalem, ancienne et moderne*. Par le Docteur ERMETE PIEROTTI, Architecte-Ingénieur, Ancien Commandant du Génie Sarde. Paris. 1861. London: Messrs. Bell & Daldy.
6. *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*. Par M. le Comte VOGÜÉ. Paris. 1860.

WHEN we took leave of the topography of Jerusalem just three years ago, we ventured to express the conviction that we should have occasion to recur to the subject again from time to time, and we further indicated that the most important field of research in connexion with these investigations lay, not on the surface of the modern city, but many feet—probably many yards—beneath the present level of the soil, under the accumulation of centuries of *débris*, ‘the desolation of many generations.’ We could scarcely then have ventured to anticipate either that the time was so near when the opportunity would be afforded for a complete survey of subterranean Jerusalem, or that the result of such a survey would be to reveal to us such startling records of its past history, as have actually been brought to light within the last few years; for, in fact, before the article above referred to was written, the memorials of three thousand years, literally ‘graven with an iron pen in the rock for ever,’ were being gradually unfolded by one well qualified, by a careful study of Holy Scripture and of Josephus, to interpret the scroll as it was unrolled before his astonished eyes.

The time, then, has obviously come when we shall be more than justified in recurring to this subject, ever full of lively interest; as the list of books prefixed to this article, and published within the last two or three years, abundantly demonstrates; for all these the authors, with scarcely one exception, have been occupied with the old materials; building up their theories, so to speak, with fragments ready to their hands, and

endeavouring to reconstruct a compact and well-arranged city, mostly on baseless speculations.

It was our good fortune, when preparing our former article, to have the unsolicited assistance of a then recent traveller in Palestine, before a perfect stranger to us, kindly volunteered; we have been even more happy on the present occasion. We had scarcely taken the matter in hand, when we became acquainted with the gentleman whose name stands at the head of this paper as the author of the best and most authentic plan of Jerusalem hitherto published. Dr. Ermete Pierotti has already become well known to Jerusalem archæologists by incidental notices of his labours and their results in the *Athenæum* and in the pages of recent travellers; and if he had had his due, all the late discoveries in Jerusalem, which have been paraded in the French papers in connexion with certain senators, abbés, and *savans*, would have been credited to his account. A scientific education and active service as an officer of engineers, first in the Austrian and afterwards in the Sardinian army, furnished him with precisely the qualifications necessary to enable him to turn to the best account the opportunities which have been presented to him by a residence of eight years in Jerusalem, during three years of which he has held the honorary appointment of architect-engineer to the Pasha of Jerusalem, which has allowed him free access to all parts of the city, including the sacred precincts of the Haram esh-Sherif, or Great Mosk, the undoubted and unquestioned site of the Jewish Temple. Although with characteristic liberality Signor Pierotti has not only communicated to us all his discoveries within this hitherto mysterious inclosure, and in other parts of the city, but has placed them at our absolute disposal, it is not our intention to do more than indicate their nature with a view rather to excite than to satisfy curiosity; for it would be vain to attempt to do full justice to them without plans, and sections, and diagrams, which would be unsuitable to such a publication as this; and we have the gratification of being able to announce that the Doctor himself is preparing for the press a special work on the archæology of Jerusalem, with all the details of his important investigations; and we have no wish, as we have no right, to anticipate his revelations.

Our object in this article will be rather to clear the ground and pave the way for the establishment of certain points in the topography of Jerusalem, which must, we apprehend, become incontestably fixed by his discoveries, and to subject some recent theories to the test of history and reason, for the purpose of showing that Signor Pierotti's discoveries are in complete accordance with both.

We shall confine ourselves for the present to the question of the site of the Temple, known as the Haram esh-Sherif, not only because the most important operations of Dr. Pierotti have been carried on in those precincts, but because the misapprehensions of recent authors on this subject seem to call most urgently for correction.

Before, however, we proceed to the proper subject of this paper, it will be worth while to cast a passing glance on the present state of the controversy concerning the topography of Jerusalem, the history of which in a literary point of view promises to be as interesting as the episode of the Crusades in the history of mediæval civilization. A few years since it was thought that the views of Dr. Robinson on the topography of ancient Jerusalem were sufficiently revolutionary, as they were certainly destructive of all received theories and subversive of nearly all established data. More recent experience has shown us that Dr. Robinson was conservatism personified in comparison with later archæologists. His main errors consisted in finding a valley where, in fact, no valley at all exists, as the recent excavations and levellings of Dr. Pierotti prove to demonstration; and in the consequent misplacement of the hill of Acra. But he was content to leave Mount Sion in the position assigned to it certainly for two thousand years; and, notwithstanding his suspicion of traditional evidence, he was fain to accept the united testimony of all time and of all creeds concerning the site of Solomon's Temple. A more daring spirit of innovation has since called in question these and other equally well-authenticated conclusions, and has demanded a complete readjustment of the ancient topography of Jerusalem, as little palatable to Dr. Robinson as to his stanchest opponents. Indeed, the embroglio of parties in this absorbing controversy has become so great that it must be difficult for the various champions to distinguish friends from foes in the exciting *mêlée*, and it not unfrequently happens that a heavy blow aimed at the head of an adversary falls with redoubled force on the casque of an ally. Indeed, the confusion seems to become worse confounded, as ever and anon a new combatant enters the field; for, as if in compensation for every argument he supplies to his friends, he furnishes two to their adversaries; and the '*nodus vindice dignus*' has become so entangled, that it is high time that the arbiter should appear: and we have little doubt that this office will be performed by Dr. Pierotti, who alone is equal to the task.

It is a singular fact that, in the progress of this controversy, Dr. Robinson and Mr. Williams, who were originally most diametrically opposed, and who still maintain their respective views almost without modification, have come to be more nearly

agreed than any two other recent writers that can be named, of those who have taken part in the controversy in England. Mr. Fergusson's original theory of the identity of the Dome of the Rock with Constantine's Church of the Holy Sepulchre has as yet found no other advocate, though it has now been published fifteen years; but he has been more fortunate with his scarcely less original theories of the position of Mount Sion and the situation of the ancient Temple within the present inclosure of the Haram. On both these questions he has enlisted the support of Mr. Thrupp and of Mr. Lewin; the latter of whom, however, is so far from sharing his view of the Constantinian origin of the Dome of the Rock, that he has summed up the evidence strongly in favour of the identity of the site of the existing Sepulchre Church, not only with that fixed by Constantine, but with the actual place of our Lord's entombment.

We now proceed to the main questions at issue between Messrs. Fergusson, Thrupp, and Lewin, on the one side, and Dr. Robinson and Mr. Williams on the other; and shall for the present postpone the consideration of what Mr. Lewin would perhaps call the cross suit of '*Fergusson v. Lewin and others.*'

The questions are two: 1st. Is Mount Sion rightly placed on the south-west hill of the modern city?

2dly. The Haram inclosure being granted as the site of the Temple, did the Temple occupy its south-west angle, as Mr. Fergusson and his party contend; or was it situated on the raised platform of the Dome of the Rock, as Dr. Robinson, Professor Willis, Mr. Williams, and Signor Pierotti maintain?

I. The position of Sion was first called in question, we believe, by Dr. Clarke, who would have removed it to the south side of the valley of Hinnom, a position utterly inconsistent with all possible theories of the topography of the ancient city, which has found no one advocate except its eccentric proposer. It is utterly unworthy of serious notice, particularly as Dr. Clarke does not appear to have studied either Josephus or the site of the modern city; and his visit was too hurried to allow him to become acquainted with the main elements of the questions which he has so dogmatically decided, in a sense utterly subversive of all historical data and all rational criticism.

In recent times, Mr. Fergusson, we believe, was the first to propose the transference of Sion across the Tyropæon, *i.e.* from the south-west quarter of the modern city to the eastern hill. In this he is followed by Mr. Thrupp and Mr. Lewin, against the authority of the historical records of upwards of two thousand years, as the advocates of the theory themselves admit.

And here, before we enter upon the discussion of the main

question, it will be well to endeavour to correct a common misconception with reference to the authorities to which we must appeal for all the historical facts involved in the questions at issue. An unreasonable prejudice against traditionary evidence is one of the many evil consequences which have resulted from three centuries of controversy with the Church of Rome; and if any received fact in the topography or archæology of Jerusalem can once be branded with the mark of traditionary evidence, it is thenceforth effectually tabooed in the genuine Protestant mind. Dr. Robinson, Mr. Fergusson, and others, have not been slow to avail themselves of this extravagant antipathy to a perfectly innocent word, in order to discredit the sacred sites, and to establish their own peculiar views, which meanwhile are utterly devoid of any evidence whatever, traditionary or other. A great part of their arguments consists in nothing else but a depreciation of the value of such traditionary evidence as is opposed to their novel theories; for they are fully aware that, whatever may be the popular objection to ancient tradition, there is none—in the same quarters, at least—to original speculation, however bold and however destructive in its results. It is very amusing to find how completely the question of the authenticity of the sacred sites has been substituted for the solifidian formula as the '*articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*' among Dr. Gobat's communion at Jerusalem. Lady Strangford's pages bear frequent witness to the fact that the acceptance of Dr. Robinson's *views* on ancient Jerusalem, *pur et simple*—various and contradictory as they often are—is the sole means of insuring a tranquil sojourn in Jerusalem among the members, whether of the Episcopal or Consular factions, into which the (nominally) Anglican communion is divided. In fact, she found, on this point at least, greater toleration in the Latin Patriarchate than in the English (?) Episcopal palace; so that it is actually safer to question the genuineness of the site of the Holy Sepulchre among Roman Catholics than to venture a hint of its possible authenticity among the Protestants.

But it is surely a misapplication of terms to speak of the evidence for the site, *e.g.* of the Temple or Sepulchre at Jerusalem, as *traditionary*, except as all history is tradition. If we are to draw a contrast between traditionary and historical evidence to the prejudice of the former, at least let us have a clear understanding of the terms which we are using, and in all fairness restrict the suspicious name of tradition to oral evidence. An example will illustrate our meaning. Suppose that Mr. G. G. Scott, in his recent '*Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*,' had been anxious to establish the position that the site of the present minster is not identical

with that of the church in which Edward the Confessor was buried, and William the Conqueror crowned, he would have done wisely to represent that their identity rests on traditionary evidence. But it would have been a gross misuse of language so to write, for no historical fact is more clearly established by contemporaneous and continuous authority. That the existing cathedral of S. Paul, London, occupies the site of the pointed building burnt in the fire of London in A. D. 1666, is not a tradition, but an undoubted historical fact: that the original cathedral occupied the site of a pagan temple of Diana is properly a tradition, resting, so far as we know, on no historical basis, however remarkably confirmed by the curious facts recorded by Camden. But its actual erection and dedication by Ethelbert, for its first bishop, Mellitus, as narrated by Bede, is an historical statement, for the establishment of which we are not to be challenged to the fruitless search of the annals of the eleven centuries which have elapsed since the death of the venerable historian; we are only concerned to investigate his general credibility and the probable means of accurate information which he had within his reach, in documents which have since perished, concerning a fact which took place less than seventy years before his death.

The utter neglect of these elementary principles of historical criticism in dealing with the archæology of Jerusalem has obliged us to be thus explicit in the re-statement of them; but we shall not apply them here further than to vindicate the phraseology which we shall adopt in this discussion. We decline to give the innovators the advantage they claim by assuming for the sites which they desire to subvert the suspected name of traditionary. For us the records of the Early Church of Jerusalem, including those which relate to the sites of the Holy Sepulchre and Golgotha, copied by Eusebius, in the fourth century, from the memoirs of Hegesippus, in the second, are authentic history of the first quality. The Sion of the modern Jerusalem, identical as it is acknowledged to be with that of the Maccabees, more than two thousand years ago, is no traditionary site: it is the historical Sion in a more emphatic sense than it can be predicated, *e.g.* of any of the seven hills of Rome, that they are what they profess to be.

Whether or not this historical Sion is the authentic and original Sion is of course another question, which we have no wish at all to shirk; and as there is a period anterior to the Maccabees during which the continuity of the chain of historical evidence may possibly have been interrupted, it will be our duty to examine the arguments adduced in support of the theory of the transference of Sion. If we rightly understand the argument

of Mr. Thrupp, it is this:—That in the time of the Maccabees the two names of Sion and the City of David, which had originally belonged to one and the same hill, had come to be applied to the two opposite hills of the city: that the western mount which corresponds with the ‘upper city’ of Josephus was then called Sion, and the eastern mount, on which the Macedonian fortress was situated, and which was either part of the Temple mount or attached to it, was designated the City of David, and was in fact the original Sion. How or when the name of Sion was transferred to the western hill cannot be decided with accuracy, but the transference probably dates from the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity. The misnomer once fixed to the hill has been perpetuated to this day, and the united testimony of all the inhabitants of Jerusalem for the last twenty centuries is only a remarkable example of the tenacity and universality of inveterate error. Meanwhile, it is maintained that the Scriptures of the Old Testament, in the historical, poetical, and prophetic books, have borne constant witness against the prevailing misapplication of this sacred name; and nothing more is necessary for the conviction and correction of this catholic error than a careful consideration of the Sacred Text. To this, then, we must presently proceed, when we have first suggested one or two difficulties which meet us at the very threshold of this theory, and to which we have not yet found any satisfactory answer.

We need not enter upon the chronological question of the period which elapsed between the last deportation to Babylon and the first return of the liberated exiles. Neither need we consider the historical difficulties involved in the supposition of the deportation of the entire population of Judæa, for which there is no shadow of Scriptural evidence. Whatever the interval that elapsed between the nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar and the first of Cyrus, which, however, on the longest computation could not have exceeded sixty years; granting that the whole land from Geba to Rimmon was utterly depopulated; yet thus much, at least, is clear from the books of Ezra and Haggai, that among the returned captives were some who had actually seen the first Temple in its glory, and who retained still so vivid a recollection of its magnificence, that they were moved even to tears by the pitiful contrast presented by the foundations of its successor, which they were then engaged in building; and further, that the traces and landmarks of the ancient city were so far from being obliterated, that the entire course of its walls, with its gates and towers, together with the principal buildings of the devastated city, could all be clearly identified, and were actually built up again on their ancient foundations.

But is it possible to imagine that those venerable fathers and well-instructed scribes, who led the returning captives, while recognising among the ruins of the city the towers of Meah and Hananeel, and the stairs of the City of David, and the house of the mighty, and the armoury, and the broad wall, and all the gates, should yet have erred so egregiously in their restoration of the city as to place the hill of Sion on the wrong side of the valley that intersected the city? That name which had been a sacred household word with them in the land of their captivity, by which they had described the well-remembered songs of the sweet Psalmist of Israel—the songs of the Lord—well remembered, albeit they had refused to sing them in a strange land at the bidding of their conquerors, and their harps had hung mute on the willows of the Tigris—was it possible that they should misapply it so perversely, when restored to the home of their affections?

If, as Mr. Thrupp maintains, it is so incontestably clear from the Scriptures that Sion was identical with the Temple Mount, the difficulty of accepting his theory is increased tenfold. Its transference must then have been a wilful and deliberate error, without any conceivable motive; reproved and convicted by that formidable array of texts which Mr. Lewin has copied from Mr. Thrupp in support of their common theory. If it be indeed true that all readers of the Bible who have not visited Jerusalem universally identify Mount Sion with the site of the Temple, then must Ezra and his associates, princes and prophets and scribes, have had excellent reason for fixing Sion on the opposite hill from the Temple, otherwise than a superficial knowledge of Scripture would seem to require. If the question is indeed reduced to one of Scripture interpretation, there can be little difficulty in preferring the authority of the prophets and priests who were engaged in the restoration of the city to that of the untutored and untravelled student of the English translation.

Besides all which, there was yet another monument existing after the Captivity, besides those already referred to, the well-ascertained position of which would certainly obviate all such confusion between Sion and the City of David, as the theory under examination supposes, and would have rendered the transposition of Sion altogether impossible.

That the Tombs of David were in the City of David, and that the City of David was Sion, must be axioms for all sacred archaeologists—except M. de Saulcy. But the tombs of David were known to Nehemiah and his associates one hundred years after the first return of the Jews from Babylon, and their authenticity is attested at various intervals from that time

forward to the thirtieth year of the Christian era, by Hyrcanus, Herod the Great, and S. Peter the Apostle.

Again, we ask, is it possible that with this incontrovertible landmark of ancient Jerusalem before their eyes, Zerubbabel and Joshua, Haggai and Zechariah, regarded merely as archæologists, and setting aside for the time their prophetic character, could have committed the monstrous blunder involved in the theory of the mislocation of Sion in the restoration of the city of their fathers' sepulchres?

This argument, be it observed, is altogether irrespective of the true position of the Tombs of David. Wheresoever those tombs were situated, their position was well known between the return from the Captivity until within forty years of the destruction of the city by Titus; and wherever they were, there was Sion and the City of David.

But it so happens that the historical site of the Tombs of David is found to this day on the historical Mount Sion, and hard by is still existing an ancient artificial pool; as there was in the time of Nehemiah a reservoir 'over against the sepulchres of David.' Further, Signor Pierotti has actually discovered, beneath the modern cemetery of the Armenians on Sion, ancient rock-hewn graves of the Jewish type, in the immediate vicinity of the historical site which is now in the keeping of the Moslems and inaccessible even to the Mahometans, the Pasha himself not being permitted access to the subterranean chamber; which, however, there can be no doubt was formerly connected with the vaulted excavations discovered by Dr. Pierotti.

On the other hand, Mr. Thrupp can show no tombs at all on the Temple Mount, his City of David, and (according to his theory) the veritable Sion: for he does not accept the theory of Mr. Fergusson, who finds the tomb of Joseph of Arimathæa under the Dome of the Rock! If, then, the synonymous titles of 'Sion' and the 'City of David' had become severed, and one of them misapplied, it would have been far more easy to prove that the latter had been wrongly assigned to the Temple Mount than that the former had been *erroneously* transferred to the 'Upper City' of Josephus: for this is to us the very strangest part of the strange theory under review, that it places the stronghold of Sion, the old Jebusite fortress, in the 'Lower City' of Josephus.

The whole of this strange misconception is based on a misunderstanding of a passage in the Second Book of Samuel, which is excusable in Mr. Fergusson and Mr. Lewin, neither of whom, apparently, understands Hebrew; but which is inexplicable in the case of Mr. Thrupp, who has the credit of being a good Oriental scholar. The confessedly difficult passage which narrates the

capture of Jerusalem by David, runs as follows in the authorized version:—‘ And the king and his men went to Jerusalem unto the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land: which spake unto David, saying, Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither: thinking, David cannot come in hither. Nevertheless David took the stronghold of Zion: the same is the city of David. And David said on that day, Whosoever getteth up to the gutter, and smiteth the Jebusites, and the lame and the blind, *that are* hated of David’s soul, *he shall be chief and captain*. Wherefore they said, The blind and the lame shall not come into the house. So David dwelt in the fort, and called it the City of David.’ (2 Sam. v. 6—9.) The same language is repeated in all that is essential in the parallel passage in 1 Chron. xi. 4—8. Now it happens, fortunately, that we are not at present concerned with the words which have presented the most formidable difficulty to commentators—those, namely, which speak of ‘the blind and the lame;’ of which, however, we may say, in passing, the paraphrase of Josephus appears to us to give the most rational and probable interpretation. The only question which we have to consider is, whether the whole of this passage relates to one and the same operation, or to two distinct and separate sieges and conquests. To us it is quite clear that the eighth verse is only a fuller and more detailed account of the capture of Sion mentioned in the seventh verse; and the only ambiguity in the English version is occasioned by the use of the copula ‘and’ connecting the eighth verse with the seventh. But the merest tyro in Hebrew syntax is perfectly familiar with the fact that the conjunctive particle *vav* is no less a disjunctive, and that the English ‘for’ would often represent it more faithfully than ‘and,’ as it would in this passage. And thus the connexion of the whole passage is clear and consistent throughout. The Jebusites, confident in the strength of their position, met David’s assault with haughty and contemptuous defiance; notwithstanding which, David took the fortress of Sion: for he offered the chief command of the army to whomsoever should first scale the position and destroy the garrison: which so stimulated the ambition of his captains, that Joab volunteered to lead the forlorn hope, and succeeded in capturing the castle, which David forthwith occupied as his palace, and called it ‘the City of David.’

But Mr. Thrupp and Mr. Lewin understand this passage in a widely different sense, supposing that the verses above cited refer to two distinct operations. Thus Mr. Thrupp writes (p. 56), ‘First, the stronghold of Zion, and next, through the valour of Joab, the city itself fell into the king’s hand;’ and again, ‘The accounts in the books of Samuel and Chronicles

'represent David as taking the stronghold of Zion first, and the 'Jebusites' city afterwards.' Similarly Mr. Lewin (p. 3): 'David made his first assault upon Sion, or the eastern hill, and succeeded in capturing the castle, afterwards occupied by the famous Acra of the Macedonians.' 'The High Town on the west, protected on all sides by ravines, still held out, and the 'Jebusites, in mockery, set the blind and the lame upon the wall, as if the blind and the lame could defend a fortification of such 'natural strength;' and then he relates the capture of that High Town by Joab.

This erroneous interpretation once admitted, of course colours all other notices in Scripture and in Josephus, and all is unconsciously bent to suit this theory. But for this well-known psychological fact, it would be utterly inexplicable that the clearest possible testimony against this hypothesis should be quoted in attestation of it. Yet so it is. The parallel passage of Josephus—who, as Mr. Lewin *naïvely* admits, 'at all events knew Hebrew'—identifies 'the Upper City' with 'the City of David' as distinctly as possible; and since the City of David is admitted to be identical with Sion; and the Upper City, as is also admitted, occupied the western hill—*i.e.* the historical Mount Sion; it follows that Josephus, in common with all his countrymen for centuries before, and for nearly two millenniums since his days, recognised the western hill as the hill of Sion. It is true, indeed, that he represents the capture of Jerusalem by David as involving two distinct operations; but whether he 'evolved this theory out of his own consciousness,' as a German professor might do, or gathered it from the sacred narrative, is uncertain, and a matter of perfect indifference. All that is material is, that he distinctly identifies the 'stronghold of the Jebusites' and 'the City of David' with his own 'Upper City.' He applies the taunt of the Jebusites to the whole city of Jerusalem, and not to the fortress only, and then adds: 'So David took the Lower City by force, but the citadel (*ἄκρα*) still being left,' he stimulated his men by the promise of reward; and Joab was the first to occupy the height. 'When David had cast the 'Jebusites out of the citadel (*ἄκρα*), and had built up Jerusalem, 'he called it the City of David, and dwelt therein all the time 'of his reign;' and 'when he had surrounded the Lower City ' (with a wall), and joined the citadel (*ἄκραν*) to it, he made it one body.' (Ant. VII. iii. 1, 2.)

It would be difficult, we conceive, to express in clearer language the conviction of Josephus, that the Jebusite Akra, *i.e.* Sion, which now became 'the City of David,' occupied that hill which, according to him, sustained the Upper City; and this, which is clearly implied in these passages, is no less distinctly

intimated in his description of the city (Bell. Jud. V. iv. 1), for he says that 'the higher hill was called the castle (*φρούριον*) by David, but by us the Upper Market;' and that its wall, the most ancient of all, was hard to be taken, because David and Solomon, and subsequent kings, had lavished large sums upon it, in order still further to fortify its naturally strong position. In the view of these passages we are amazed to find Mr. Thrupp asserting the exact contrary (p. 56). Grounding himself on the misconception of the Scripture narrative already referred to, he writes:—'The accounts of the books of Samuel and 'Chronicles represent David as taking the stronghold of Zion first, and the Jebusite city afterwards. Josephus represents him as taking the Lower City first, and afterwards the citadel. 'There can be no doubt, therefore, that, in Josephus's view, 'Zion was the Lower City, and the Jebusite city the citadel.' But the strangest thing of all is that he appends a note to this passage, which seems to us, after the best consideration we can give to it, utterly to disprove his statement in the text: for he says quite truly that the *Akra* of Josephus, in the above-cited passages, is 'not to be identified with the Lower City, the Akra of later times;' and that the name *φρούριον*, in the passage above-cited from the Jewish War, is identical with the *Akra* of the Antiquities, and with 'the Upper City' of Josephus; and if all this be admitted we cannot see how it is possible to stop short of the conclusion that this Akra and *φρούριον* were identical also with the City of David, the Sion of the Old Testament. When then, as is stated by Mr. Thrupp, 'Josephus uses the word Akra of the Upper City, or rather of some castle in it,' in two passages in the Antiquities, that usage is entirely consistent with the usage in the above-cited passages.

Accordingly, that the Upper City of Josephus was indeed the Sion or City of David, of the sacred writers, has been the uniform opinion of all antiquarians hitherto, however widely they may have differed in their views of the topography of ancient Jerusalem; and it is hardly to be believed that the giants in Hebrew and Rabbinical learning of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries should have erred so egregiously in their interpretation of the ancient records, as they must have done if Mr. Thrupp's view is correct. It is no disparagement to any modern scholar to prefer Lightfoot and Reland, *e.g.* to all recent critics whatsoever. No two writers can be more opposed than these in their views of 'the prospect of Jerusalem'—as Lightfoot would term it—the former placing Sion to the north, and the latter to the south, of the ancient city. But with regard to the identity of Sion with the Upper City, neither of them entertained a shadow of doubt; although the former

apparently knew nothing of the historical Sion, and the latter certainly cared very little about modern traditions which would not stand the test of rational criticism.

And the same argument will apply with at least equal force to the numerous passages of Holy Scripture adduced by Mr. Thrupp and Mr. Lewin in support of their hypothesis that Sion was on the Temple Mount. If the controversy is reduced to a question of Scripture interpretation, it is too much to ask us to concede that all writers, ancient and modern, Jewish and Christian, who have studied the Scriptures in the originals, are to stand corrected by such criticism as is found in these volumes. If Lightfoot was misled by a passage in the forty-eighth Psalm to misplace Sion on the northern hill, as we just now stated, it is no disgrace to any scholar to err in such company; but then it might surely have been expected that at this time of day any scholar who adopted Lightfoot's interpretation would at least take some notice of Reland's masterly criticism, by which he vindicates the verse in question from the misapprehension of Lightfoot.

And so with a series of Scripture texts, much insisted on by those ruthless innovators, whose aim would seem to be to disprove the vaunted stability of 'Mount Sion, which may not be removed, but standeth fast for ever.' This is no place for minute verbal criticism; but as these passages bear upon a question of considerable interest, we must devote somewhat more space to them than we have given to the passage relating to the original occupation of Jerusalem by David.

We are told by these writers that it is evident from Holy Scripture that Sion is synonymous with the Temple Mount, and a formidable array of texts are cited, especially from the Psalms and Prophets, in proof of this position. We give a summary in the words of both writers. Mr. Thrupp thus writes:—

'There is a far stronger argument than any that has yet been brought forward, for the identity of Zion with the Temple hill: and this is the uniform way in which throughout the Psalms and Prophetical writings, from first to last, Zion is spoken of as the Holy Hill, the Mountain of the House of the Lord, the dwelling-place of the Holy One of Israel. Indeed, so clear and explicit is the testimony of Scripture on this point, that it can hardly be without some feelings of surprise, that any one who has endeavoured to picture to himself the sacred localities of Jewish history from the study of the Bible alone, finds himself assured by modern travellers, not only that the Temple did not stand on Mount Zion, but that Zion, in its strict sense, was the especial name of the other, and therefore less hallowed part of Jerusalem.'—P. 21.

And Mr. Lewin, after citing Mr. Thrupp's authorities, concludes:—

'These passages show that Sion was the hill on which the Temple was built—that is, the eastern hill.'—P. 9.

Now we accept the challenge which is virtually contained in these passages, and join issue on the Scripture question. Only we will take leave to do what both these writers have neglected to do, viz. to consider the Scripture testimony in chronological order, so far as we have data for doing so. The appeal of course must be, not to a superficial and careless reader of the Bible, but to a diligent and intelligent student, not necessarily, we will now admit, of the original text, but of the authorized version; for on this point no critical question arises. And we will venture to assert, without fear of contradiction, that a careful study of the Scriptures of the Old Testament would convince any unprejudiced person, who had no theory to maintain, that Sion was *not* the hill on which the Temple was built; so that the very fact of the Temple being situated on the hill denominated Sion by Mr. Thrupp, would be a sufficient evidence to a Biblical student that Sion was not there.

Again, this argument is altogether independent of the true position of Sion or of the Temple Mount, and only decides thus much, in a negative sense: that wherever the Temple Mount was, there Mount Sion was not. This is our position, which we proceed to make good.

But here we must express our surprise at the uncritical and unscholarlike manner in which Mr. Thrupp has cited his authorities, without any regard to chronological sequence, upon which we shall find the question mainly depends. And it is singularly unfortunate that the first citation adduced to prove that 'Zion was the holy mountain,' and the last to show that it 'was the dwelling-place of the Lord,' should both belong to a period earlier, by from three to five centuries, than some other citations in the same paragraphs. The importance of this remark will appear presently. Our present object is to ascertain to what conclusion we should be led by the Bible alone, concerning the identity of Sion and the Temple Mount.

We have already seen that David, having cast the Jebusites out of Sion, occupied it as his residence, and called it 'the City of David.' There is no difference, happily, on this bare historical fact.

The next notice we have of Sion is in the account of David bringing up the ark from Kirjath-jearim, or rather from Perez-uzzah, to the tabernacle which he had already prepared for it on Sion. 'So David went and brought up the ark of God from the house of Obed-edom into the city of David with gladness.' (2 Sam. vi. 12.) 'And they brought in the ark of the Lord, and set it in his place, in the midst of the tabernacle that David had pitched for it.' (Ver. 17.) There can, then, be no question that this Tabernacle was situated on Mount Sion, and within the City of David. (Comp. 1 Chron. xv. 1.)

But was this the case with the permanent Temple, erected by his son, to which the ark was transferred some forty years later?

Let us consider the circumstances which led to the selection of the site for the Temple, and we shall find this hypothesis to be wholly untenable.

When the destroying angel had sheathed his sword by the threshing-floor of Ornan, or Araunah, the Jebusite, where David had, by divine command, erected an altar, and offered a propitiatory sacrifice, that spot became from thenceforth the designated site both of the altar and Temple: 'Then David said, This 'is the house of the Lord God, and this is the altar of the burnt 'offering for Israel' (1 Chron. xxii. 1), and he forthwith set earnestly to work to collect materials for the building, and to give his son a charge for the erection of it, according to the plans and designs which he had prepared, 'by the good hand of the Lord upon him.' Thus, then, was the site selected, without any reference whatever to the existing Tabernacle, solely from consideration to the act of grace which had already signalised and consecrated the threshing-floor of Araunah.

Now this floor was doubtless such as may be seen in the vicinity, not only of Jerusalem, but of every town and village in Syria, to this day; a level platform of native rock cleared of the soil, possibly with its irregularities roughly planed down to facilitate the treading of the oxen and lesser cattle, and the turning of a kind of instrument with teeth, of sharp flints or pebbles, which supplements the operations of the animals.

The existence of such a threshing-floor in the vicinity of the royal palace, and of the Tabernacle of the Lord on Mount Sion, and that in the occupation of a Jebusite alien, is so improbable, that it would require very plain and indisputable evidence to prove that such was really its situation; but the evidence is all the other way: for it is distinctly stated both that the Temple was situated on Mount Moriah, and that the ark, when transferred from the Tabernacle to the Temple, was brought up from the City of David to its new abode.

It is quite impossible that positions could be more distinctly identified than are Mount Moriah and the threshing-floor of Ornan; or more clearly distinguished and discriminated than the site of the Temple and the City of David: 'Then Solomon began 'to build the house of the Lord at Jerusalem in Mount Moriah, 'where the Lord appeared unto David his father, in the place 'that David had prepared in the threshing-floor of Ornan the 'Jebusite.' And when the Temple was completed, 'they brought 'up the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of the City of 'David, which is Zion.' (2 Chron. iii. 1; v. 2, 11; comp. 1 Kings viii. 1.)

We are, of course, fully aware that Mr. Thrupp attempts to weaken the force of the former of these passages by representing that Moriah was the name, not of a distinct hill of Jerusalem, but of a district; and he seeks to fortify this position by reference to the only other passage in the Bible in which the proper name occurs, where we certainly have 'the land of Moriah.' (Gen. xxiii. 2.) But then, unfortunately for this theory, the passage in Chronicles has not 'the land of Moriah,' but 'Mount Moriah;' and it is extremely illogical to interpret the more restricted name by the more extended, or to argue that there could be no distinct *Mount Moriah*, because there was a synonymous district, which probably derived its name from the mountain. That there was a distinct hill associated with sacred memories, still cherished by the children of Abraham, is abundantly shown, from the language of the book of Genesis, where we are told, 'Abraham called the name of that place Jehovah-jireh, 'as it is said to this day, In the mount of the Lord it shall be 'seen.' Besides all which, the fact that Mount Moriah is mentioned as the site of the Temple, in contradistinction to 'the City of David,' where the tabernacle was situated, requires us to understand it of a distinct hill; unless we would involve the sacred writer in the charge of using words without a meaning: for, according to Mr. Thrupp's theory, the Temple hill would be no more Mount Moriah than any other hill in or about Jerusalem.

How, then, does it come to pass, that in the poetical language of Psalms and Prophets, the sacred privileges and high prerogatives attached to the place where God's honour dwelleth are ascribed almost invariably to Sion, since they belonged rather to Moriah?

Now, we will not here object, as we might reasonably do, that in many of the passages cited by Mr. Thrupp and Mr. Lewin, the Holy City is quite as much the subject in question as the Holy Temple; and that the city, with its privileged inhabitants, was under the special guardianship of the God of Israel, as His peculiar people, quite as much as the place where His honour dwelt. We are disposed to admit, that in many of these passages we must suppose that the special blessings which properly belonged to the Temple and its worship are connected by an indissoluble tie with the hill of Sion.

But then it must be remembered, though the fact is strangely ignored or suppressed by Mr. Thrupp, that during the forty years that immediately followed the bringing up of the ark to Jerusalem, that sacred and awful repository of the Divine Presence was actually tabernacled on Mount Sion; and further, that it was during this period that the ritualistic language of the Hebrew worship took its fixed form in the Psalms of David and

his contemporaries, and this phraseology was not likely to be altered so long as those Psalms continued in use.

We are fully aware that Mr. Thrupp does not attach so much importance to the headings of the Psalms as many other liberal commentators have done, and that he interprets them with a much greater latitude of criticism than we can consider legitimate or safe; but we apprehend that few Christians will be disposed to question the Davidic authorship of the second Psalm, considering that it is expressly cited as David's, with the authority of the whole apostolic college (Acts iv. 25). Now this is the first Psalm quoted by him, in proof that 'Zion is well known as the holy mount,' which it most emphatically was during the reign of David, subsequently to the transference of the ark from the house of Obed-edom to the tabernacle.

Not more happy is the appeal to the fiftieth Psalm: "Lastly, 'that in that beautiful poetical picture which the Psalmist puts 'before us of God coming to judge His people, He should be 'said to shine out of Zion, the perfection of beauty,'" (Psalm l. 2): for this Psalm, as it happens, is one of those ascribed in the title to Asaph, and bearing internal evidence of genuineness, as even Rosenmüller and Maurer admit. Now this Asaph, we are told, was one of the Levitical precentors or choir-masters of David's band, appointed by him to conduct the singers and players, on the occasion of the bringing up of the ark from the house of Obed-Edom, and subsequently to have charge, by course, of the music connected with the ritual in the tabernacle of Sion. (1 Chron. vi. 31—48, xv. 16, xxv. 1—7.) And it is an interesting fact, strongly confirmatory of the genuineness of the Psalms ascribed to Asaph, that the collection of Psalms made by order of Hezekiah, king of Judah (who also collected and edited supplementary Proverbs of Solomon, Prov. xxv. 1), and by him appointed to be sung at the Passover, in the Temple, restored and reconciled after the abominations of his father's reign, we find mention of 'the words of David, and of Asaph the seer,' (2 Chron. xxix. 30). When, then, we deduct from the list of texts cited by Mr. Thrupp in support of his theory such as were undoubtedly written during the thirty years of David's reign, while the ark was in the tabernacle on Mount Sion, we shall not only have disposed of some of the most telling texts which seem to favour his theory, but we shall also be in a position to explain the many parallel passages in which the glories and privileges of the Lord's dwelling-place are attached to Sion, centuries after the transference of the ark to the opposite hill of Moriah: for it was most natural that, when the sacred language had taken form under the sweet Psalmist of Israel, the received phraseology of his days—perpetuated, as it was, in his inspired

songs—should be imitated by the seers and prophets of Judah; particularly as any one part of the Holy City might be taken sylleptically for the whole, without any danger of confounding the historical topography of the city, so long as the Tombs of David bore witness to succeeding generations of the original site of the City of David, while the sacred narrative of the erection and dedication of Solomon's Temple accounted for the transference of the ark from Sion to the opposite hill.

The admission of Mr. Thrupp, that 'in many passages where the prophets speak of Zion, they do in a general sense intend 'the city of Jerusalem' (p. 24), need not then have been qualified as it immediately is, since in the many texts adduced by him the whole civil polity of the Jewish nation is as much the subject of the divine promises as the ecclesiastical; and it would seem probable that, after the transference of the ark, Sion still continued to be the royal residence, as the historical Sion was, we know, in the time of Herod the Great, and in the days of Agrippa II., shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem, in the narrative of which we still read of the royal palace in the Upper City. We have the admission of Mr. Lewin that 'the word Sion 'had, perhaps, always belonged rather to the region of poetry 'than history;' and this should surely be enough to destroy the force of nine-tenths of the passages cited from the poetical books, even without the explanation which has been above given; and we cannot but think that the attempt so often made in these volumes to explain obscure passages by others still more obscure, 'ignotum per ignotius,' and plain historical statements by figurative poetical language, is eminently unsatisfactory.

Were we disposed to imitate this bad example, we might plead, with very considerable force, that forasmuch as the language of the Psalms and Prophets was all designed to bear a typical and figurative signification with reference to Christ and His Church, the predictive language would actually have been inaccurate and apt to mislead, had it foreshadowed the Temple Mount as the fountain-head of that river, 'the streams whereof should make 'glad the city of God, the holy place of the tabernacles of the 'Most High:' for, according to all historical records, which neither Mr. Thrupp nor Mr. Lewin are disposed to discredit, the great and crowning deliverance of all, the main subject of prophetic promise, was actually wrought out, not on the Temple Mount, but on the opposite hill, which has aptly been termed the skirt of Sion; and according to still more ancient historical records, the Pentecostal effusion of the Holy Spirit, from which dates the true publication of the new Law, of which it was said, 'out of Sion shall go forth the Law and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem,' took place in the upper chamber on Mount

Sion, preserved from destruction, as Josephus intimates that the houses in this part of the Upper City were, in the general ruin of the city by Titus, and then occupied as a Church by the Christians, immediately on their return from their brief sojourn in Pella.

Having thus restored Sion to its rightful place in the topography of Jerusalem, it is scarcely worth while to inquire into the truth of the allegation concerning the misuse of its synonym, 'the City of David,' during the period of the Maccabees: for, in truth, the passages adduced in evidence of this misnomer of the Temple Mount are either altogether ambiguous, and may just as well apply to the historical Sion as to Mount Moriah, or such as may be explained by that plain and obvious rule of *sylllepsis*, which even the innovators themselves are fain to admit.

II. We proceed, then, to the second question which we proposed to consider, which we shall be able to dismiss much more summarily than we could the theory of the transference of the site of Sion. What part of the area now called the 'Haram-esh-Sherif' did the Jewish Temple occupy? for that it was situated somewhere within that trapezium all writers are agreed. That the area of the Mosk is not conterminous with the Temple Close is also undisputed, but in which direction the area has been extended so as to reach its present dimensions is one of the moot points in the archaeology and topography of Jerusalem most difficult to determine, even by the aid of the recent lights which the subject has received from the investigations of Signor Pierotti and others.

The difficulty is this: According to 'the Measures' of the Mishna, the Outer Temple, or 'Mountain of the House,' was 500 cubits square (*i.e.* in round numbers, and according to the most probable value of the Hebrew cubit, 750 feet); according to Josephus, a stadium, or 600 Greek feet—about 612 feet English measure. Now, the actual area of the Haram, in square feet, is considerably more than double the larger of these dimensions, being, in round numbers, as about 562,500 to 1,500,000 square feet, giving an excess of some 937,500 square feet. Now, it must be admitted that the theory of Dr. Robinson, who would cut off from the north of the present Haram a large oblong space (equal to its whole width) for the fortress Antonia; or that of Mr. Williams, who would take off about an equal slice from the south for the church and hospitals of Justinian; only partially account for this amazing discrepancy between ancient figures and existing facts. Both these writers are hampered by the theory that the Temple proper did actually occupy some part of the raised platform of the Haram-esh-Sherif, and an universal

tradition of Jews and Moslems actually places the Holy of holies over that mysterious rock which is now covered by the well-known cupola, called by the Moslems Kubbet-es-Sakhrah—the Dome of the Rock.

Mr. Fergusson and his followers have no such scruples; so their theory is more daring, and, at first sight, far more satisfactory. Preferring the smaller statement of Josephus to the larger figures of the Mishna, it matters not on what grounds, where all is arbitrary, they select the south-west angle of the Haram, falsely assumed to be a right angle, measure off 600 feet on the south wall, and 600 feet on the west wall; draw from these points lines, at right angles to the south and west walls respectively; and thus they have their outer Temple of the dimensions required by Josephus—a stadium square. This novel application of geometry to archæological inquiry has certainly the merit of convenience and simplicity; and the invention of the 'equilateral right-angled triangle'—a wonderful discovery of Mr. Fergusson's genius—fairly entitles him to take any liberties with a science which he has done so much to advance. But then, unfortunately for the theory, it satisfies no one condition required by the various notices of the Temple in the Bible, or Josephus, or the Mishna, except that which results from the arbitrary selection of the south-west angle of the Enclosure, and the application of the measuring tape to discover the points 600 feet north and east of this angle, from which the parallel walls are to be drawn. It ignores the measures given in the Middoth, which are at least as trustworthy as those of Josephus, and makes no attempt to reconcile the differences. It would be equally competent to any other archæologist to assume his stadium square in other parts of the Haram; and, indeed, we have no doubt that much more could be said in favour of the north-east or south-east angle (probably also for the north-west) than can be said for the south-west; for both at the north-east and south-east angles of the Haram are unquestionable traces of Jewish masonry, probably of Solomonian origin; while at the south-west angle, neither along the southern, nor along the western face of the wall, are there any indications of Hebrew masonry until you come to the Jews' wailing-place on the west, and to the junction of the city wall with the Haram on the south.

It is a curious fact, but one which is of very great importance in the archæology of the Holy City, that the various periods of its buildings are almost as distinctly marked by the masonry as if they were literally dated; and a little experience in the art of *reading a wall* would enable any well-informed person to pronounce upon any architectural construction at Jerusalem, and to assign a piece of patchwork its proper dates. The Regal

period, as it may be termed, is marked by stones of cyclopean proportions, with a deep bevel of from two and a half to three inches deep; the period of the Commonwealth and the Herodian Epoch, by stones of much smaller size, and a shallower bevel; the Roman or imperial period, from Constantine to Justinian, by large square stones, without any bevel, laid in even courses and with cement, which is not found in the most ancient buildings. Lastly, the Saracenic period of utter debasement is exhibited in small stones and rude masonry, very little superior to that which is used in the constructions of the modern city. Here and there among the strata, so to speak, of these indigenous formations there crop out fragments of a clearly extraneous character—the footprints of a foreign civilization impressed upon the soil by the iron heel of the steel-clad warriors of the cross; but these may be disregarded in the present survey.

Now we challenge Mr. Fergusson and his followers to point out any vestige of masonry, we say not of Solomonic, but of Herodian origin, within two hundred feet of the ruined arch so celebrated as a fragment of Dr. Robinson's bridge. It is fatal to their hypothesis, that there are no indications whatever of Jewish work in the place where some of the most ancient walls in Jerusalem would most certainly be found, if their theory was correct—in the outer wall of the ancient Temple. The only bevelled masonry on the western face of the wall is found at the Jew's wailing-place, in a declared fragment of Herodian masonry, and forming, as is most likely, the western termination of Herod's royal porch; the first to be seen in the southern wall is in the double passage under the Mosk-el-Aksa, not in the course of the wall, but at right angles to it, where we have evidently Herodian masonry used up in a substructure of Justinian; to which last period belongs all the masonry now to be seen between the points here indicated, viz. the wailing-place of the Jews and the double corridor beneath El-Aksa.

But this is not the most formidable difficulty in the way of the theory under consideration; and might be explained, if Mr. Fergusson will forgive the superstitious suggestion, by the literal accomplishment of the prophetic word, extended even to the outer Temple. We have further to urge, that the position which this theory assigns to the Temple leaves it suspended on the hill side, without any ascertained foundation, on the southern slope of Mount Moriah, where it and its courts and chambers must all have been supported on artificial substructures, as the Church of Justinian is reported to have been, and is actually found to be at the present day; for that the Mosk-el-Aksa is the identical

Church of Justinian, altered and appropriated by the Moslems, is a fact that can be proved to demonstration both on historical and architectural evidence, whatever Mr. Fergusson may say to the contrary. But, that the Temple was built upon the rock is clear from all notices we have of it, whether in the Bible or in the Rabbinical writings: for, not only was the site of the temple on the threshing-floor of Araunah, the Jebusite, but the foundation-stone (*even-shathiyah*) of the Talmud stands out conspicuously in all history, as the Sakhrâh does in the Dome of the Rock.

Further, the various arrangements of the Temple detailed in the Mishna—which evidently represents, for the most part at least, the recent traditions of the second Temple, probably committed to writing within a century after its destruction by Titus—militate decisively against this plan of restoration proposed by Mr. Fergusson and his followers. We will cite but one, which, however, will be found full of significance in connexion with the notices which follow, and with which we shall conclude this article.

All the ancient notices of Jerusalem agree in the statement that the Temple was supplied with an enormous quantity of water, for the ablutions of the ministering priests and Levites, as well as for the purpose of purifying the courts and clearing away the blood which flowed from the numerous victims slaughtered within the Court of Israel, some of whose blood was also sprinkled on the altar, and the residue poured away into a drain at the south-west horn of the altar. The most graphic account of these subterranean aqueducts, reservoirs, and cisterns is that given by Aristæas, the envoy of Ptolemy Philadelphus to the high-priest Eleazar; who describes, in what has been sometimes called exaggerated language, the mysteries of these conduits, the secrets of which, with their communications, were known only to the officers of the Temple, who had them under their complete control. The language of this pagan writer, however, is remarkably confirmed by numerous passages of the Mishna, made accessible to the English reader in the translations of Lightfoot, contained in his 'Prospect of the Temple,' and in other parts of his most curious and interesting writings. In these we find mention of various baths and wash-houses, of subterranean passages for the use of the priests; of a draw-well with a wheel, for raising the water into flushing tanks, for the purpose of cleansing the upper platform of the Temple; of cess-pools to receive the blood of the victims; and of drains to carry it off, diluted with copious streams of water, into the valley of the Kedron. Now these same authorities agree in this, that the main supply of water for the purposes of the Temple was derived

from the celebrated fountains and pools of Solomon, between Bethlehem and Hebron, conveyed to Jerusalem by an aqueduct which exists to the present day; and they further tell us that there was a place to the south of the Temple, called 'the coming down of the waters,' because it was there that the aqueduct discharged itself into the Temple area. Now, it is quite certain that this aqueduct must have crossed the valley of the Tyropæon in old times, as it still does, by that artificial embankment identified as the Causeway of Solomon, and the *Millo* of David, which connected the Temple Mount with the north-east angle of the Upper City. But this Causeway meets the west wall of the Haram quite to the north of the site assigned to the Temple by the geometrical antiquaries; so that the 'coming down of the waters' must have been to the north, not to the south, of the Temple area, if their theory were correct.

But, indeed, this is only one of many like objections in matters of detail which might be urged against this novel and fantastic theory, had not the necessity of adducing them been happily superseded by the important discoveries of Signor Pierotti within the Haram-esh-Sherif, to which allusion has been made at the commencement of this paper. His investigations have most completely vindicated from the charge of exaggeration the descriptions of all writers, Jewish and pagan, concerning the waters of the Temple; and have brought to light a complete system of cisterns, aqueducts, and conduits of various kinds, permeating or underlying the whole area; connected in the most ingenious manner, evidently all planned at once, and that by the mind of a master-engineer—elaborate, but not complicated, owing to its extreme simplicity. These wonderful subterranean channels, which extend north and south from the northern wall of the Haram-esh-Sherif to the Fountain of the Virgin, or rather to the Pool of Siloam—not less than 3,000 feet—and west and east from the valley of the Tyropæon to the Kedron, are no longer matter of conjecture. They have been traversed by Dr. Pierotti, up and down, backwards and forwards, in all directions, regularly surveyed, and measured by him with extreme accuracy. He does not, indeed, pretend as yet to have traced all the branches of this vast elaborate system. His chain is complete as far as it goes; and the extreme circumference of this water communication has been traced without a flaw; but there are indications of subsidiary arrangements—branch aqueducts, for example, supplementing the principal communications; a complete net-work of rock-hewn conduits, which accidental accumulations of soil or *débris* have hitherto prevented him from exploring. This, however, he hopes to do on his return to the East. Meanwhile, we are rejoiced to find that he has just

completed arrangements for the publication of the progress and results of his researches so far as they have hitherto reached; and the publication of his '*Jerusalem Explored*,' already advertised, will form an important era in the history of sacred archaeology. The '*Roma Sotterranea*' of Bosio was a captivating title for his valuable work on the Catacombs; for the Biblical student the '*Hierosolyma Explorata*' will certainly have greater attractions.

In conclusion, we cannot forbear alluding to the importance of these discoveries for the elucidation of much of the historical and prophetic language of the sacred books both of the Old and New Testament. That the prophetic description of the mystical Temple, seen by Ezekiel in his vision, was borrowed from the historical Temple, no one can doubt; and, if so, there can be no question that the obscurity of the figurative language will be greatly cleared away by more precise and accurate acquaintance with the arrangements of the Temple.

But we may anticipate even more important results than these to Sacred Literature. If the whole system of the Hebrew polity, with all its ritualistic arrangements and observances, was, as the Apostles do not permit us to doubt, designed to be typical and symbolical of the Christian dispensation, in what concerns Christ, the Head, and His Body, the Church, it is to be expected that all new discoveries in Hebrew antiquities, particularly in the rites and ceremonies of the old dispensation, will find a counterpart in the anti-type. Let the following coincidences be fairly considered, and it will be granted, we think, that the discoveries at which we have hinted in this article will not be unfruitful in suggestions of deepest spiritual interest. The emphatic declaration of S. John, in his First Epistle, to the effect that our Blessed Lord is 'He 'that came by water and blood; not by water only, but by 'water and blood,' so strikingly parallel to that equally emphatic testimony which he bears as an eye-witness, that on the piercing of the lifeless side of our adorable Saviour by the soldier's spear, 'forthwith came there out water and blood,' is an evident indication of the vast importance of the sacramental aspect of the atoning Sacrifice of Calvary. Now, is it not a startling fact that, at the very moment when that healing fountain was opened in the riven side of Incarnate Deity, *between the two evenings* of the great day of the paschal solemnity, the Paschal Lamb—ever regarded as one, though thousands were required for the festival—was being solemnly slain by the ministering Levites in the Temple; and the blood of propitiation and reconciliation was pouring down in a flood, mingled with water, along those rock-hewn channels of the Holy Mountain;

gushing down in a crimson stream to the valley of the Kedron, there to be disposed of, as we further read, as manure for the king's garden, which, fertilised by that sacred stream, became abundantly fruitful? The fountain-head of these waters of the Temple in 'the sealed fountain,' at Solomon's pools, suggests further analogies, and opens up fresh mysteries in the humanity of Him who was 'of the seed of David after the flesh.' And if these analogies be thought fanciful by some, they will suggest matter for pious meditation to differently constituted minds, which may not be wholly unprofitable.

We abstain from any lengthy notice of Mr. Fergusson's preposterous theory, to which Signor Pierotti's discoveries would have given the *coup de grace*, if it had not long since been exploded by the united efforts of Robinson and Williams, of Professor Willis and Count de Vogüé. From a comparison of Mr. Fergusson's hypothetical restoration of the buildings of Constantine with the actual site, Professor Willis was more than justified in pronouncing that theory 'ludicrously absurd.' And although Mr. Fergusson not only clings to it with the desperation of a drowning man, but professes a confident belief that all the world will ultimately be converted to his opinion—a consummation, by the way, which he is doing his utmost to bring about, by a dexterous management of his much-abused authorities, on the most prominent stages, such as 'Smith's Dictionary of the Bible,' and the Theatre of the Royal Institution;—notwithstanding all this, the theory is doomed to utter and disgraceful discomfiture and extinction, which it will require all the well-tryed cleverness of the author to escape from sharing. For, indeed, to mistake an ancient cistern (as the rock of the Sakhrāh is now proved to be) for a Jewish sepulchre; a Saracenic mosk of the eighth century for a Christian church of the fourth; mosaics, frescoes, stained glass, and other decorations—historically known to have been executed in the sixteenth century—for original classical ornamentation of the Empire (to mention no more), involves a series of blunders most damaging to the credit of any professional man, specially of an F.R.I.B.A., and he the author of a meritorious and successful 'Handbook of Architecture:' and if Mr. Fergusson gets as good as he has given, in the imminent conclusion of this controversy, he will have cause to rue the day when he first propounded his wonderful discovery of the Holy Sepulchre in the cistern of the Jewish Temple! As we have no taste for skiomachy, we leave the fuller exposure of this portentous *mare's nest* to other hands, and conclude our brief remarks on Mr. Fergusson's singular and pet theory in the charitable language of Count de Vogüé:—*'La théorie audacieuse de M. Fergusson eût été impossible à*

‘ imaginer et à soutenir, si la concordance entre l’Église du
‘ Saint-Sépulcre et les descriptions successives des voyageurs eût
‘ été clairement établie,’ &c. ‘ Quoique par l’excentricité des
‘ conjectures et le ton de la discussion, cette théorie soit de celles
‘ qu’on ne réfute pas, j’aurais l’occasion de m’en occuper en
‘ parlant du Temple. La meilleure manière d’excuser M. Fer-
‘ gusson, c’est de rappeler qu’il n’a jamais vu les monuments dont
‘ il parle,’ p. 119.

ART. V.—*A Strange Story.* By the Author of 'My Novel.'
London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co.

IF there is one point more than another that Sir Bulwer Lytton would press upon his readers as essential to their full appreciation of his powers and genius, it is the order and progress of his works. From youth, to what, at any rate in authorship, is age, he is anxious we should be alive to a plan, to a gradually unfolding system. Plots and groups of characters have not come to him by chance, he tells us in his prefaces, but by a sort of necessary progression, as his faculties matured and were able to grapple with them. His works are the history of a mind interpreting nature under the guidance of high art; art which leaves nothing to caprice, but elucidates its theories by perfect and immutable laws of its own. It is quite important to know all this and to bear it in mind in reading his latest puzzling but undeniably popular romance, appropriately named, 'A Strange Story.' Perhaps there is no better clue to it than this theory; that Art as he describes it,—that is, the course of his studies, the bent of his mind, the exercises of his fancy,—have inevitably led up to it. He has arrived at magic as at a goal. He is driven to it not only by his own taste for the sort of thing, but because everyday familiar life and common human interests have become insipid to him and elude his grasp. He can no longer even attempt a simply natural character, swayed by ordinary motives, working towards its ends in an obvious way and with unaided powers. The time has come for the mystic and supernatural; he can no longer manage without them. Witchery, fascination, weird art, tendencies and propensities that have no fellowship with humanity as we all know it, have mingled themselves more or less with all his pictures of life; they issue in an organized system here.

This brilliant writer has always regarded life under a different aspect from what experience shows it to ourselves. He has never submitted to think of it as directed or bound by the strong laws of custom and habit. He has disdained to concede, in behalf of any character representing his ideas of excellence, anything to the modifying effects of time and circumstance. He disowns the influence which time must have on the most passionate temperament. He could never grant in the case of any one he cared for, that—

'The blood once servid now to cool began,
And Time's strong pressure to subdue the man.'

This disregard of the gradual workings of change and circumstance, which perhaps was at first an unconscious tendency, has become a deliberate antagonism. His novels are many of them a sort of defiance or hand-to-hand encounter with time. The peculiarity of the story which immediately precedes the present one is, that time has no influence, no retarding, checking power on anybody. In it every person is possessed by an unchanging idea, and works it out with unabating energy. Feelings which could not in nature possess a man a week, rule his entire existence; not his thoughts only, but every action for twenty years. Every life is spent in doing what a vehement, passionate, undisciplined spirit resolves upon in a moment of excitement; and beyond this, the hero retains at sixty all the attractions, all the winning personal attributes of youth, to the extreme point of three young ladies being in love with him at once. This state of things, as it must proceed from peculiar views of bodily and spiritual life, so under the influence of art and progress is not likely to end here. We are not then at all surprised that the next step is, so to say, to naturalize the process by introducing us to the Elixir Vitæ. If people are to be boys, mind and body, at sixty, it is quite clear that nothing but the Elixir must do it for them. We accept then the wonders of 'A Strange Story' as the proper artistic development of 'What will he do with it?' It is a sort of logical deduction. But the belief of minds led on by these sublimer processes, whether of reason or imagination, is a perfectly different thing from vulgar matter-of-fact belief. Sir Bulwer Lytton has written a story under the guidance of high art and liberal science, and has lavished so much pains to prove his positions, that a general notion is left on the mind that he has a perfectly different creed on the limits of the possible from all whom we have hitherto alone been accustomed to consider rational men; but it is out of every one's reach really to ascertain the amount of credit and reliance he gives to the opinions urged by such voluminous arguments. We are inclined on the whole to think that we are expected to concern ourselves with the author rather as a novelist, than a philosopher; and therefore all the questions that have been asked, how far Sir Bulwer Lytton believes his own conclusions, are beside the mark. Certain it is, that after puzzling such minds as care to be puzzled, with a vast deal of plausible theory, the author claims for himself the widest possible limits, and almost says that if he makes a readable novel he is justified in the means he has used to make it so, independent of its truth. He commits himself in the same page to everything and to nothing. He asserts the wonders introduced to us as grave

facts at one time, and then claims for the writer of romance a perfectly unlimited range through every region which can furnish him with materials for rousing, harrowing, or exciting human feelings. He bewilders his readers with pages and pages of grave dissertation, for which the only excuse should be anxiety to prove an important point, and then asserts, that whether true or not, he has a full right to his argument for the sake of strengthening the effect of his scenes, and producing a perfectly credulous state of mind and spirits. In fact, romance, as the author's peculiar vocation, takes precedence of science; his conscience is more keenly alive to the duty incumbent on fiction to amuse, than on the experimentalist to investigate truth.

'But I here construct a romance, which should have as a romance some interest for the general reader. I do not elaborate a treatise submitted to the logic of sages, and it is only when in "fairy fiction drest, that romance gives admission to truths severe."

'I venture to assume that none will question my privilege to avail myself of the marvellous agencies which have ever been at the legitimate command of the fabulist.'—*Preface to A Strange Story*, p. vi.

'Of course, according to the most obvious principles of art, the narrator of a fiction must be as thoroughly in earnest as if he were the narrator of facts. One could not tell the most extravagant fairy tale, so as to cause and sustain the attention of the most infantine listener, if the tale were told as if the tale-teller did not believe it.'—*Ibid.* p. ix.

Again, the author asserts that the supernatural is essential to higher fiction, and also that the form of supernatural chosen should coincide with the tendencies of the age, and be what some believe and all discuss.

'I think that we shall find deeper reasons than the critics who dictated canons of taste to the last century discovered—why the supernatural is indispensable to the epic, and why it is allowable to all works of imagination, in which art looks on nature with man's inner sense of a something beyond and above her.

'But the Writer, whether in verse or prose, who would avail himself of such sources of pity or terror as flow from the marvellous, can only attain his object in proportion as the wonders he narrates are of a kind to excite the curiosity of the age he addresses.'—*Ibid.* p. viii.

Meaning, that as our superstition does not now take the line of ghost-seeing; as we have no belief now in witches, or rather in the malevolent form of them, and as mermaids and fairies are utterly gone out, romance must adopt the newest vogue. As a question of producing the greatest effect, we quite agree with this. But the argument also shows that in the days of witches and fairies, Sir Bulwer Lytton would have made a similar use of them; and we believe that, in the same manner, he would have appended voluminous philosophical treatises, practically to assist the illusion, and also as implying a modified

faith in his own wonders. It is, we suppose, an inevitable consequence of pursuing truth and nature through the exclusive medium of high art, that the evidence of the senses becomes confused, and the conclusions of common sense are forced to bow before a higher tribunal if they do not fit into a system, or come in rude contact with that partnership in capital letters of the 'True and the Beautiful,' which is all of truth that this author can thoroughly tolerate or put up with; however so constantly set forward as the crowning aim; as we see in the following scheme, or programme.

'But when the reader lays down this "Strange Story," perhaps he will perceive through all the page of romance the outlines of these images suggested to his vision. Firstly, the image of sensuous, soulless Nature, such as the materialist had conceived it. Secondly, the image of Intellect, obstinately separating all its inquirers from the belief in the spiritual essence and destiny of man, and incurring all kinds of perplexity, resorting to all kinds of visionary speculation before it settles at last into the simple faith which unites the philosopher and the infant. Thirdly, the image of the erring but pure-thoughted visionary, seeking overmuch on this earth to separate soul from mind, till innocence itself is led astray by a phantom, and reason is lost in the space between earth and the stars. Whether in these pictures there be any truth worth the implying, every reader must judge for himself, and if he doubt or deny that there be any such truth, still, in that process of thought which the doubt or denial enforces, he may chance on a truth which it pleases himself to discover.'—*Ibid.* p. ix.

However far the truth of high art can be recognised for our old friend the plain truth which we have been taught to hold by and stick to at all costs, the general latitude it permits is, we think, favourable to the author's genius, which never was able to endure the limitations of fact, and which certainly expatiates with a sense of renewed youth and freedom on casting aside all the restrictions of the preconceived possible. Tastes may differ, and it is not a point that admits of demonstration, but, in vigour of delineation and truth to an ideal, we regard 'A Strange Story' as beyond comparison superior to that infinite prolixity 'What will he do with it?' in which all the author's tastes and faculties seemed to ramble on without any direction from the master-spirit of the brain. The habits of his genius quite overpowered their possessor; every character was an exaggeration of the Bulwer Lytton type. We had a series of monstrous personages, all carried away by overmastering impulses, which left them no resisting force. All were possessed by some idea to which they abandoned themselves, with so little thought or care on the author's part to conform his conceptions to nature, or moral possibility, that to his readers they lost the character of free agents. It is certainly better for the purposes of art to give up the pretence of nature and natural causes, than to make people, apparently under no other influences, outrage

all our notions of the probable. In 'What will he do with it?' there was nothing to account for the general course of action; all the characters might as well be the sport of unseen agencies; but they were not. We therefore thought them unnatural. We do not call it unnatural for a man who has a demon to direct him, who has conscious control over demons, to behave differently from his neighbours; on the contrary, he is quite certain to do so. The mere glimpse of a ghost makes Hamlet incomprehensible to the people about him, and to all his commentators; and we see it must be so in the degree the intellect is sensitive and acute. We could none of us see ghosts and keep our decorum; it would not be possible to act like our former selves till the supernatural visitant were partially forgotten. We do not quarrel, then, with Sir Bulwer Lytton's departures from commonplace nature in the present volume, except when he does not allow circumstances to make difference enough. He has fairly cast off all concealments this time. His personages have often acted as if they were possessed, if not by a spiritual agent, by some idea as tyrannical and absorbing; now he shows his machinery by deliberately setting what we mean by nature aside. We presume he would call it enlarging her dominion, but it is the same thing to the uninitiated reader, as all ancient boundaries between nature and miracle are overstepped.

The only aspect in which the present work admits of criticism is, as a modern fairy-tale, adapted, as he has told us, to the tastes and ideas of the nineteenth century, when the faculty of *Causation* is, it seems, markedly developed in all our brains. People have lost the old child-like love of the marvellous, which wants no explanation or enlightenment, indeed would rather not have it. They now say, in one breath, 'How very extraordinary!' and in the next, 'How do you account for it?' It is the business of the modern fabulist to satisfy both instincts, and everything *is* accounted for in the 'Strange Story' two or three different ways, according to different modes of belief. To attempt, with grave reason, or graver displeasure, to meet and grapple with the mass of argument which encumbers the pages, would be to fight with a chimera, which the author now and then half owns to be such, though, for long passages of disquisition, it is treated as the profoundest, most rational and philosophical truth. We may question the moral tendency of such speculations, whether in sport or in earnest, but it would be simply absurd to take them one by one, and combat them seriously. A Strange Story is a tale of magic, but with some of the advantages to an author's style of a semi-belief; a sort of sham allegiance to the new material of the supernatural on

which his plot is based, and for which his whole literary course has undoubtedly prepared him.

The critic of fiction may regard it merely as a matter of taste whether the machinery is natural or supernatural; all he has a right to stipulate for is that the characters should act in harmony with their circumstances, and with a certain keeping. And here our author has been more severely handled than we can subscribe to. Bearing in mind the duty (so to say) of fiction to amuse, he has not chosen his scene ill, though the site which he has selected for the display of his phantasmagoria is a departure from precedent, and brings the glare of magic in strange contact with the most colourless and common-place of all daylight, that of an ordinary English country town. But if a scene of magic amuses or excites us more in the ball-room of a provincial mayor than in remote cities and amongst people as fabulous as the marvels he tells, we will not quarrel with the incongruity; and in our opinion, 'Margrave,' who has drunk the elixir of life, makes a better, as being a more striking figure in English costume, taking his part in English society, than in robe and turban thousands of miles away. Of course, the difficulty of sustaining a personage of this sort up to the proper pitch is so extreme, that it is saying little to say there are egregious failures; but no writer of our day could have equalled Sir Bulwer Lytton in the development of his fanciful conception. Like a rocket, 'Margrave' makes but a poor end; his final exit is unworthy of his opening pretensions; but there is real sparkle and brilliancy in his first introduction. Not sparkle in himself—he is not a wit, only an impersonation of youth and health—but in the author who sets him before us.

And if 'Margrave' has been pronounced an anomaly in the town of L——, L—— in its turn is thought an absurd and monstrous *locale* for 'Margrave.' Probably this initial passes for a variety of places, according to the reader's ideas of the probable. We, remembering that Sir Bulwer Lytton long sat for Lincoln, and bearing in mind its hill, surmounted by its noble Minster, conspicuous for miles, and its Minster close where the notabilities of the city congregate; recalling its old houses, retired in the green shady snugness of shaven lawns, shrubberies, and old walls, giving through arch-way and by-chance-opening gates delightful glimpses of luxurious seclusion; picture the L—— of this story to ourselves as a magnified, dignified, glorified Lincoln, such as it might return to a romancer in his dreams. However, this is as it may be; we do not impose our interpretation on our readers. But to our mind it adds, rather than detracts from, the grotesque fascination of such a story that we are expected to people common-place scenes, with the

wild illusions of a fancy which professes to be possessed by them, and to be prepared for wonders in every back parlour.

Of course, no writer engaged in an acknowledged work of pure fancy would so locate his marvels; but the ridicule which exposes the scenery of this story as a mistake in taste, does not take into account the element of belief—or what passes in the author for that quality—which has at once dictated the subject and the scene of the story. If there is truth in clairvoyance, spirit-rapping, and the like, if these are in fact modern conquests in the fields of science, it is only natural to place their achievements where the science is cultivated. It is to be accepted then as a proof that one of our leading literary men, a political, and pre-eminently a man of the world, does maintain in a certain sense the reality of these illusions. He considers that they, and all the swarm of extravagances that hang about them, are not unworthy, at least, of serious speculation; that they fitly exercise the human understanding; that the philosopher ought to employ his reason upon them; that at the least they demand patient research, and must not be rejected as mere charlatanry. And if in his preface to the work itself, Sir Bulwer Lytton has claimed the privilege of the novelist to make his tale interesting by any machinery, in a contemporary periodical he adopts the other side, and argues that it is not unphilosophical to believe in clairvoyance and insight into future events (apart from the divine gift of prophecy) as a natural quality of certain minds, on the ground of analogy, of its being nothing really strange or out of the way. He takes the line that imagination is clairvoyance on a large scale, and on this head makes such strange assertions on the authority of his own experience, that we quote it as a peculiar idiosyncrasy. He begins by taking certain facts for granted while depreciating their importance:—

‘It is recorded upon evidence so respectable, that I will assume it to be sufficient, that a clairvoyant has tracked to detection a murder which had baffled the keenest research of the police; that another clairvoyant, a day before the Derby, accurately described the incidents of the race, and truthfully predicted the winner, the colours of the rider, and the name of the horse. But sure I am that no mesmeriser who had had practical experience of the most remarkable somnambules in Europe, would venture to risk his own repute in denouncing as criminal those whom the same clairvoyant who had once tracked a murder might circumstantially indicate, or unhesitatingly accuse when next applied to in aid of justice, or would hazard his own money on the horse which the same clairvoyant, whose vaticinations on the Derby were once so mysteriously truthful might, when again invoked, single out as the winner.’

—*Blackwood's Magazine*, March, 1862.

He undertakes to prove that there is another clairvoyance much more marvellous than this, which no physiologist ever presumes to gainsay. ‘A somnambulist may tell you accurately

'to-day the cause of an intricate disease, or the movements of your son in Bombay; he may not be able to-morrow to detect a cold in your head, or what is done by your next-door neighbour,' but he implies that the other perception is subject to no such lapses. He takes Sir Henry Holland's dictum, that 'to see through other organs than the eyes and to be wise through other faculties than the reason, is to contradict all we know of the organization of man and of the agencies established by nature,' and argues that the faculty of imagination disproves it. Sir Henry Holland would never have really quarrelled with the expression 'to see through the mind's eye,' which is the faculty of imagination, nor would he have deemed it a real contradiction to his own words; but Sir Bulwer Lytton characteristically takes the expression as a fact, not as a figure—not a rapid process of the reason, judging and arguing by analogy—not what we understand by insight, but sight actual, and in a sense bodily. Imagination can only guess at what it does not know, but it makes good guesses, because it realizes what it *does* know, and, by a habit of observation, sees and knows infinitely more than the rest of us. He attributes to it a simply miraculous accuracy. One of his examples we do not call a happy one:—

'It is amusing to read the ingenious hypotheses framed by critics who were not themselves poets in order to trace in Shakspeare's writings the footprints of his bodily life. I have seen it inferred as proof positive, from the description of the samphire gatherer, that Shakspeare must have stood on the cliffs at Dover. . . . But does it not occur to such discriminating observers, that Shakspeare's knowledge is no less accurate when applied to forms of life and periods of the world into which his personal experience could not possibly have given him an insight, than it was when applied to a description of Dover Cliff. . . . To account for Shakspeare's lucidity in things done on earth before Dover Cliff had been seen by the earliest Saxon immigrant, there is not one supposition agreeable to the theory that Shakspeare must have seen Dover Cliff with his own bodily eyes because he describes it so well.'—*Ibid.* p. 305.

Of course, the point here hangs on the accuracy of the description; and we should have thought that everybody, whether poet or not, who first stood on Shakspeare's Cliff at Dover, must have experienced, not astonishment at the poet's accuracy, but disappointment that the actual cliff falls so far short of the giddy sublimity of his description. If Shakspeare knew the cliff, it did not answer his purpose to describe it accurately; he deliberately exaggerated. He knew quite well that, from that insignificant elevation, the choughs and crows looked very respectable-sized birds, and the fishermen on the beach were not at all like mice. In fact, the description is made to a blind man, and the describer, for some object of his own, amused himself; in fact, drew upon his imagination. But, of course,

Shakspeare had somewhere seen a giddy height; his imagination could not picture one if he had had no experience of the effect height has on our organization. Sir Bulwer Lytton's argument requires that this is not necessary; that the imagination can literally image forth with exact truth what under no aspect whatever has ever met the eye or been arrived at by a process of induction. We do not, however, quarrel with the opening of the following argument:

'Nothing is more frequent amongst novelists, even third-rate and fourth-rate, than "to see through other organs than their eyes." Clairvoyance is the badge of all their tribe. They can describe scenes they have never witnessed more faithfully than the native who has *lived* amid those scenes from his cradle. I could cite many indisputable proofs of this phenomenon amongst my brethren in the masonry of fiction; but as I here contend that the gift so far from being a rare attribute of genius, is shared in a greater or lesser degree, by all who concentrate imagination in particular objects, I abstain from a reference that would not convey the homage of a complement, but the affront of a disparagement; and, therefore, neither in self-conceit, nor in self-depreciation, but just as a chemist who suggests a theory naturally adds to his suggestion the statement of his own experiments, I offer my personal evidence in favour of the doctrine I advance, viz. "That there is nothing so rare as to excite our incredulous wonder in the faculty of seeing through other organs than our eyes." I have had sometimes to describe accurately scenes which at the time of describing I had never witnessed. I visited these scenes later. I then examined them with a natural apprehension that I must have committed some notable mistake, to be carefully corrected in any subsequent edition of the work in which such descriptions had been temerarily adventured. In no single instance could I ever find, after the most rigid scrutiny, that the clairvoyance of imagination had deceived me. I found nothing in the scenery I witnessed to induce me to retouch an outline or a colouring in the scenery I had imagined. I am not sure, indeed, that I could not describe the things I imagine more exactly than the things I habitually see. I am not sure that I could not give a more truthful picture of the Nile, which I have never beheld except in my dreams, than I could of the little lake at the bottom of my own park, on the banks of which I loitered out my schoolboy holidays, and (could I but hallow their turf as Christian burial-ground) would desire to choose my grave.'—*Ibid.* p. 307.

All this is curious as throwing a light on the compositions of one who may, in his own line, be called a distinguished master of fiction. We are disposed to believe that there is a good deal of truth in it. We have rarely truth actual and austere in his pages, but we have harmonious keeping; it would, as he says, never do to intrude topographical accuracy into them, as it would tend to disturb the consistency of his scenes of human interest and action by the abrupt infusion of an incongruous reality. But if our author means to tell us that he could faithfully describe the Nile, if his imagination had never been instructed by the accurate word-pictures of travellers and the delineations of draughtsmen, we do not know what to say, only we are pretty sure Shakspeare would never have pretended as much. Somebody must have

seen the Nile and described it as near the truth as he could go, before the Poet could give us the flashing, life-like image. And as for that little lake in the park, we can only say that it would tell more for the author's genius if he could describe it, if details and facts, if positive knowledge did not stand in his way and prove unmanageable. But such knowledge is certainly more telling, more capable of expression, when removed back from immediate present experience; an interval must intervene between the knowledge and the act of description, for it to be told with fullest, most comprehensive truth: there must be time for arrangement, for the selection of salient points. Time, which does all this for the memory, teaches the writer to distinguish between the important and the trivial, and adds sentiment to accuracy. But our author prefers under all circumstances the unvisited landscape; familiarity is in all cases an obstacle. 'The clairvoyance of poet or novelist is lucid in proportion as, while intent on forms remote, it is unruffled by the shift and change which are constantly varying the outline of things familiar.' We maintain that no effort of imagination can affect and impress us like description, under the necessary conditions we have named, the faithful transcript of familiar eye and heart-knowledge.

We have thought it necessary to put our readers in possession of the views, as far as we can gather them, of our author, as throwing some light on the singularity of the tale before us. It is not by any means a mere romance, inasmuch as the novelist is not willing to consider any of his marvels as beyond the toleration of a philosophical mind. He would consider the exercise of a grotesque, irresponsible fancy, as beneath the dignity of a writer always avowing a purpose, ascending a scale, aiming to construct of his labours a harmonious whole. Everything has a meaning, though he is aware that a good many readers will discard it. His book strikes us as an illustration of the quality of credulity. Credulity is really the reverse of the believing temperament, which must have some positive basis. Credulity claims the right of believing everything because it likes; because the object suits its fancies, feelings, prejudices; because it is amusing, or fascinating, to entertain the idea; and as these motives prevail or are diverted from their hold, it claims the right of being off or on with its allegiance. Now, even with the Elixir of Life, our author has always more than played; he has theorised with the idea; he has always been open to conviction about it: not that he would boldly avow it, much less can an Englishman of the nineteenth century, in a real sense, believe in it; but there is a part of his mind to which it is congenial, and we believe that this is

all that can be said of a great many persons' belief in any sentiment or opinion that they hold. 'Margrave' is more than a mere creature of the fancy; he represents a view; the degree of purpose and seriousness in the conception assists the delineation; that is, his love of life—his passion for it—does this. The author is enamoured of the idea, realises it, and carries the reader along with him. The plot requires that he should be a monster of wickedness, but this disturbs his reality, and will not harmonise with his portrait. We cannot recoil from a being who works wrong to others, without the conscience of crime, as having no soul. Being irresponsible, he is inconsistent. We sympathise with his youth—we see no connexion between it and his crimes. Indeed, we are left in the dark whether he does them consciously, or knows they are crimes. The connexion between himself and the mischief he does is confused, and, we think, clumsy. But on his first introduction—light, youthful, joyous—he inspires in the reader a sense of pleasant surprise. There is conveyed an intense sense of the pleasure and joy of living, and that vivid remembrance of what youth was, which comes back to all who have long lost it, and which assumes in our author the features of a marked characteristic. All his readers must have been amused and edified by his constantly recurring pictures of triumphant beauty, not impersonated, as it commonly is, in some female form, but in his heroes. Here we have it idealised in his own, not unaffected, but glowing style.

'Standing at the entrance of an arched trellis that led from the hardier flowers of the lawn to a rare collection of tropical plants under a lofty glass dome (connecting, as it were, the familiar vegetation of the north with that of the remotest east) was a form that instantaneously caught and fixed my gaze. The entrance of the arcade was covered with parasites in prodigal luxuriance of variegated and gorgeous tints—scarlet, golden, and purple—and the form, an idealised picture of man's youth fresh from the hand of nature, stood literally in a frame of blooms.

'Never have I seen human face so radiant as that young man's. There was in the aspect an indescribable something that literally dazzled. As one continued to gaze, it was with surprise one was forced to acknowledge that in the features themselves there was no faultless regularity; nor was the young man's stature imposing—about the middle height. But the effect of the whole was not less transcendent. Large eyes unspeakably lustrous; a most harmonious colouring; an expression of contagious animation and joyousness; and the form itself, so critically fine, that the welded strength of its sinews was best shown in the lightness and grace of its movements. . . . Nothing could be more frank and cordial than Mr. Margrave's manner. In a few minutes I found myself conversing with him familiarly as if we had been reared in the same home, and sported together in the same playground. His vein of talk was peculiar, off-hand, careless, shifting from topic to topic with a bright rapidity. . . . I endeavoured, when I went away, to analyse to myself the fascination which this young stranger so notably exercised over all who approached him, and it seemed to me, ever seeking to find material cause for

all moral effects, that it rose from the contagious vitality of that rarest of all rare gifts in highly civilised circles—perfect health; that health which is in itself the most exquisite luxury; which finds happiness in the mere sense of existence; diffuses round it, like an atmosphere, the harmless hilarity of its bright animal being. Health to the utmost perfection is seldom known after childhood, and health to the utmost cannot be enjoyed by those who overwork the brain, or admit the sure wear and tear of the passions. The creature I had just seen gave me the idea of youth in the golden age of the poets—the youth of the careless Arcadian before nymph or shepherdess had vexed his heart with a sigh.’—*Strange Story*, vol. i. p. 158.

It is a caprice on the verge of the permissible (or, perhaps, allowable, artistically speaking, only because it is not a mere caprice), to take this mystic being in company with the young physician,—representative of reason,—a morning walk in English fields; but there is a freshness in his first introduction, and again, in that scene with the squirrel,—a real power of language,—which must engage our admiration; and the subsequent horror of pain, and the selfish cruelty, which belongs to many a natural specimen of youthful health and strength, are more akin with such a being than his darker machinations. Though there is no question that the whole conception, the vagueness of dim intimations, the scarcely hinted allusions to a long past, not concealed by duplicity, but really indistinct from the transmutation, are all exciting to the curiosity; and his association, without companionship, with the ordinary life and youth about him; the smack of antiquity and remoteness which peeps here and there through boyish nonchalance; the weird studies; the wild songs of mystic sweetness; the desultory, quaint, irregular, diffusive knowledge, contrasting, as it does, with appearances, and all playing upon a state of society familiar to us all, and brought in contact with our own life, amusements, and modern tone of thought, raises certainly a very piquante image. Again, that preternatural penetration with which, in common with so many of his order, our present author delights to invest his characters, is more in place—more natural so to say—in a creature of untold years and experiences, than in people like ourselves. This sort of clairvoyance has characterised the whole series of Sir Bulwer Lytton’s works. It is in place here, for we live and learn, and years bring insight. On the whole we recognise the charm which the author desires to diffuse around him, and we stop in our liking at the point he would have us, as we like Undine before she attains her soul.

As for all the scenes of art-magic, in which ‘Margrave’ engages us, we think they fail in terror. The most laboured of them could be read at midnight without a shudder, though, in candour we should add, that we have not put them to this test. But they have not the effect of the supernatural. They are conjuration. We are virtually promised an explanation of

everything, and though we never accept it, and by no means admit that the marvels belong, in any sense or by any extension, to the kingdom of nature, the effect is a disenchantment. Thus, in the 'Scin Læca,' or luminous shadow which plays so prominent a part, and is, we presume, an embodiment of the Will, its horrors by no means come up to the simple ghost. We give its first introduction. The hero is reading a manuscript volume which nearly concerns Margrave, in fact gives a history of his crimes in his previous unrenovated existence. Amongst the other secrets he had learnt from the sages of the East, an especial power of will was one. He could influence, by a material force, from a distance—one of the pretensions of Mesmerism. The young physician arrives at a critical passage in the manuscript.

'I had read thus far when a dim shadow fell over the page, and a cold air seemed to breathe on me. Cold—so cold, that my blood halted in my veins as if suddenly frozen. Involuntarily I started, and looked up, sure that some ghastly presence was in the room, and then on the opposite side of the wall I beheld an unsubstantial likeness of a human form. Shadow I call it, but the word is not strictly correct, for it was luminous, though with a pale shine. In some exhibitions in London, there is shown a curious instance of optical illusion; at the end of a corridor, you apparently, in strong light, see a human skull. You are convinced it is there as you approach; it is, however, only the reflection of a skull at a distance. The image before me was less vivid, less seemingly prominent than is the illusion I speak of. I was not deceived. I felt it was a spectrum or phantasm, but I felt no less surely that it was a reflection from an inanimate form—the form and the face of Margrave; it was there distinct, unmistakable. Considering that he himself must be behind me, I sought to rise to turn round and examine. I could not move! limb and muscle were over-mastered by some incomprehensible spell. Gradually my senses forsook me; I became unconscious as well as motionless. When I recovered I heard the clock strike three. I must have been nearly two hours insensible. The candles before me were burning low; my eyes rested on the table; the dead man's manuscript was gone.'—*Ibid.* p. 332.

It has been one characteristic in Sir Bulwer Lytton's whole course of writings, that the will of the stronger minds of his stories should dominate over the weak with something more than a moral control. His characters are all upset by influences, in a way utterly at variance with nature, even where the influences are harmless. Such qualities as generosity, friendship, or natural affection, entirely interfere with a course of independent action, or any stability of design. But where he would define deeper feeling still, this predominance of the stronger will assumes a force, leaving no discretion to its victim. The affections of his heroines once fairly engaged, no discovery of error, or direct turpitude, as in the case of 'Eugene Aram, the murderer,' or 'Paul Clifford, the highwayman,' is allowed to make any difference on the enthralled nature, which is no longer a free agent. It strikes us, that

this visible shadow of a Will is only an impersonation of much that has gone before. We recognise the same impression of an external control, which there is not strength to resist. The following theory, to account for the wonders of this 'Strange Story,' has been, with its touch of fatalism, as much needed to explain many a former page. It evidently embodies the arguments for the stronger pretensions of Mesmerism.

"Man's will," he answered, "has over men's deeds and reason, habitual and daily power infinitely greater, and when uncounterbalanced, infinitely more dangerous than that which superstition exaggerates in magic. Man's will moves a war that decimates a race, and leaves behind it calamities little less dire than slaughter. Man's will frames, but it also corrupts laws; exalts, but also demoralizes opinion; sets the world mad with fanaticism, as often as it curbs the heart's fierce instincts by the wisdom of brotherlike mercy. You revolt at the exceptional limited sway over some two or three individuals, which the arts of a sorcerer (if sorcerers there be) can effect; and yet at the very moment in which you were perplexed and appalled by such a sway, or by your reluctant belief in it, your will was devising an engine to unsettle the reason and wither the hopes of millions!"

"My will! What engine?"

"A book conceived by your intellect, adorned by your learning, and directed by your will to steal from the minds of other men their persuasion of the soul's everlasting hereafter."

"I bowed my head, and felt myself grow pale:—"And if we accept Bacon's theory of secret sympathy, or the plainer physiological maxim, that there must be in the imagination, morbid and impressed by the will of another, some trains of ideas in affinity with such influence and pre-inclined to receive it, no magician could warp you to evil except through thoughts that themselves went astray. Grant that the Margrave who still haunts your mind, did really by some occult sinister magnetism, guide the madman and murderer—did influence the servant woman's vulgar desire to pry into the secrets of her ill-fated master; or the old maid's covetous wish, and envious malignity, what could this awful magician do more than any common-place quiet adviser, to a mind predisposed to accept advice?"—*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 227.

The argument then goes on to the magician's baneful influence over Lilian, the heroine, an impersonation of the visionary element, who is, in fact, only a development of our author's favourite type of woman. His highest ideal is prone to be more or less imbecile and removed from ordinary intelligence. Sometimes the imbecility is unalloyed but by touches of sentiment, as in the Fanny of 'Night and Morning,' and the Alice of 'Ernest Maltravers.' Sometimes it is modified by a vein of poetry, as in the case before us, and various others. Lilian in her normal state takes no interest in sublunary concerns; but she has sense in her own line of interests. However, in the story she is held in a state of cataleptic trance from one end to the other, all through the malignant influence of Margrave, who discerns in her the making of a Pythoness, or medium, through whose revelations he hopes to learn the secret of immortality—for he has hitherto but sipped of the divine elixir—and the materials for

concocting it, and the mode of procuring them still baffle his skill. It is but an awkward contrivance. The reader can never enter into the necessity, or get up any sympathy either with Margrave's, or the hero's relation with so very unsatisfactory a being. Lilian is simply a passive unconscious victim, now of slander, now of magic. She jilts her lover; she obeys the magic wand of his enemy, all in a dream. In point of art, she constitutes the great failure of the story, and deprives it of human sentiment, which ought always to balance, if not to counterbalance the preternatural, in compositions of this order. Nor does the physician, Allen Fenwick, who represents Intellect, play his part with the discretion a personage of such pretension should. For the better development of every side of each question, he is made absurdly sceptical. Not, of course, that we would not have the physician, to whom we intrust our health, sceptical to the end of the chapter of such matters as are asserted, or partially asserted, in these volumes; but this is only because we do not believe them; to maintain scepticism under such evidence as is here assumed is to be simply unreasonable. We are weary of his disputes and questions on facts of which he is himself the relator and historian. His profession, however, is set in a light and a dignity which we are hardly used to in these days, when there is a tendency to despise the physician's craft so long as men can do without it. Medicine is evidently a favourite study with our author. He touches on it with the tenderness of a hobby. Not only is a country physician a sage so marked and conspicuous, that he attracts the magician, who recognises in him gifts essential to his own aims, but he has a sage for his predecessor, whose decisions on science are introduced in terms sounding as the following: 'Then the great physician replied thus.' The hero, Allen Fenwick, is in love with his art. It is his religion; at least, he begins with no other, and his enthusiasm is sustained by a never-failing self-reliance, justified by a constant success. 'I felt,' he says, 'my skill was achieving a great triumph.' He never sees suffering, but the 'instinct of my profession seizes me at once, and a humanity inseparable from my calling. It is paramount to all other regards.' To the true physician there 'is an inexpressible sanctity in the sick chamber. He should enter, a calm intelligence.' We cannot in passing accept it as a trait of nature, that this self-reliant and victorious country physician should defer to London practice, bow to its higher authority, and send his patients to Town.

In his own affairs, and though prudence in worldly matters is his speciality, he strikes us as a bungler, and his strength, intellect, and skill, serve him doubtfully in critical con-

junctions; but they are, it must be admitted, occasions for which a physician's ordinary course of practice but ill prepares him, and indeed, where he obeys the instructions of Margrave, and tampers with blue fire, cabalistic diagrams, mystic lamps and cauldrons, we cannot but feel that the dignity of the faculty is considerably compromised, and we do not know what 'the Hill' of actual life could say to it.

There is one region in the tale but faintly involved in its magic wonders. It is part of the author's humour to bring the marvellous and the common-place in the closest juxtaposition, so Margrave pays one visit to Mrs. Poyntz, just to threaten her supremacy, and startle dull decorum out of its propriety; but the woman of the world is never engaged in the supernatural machinery. There is always a representative of the world in a tale by this author: sometimes taught its cunning in the school of its vices, like Lord Lilburne; or an attractive example of its more creditable teaching, like Sir Sedley Beadesert in the 'Caxtons.' Here society is represented by a woman, on whom much of our author's peculiar cleverness is expended. But as he writes, not from close study of models, but from general principles, he makes even his most literal copies of nature speak their thoughts aloud, he gives us, not what they would say, but what they think: not always even this; but what they would think if they sat down to analyze their conduct, a thing which we believe actors in life never do. People who have real influence do not talk or think much of the machinery they use. They follow an instinct. Mrs. Poyntz is always saying clever things, and determined things, 'with that decision of purpose which bore so deceitful a likeness to candour of mind;' asserting her authority, laying her schemes, and succeeding in them. It is the spirited portrait of a determined woman. One of the women who in books are always *getting* their own way, but who in real life do not so surely manage this, as they betray that they are set upon it. Happily they cannot say at every turn with Mrs. Poyntz, 'so that is settled,' and pass on to the next.

'In giving to Mrs. Poyntz the appellation of Queen of the Hill, let there be no mistake. She was not a constitutional sovereign; her monarchy was absolute; all her proclamations had the force of laws.

'Such ascendancy could not have been attained without considerable talents for acquiring and keeping it. Amidst all her off-hand, brisk, imperious frankness, she had the ineffable discrimination of tact. Whether civil or rude, she was never civil or rude but what she carried public opinion along with her; her knowledge of general society must have been limited, as must be that of all female sovereigns. But she seemed gifted with an intuitive knowledge of human nature, which she applied to her special ambition of ruling it. I have not a doubt that if she had been suddenly transferred, a perfect stranger to the world of London, she would soon have found her way to its selectest

circles, and, when once there, held her own against a duchess. I have said she was not affected; this might be one cause of her sway over a set in which nearly every other woman was trying rather to seem, than to be, a somebody.

But if Mrs. Poyntz was not artificial she was artful, or perhaps artistic. In all she said and did, there was conduct, system, plan. She could be a most serviceable friend or most damaging enemy, yet I believe she seldom indulged in strong likings or strong hatreds. All was policy—a policy akin to that of a proud party-chief, determined to raise up those whom, for any reason of state, it was prudent to favour, and to put down those whom, for any reason of state it was expedient to humble or crush.—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 48.

Mrs. Poyntz is endowed with that sort of penetration so entertaining to an author to delineate, and to the reader to follow out, but which it is not our good fortune to meet with amongst our personal acquaintance. The following scene occurs after a short slight acquaintance:

“Hush, she said,” lowering her voice, “you are in love.”

“In love! I! Permit me to ask you why you think so?”

“The signs are unmistakeable; you are altered in your manner, even in the expression of your face since I last saw you; your manner is generally quiet and observant, now it is restless and distracted; your expression of face is generally proud and serene, it is now humbled and troubled. You have something on your mind! It is not anxiety for your reputation, that is established; not for your fortune, that is made; it is not anxiety for a patient, or you would scarcely be here. But anxiety it is, an anxiety that is remote from your profession, that touches your heart and is new to it!”

“I was startled—almost awed.”—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 50.

This is amusing; but an author has given up the wish to be closely natural who makes such things happen in an evening party, and puts them in the lips of the lady of the house. Our author, however, always indulges his characters in the dear delight of talking of themselves and their nearest concerns, and receiving in return the delicate flattery of being understood, found out, and discussed in confidence. The limits allowed to egotism and self-assertion are indefinitely extended under his indulgent pen: ‘Look where I stand, I am the world,’ exclaims Mrs. Poyntz, and such statements duly fit in with the general tone. It may be argued that persons so peculiarly endowed for good and evil as some of the actors in this tale, must not be tried by conventionalism. That a benign magician, learned in all the secrets of the East, and in possession of a steel casket that can upset the elements, may very well, even in a ball-room and in the costume that befits the scene, plunge into pages of discourse with the hero, and, taking breath, pursue his theme with— ‘But I pause now, and ask myself whether the most virtuous existence,’ &c. &c. but in fact on all occasions this unlimited talk and boundless patience in listening prevails. Indeed, incontinence of speech grows with the tale, till in the end the action is utterly encumbered by it. It is a race with time

whether Margrave shall find his elixir or miss it by a few minutes, and die ; but his sinking frame and haggard lips talk on ; and this is one great cause of failure in those elements of power Sir Bulwer Lytton has always claimed for himself,—pity and terror. We can feel neither one nor the other so long as a self-possessed stream of talk is going on. But indeed our author's genius fails in other ways at the close of his romance ; the search for the first principle and main ingredient of the elixir and its final discovery, though wrought with evident care and study, fails, we think, in effect ; in spite of much dignity of wording, we are unfortunately reminded of the upturning of an ants' nest. And the subsequent effects are theatrical—fancy flags, and has to have recourse to old and too familiar expedients. The great Eye and monstrous Foot, which are to terrify and to break through the magic circle, have no real horror in them. We are too forcibly reminded of the records of American spirit-rapping. These, however, are shortcomings, fallings-off, which ought to be judged leniently. The great interest of such things lies in the search and the pursuit ; if these are well sustained, we must not quarrel with a lame conclusion, especially characterized and distinguished as the concluding scene here is by a very singular and elaborate strain of poetical prose sustained through several pages, in which the different personages are constantly breaking into hexameters and blank verse. In a certain sense, Sir Bulwer Lytton always strikes us as the most conscientious of authors. His style uniformly bears evidence of pains ; he is never betrayed into carelessness or hurry. He is always alive to a certain duty to himself and his readers.

As we have already said, our author sets before him far higher things than amusement. He has aimed to make his work serve the cause of religion and faith. The sceptical man of intellect and science, who obstinately refuses to acknowledge a soul or an immortality, is slowly and unwillingly convinced of both. He whose reason has refused to credit the efficacy of prayer is brought to his knees. Of course all hangs on the truth or falsehood of the system on which the story is built. We who are utterly sceptical, who think the marvels claimed as facts only capable of explanation by accident or collusion, do not look upon the story as an instrument of conversion. We protest against those influences which profess to govern the actions of others without any conscious assent of their will ; nor can we blame Mrs. Poyntz for withholding the sanction of the Hill from young ladies who run after handsome magicians ; because we, like her, can put no faith in steel wands, or in involuntarily unconscious

obedience to stronger wills, which constitutes, in the author's line of argument, a complete and sufficient defence. It is but another aspect, if we regard it seriously, of the author's early habit of treating passion or feeling as overmastering impulses, exonerating those who are led by them from responsibility.

But this is but a vulgar interpretation of the psychological mysteries of our being. Lost in myths and marvels, and philosophical theories for every contingency which these mysterious agencies bring about, our author may be exonerated from any intentional infringement of the severest morality and decorum. His book is intended to embrace every subject connected with our material and mental organization, presenting difficulties which reason and common sense have as yet failed to solve; and which he therefore considers to be turned over to another tribunal. The motto on the title-page gives a clue to the book itself. 'To doubt and to be astonished is to recognise our ignorance. Hence it is that the lover of wisdom is in a certain sense, a lover of mythi; for the subject of mythi is the astonishing and the marvellous.' To a good many people, a sudden devotion to the study of mythi, of the class in this work, might be rather injurious to a settled faith and a definite creed; but such is far from the intention of the author, whose theories of truth, art, and life, pursued through years of ardent invention, have rendered speculation of every kind—speculative fancy, and fanciful speculation—a normal condition of the mind. We cannot apprehend that his argument will cause any amount of serious conviction in his readers or even disturbance of preconceived opinion. He will always be read, not for his philosophy but for his varied powers as a novelist. We have preferred, therefore, to treat the 'Strange Story' simply as a tale by a distinguished author, and a natural conclusion of a long remarkable and much criticised series of fiction.

- ART. VI.—1. *Geschichte der Einführung des Christenthums im Südwestlichem Deutschland, besonders in Württemberg.* Von C. J. HEFELE. Tübingen. 1837.
2. *La Civilization Chrétienne chez les Francs: Recherches sur l'Histoire Ecclésiastique, Politique, et Littéraire des Temps Mérovingiens, et sur le Règne de Charlemagne.* Par A. F. OZANAM, Professeur de Littérature Étrangère à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris. Paris. 1849.
3. *The Monks of the West, from S. Benedict to S. Bernard.* By the COUNT DE MONTALEMBERT. Book VII. *S. Columbanus.* English Translation. Edinburgh. 1861.
4. *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, from the first Introduction of Christianity among the Irish to the beginning of the Thirteenth Century.* By the Rev. J. LANIGAN, D.D. Second Edition. Dublin. 1829. 4 vols.
5. *History of the Ancient Church in Ireland.* By the Rev. W. G. TODD, A.B. London. 1845. 1 vol. 12mo.

A SCOT has not been an unimportant character upon the stage of the world from the earliest time of his entrance upon it. We may draw a veil over the rudeness of S. Jerome, shrinking in horror from the Attacottian cannibals whom he encountered, far from their homes, in Gaul, and of whom he speaks much as one might speak now of Bushmen made a show of in London; and whose descendants, strange to say, within two centuries, singled out himself above all other Fathers as the object of a special and hyper-papal veneration. Yet even among S. Jerome's denunciations of these poor creatures, and of the immoral Scots proper of his own day under their own name, occurs indirect evidence of an earlier Christianity in Ireland (the original Scotland) than that of S. Palladius' or S. Patrick's planting—of a Christianity there, contemporary with Jerome himself. For the heretic Scot Cælestius, who found words in which to express the heretical thoughts of Pelagius, implies at the same time Scots that were Christians and not heretics, just as a shadow implies light. From the sixth century, however, down to the seventeenth, the continental reputation of 'Scotsmen' was of a far different, and though strange in its contrasts, yet of a far more exalted kind; and during the first five centuries of that period we do not know that any national character in the then world

stood higher. The name, indeed, is an equivocal one. And the Scots of modern geography, as they ousted their Irish progenitors both from the name itself, and, by virtue of the equivocation, from pecuniary foundations abroad, which were restricted to Scotsmen, so also supplanted the original Scottish reputation by one of a very different complexion. The Scots of modern Scotland, whom, during the great French wars, down to the close of them in the days of the Quentin Durwards, political reasons brought to fight their home battles with their home enemies upon a foreign shore and under a foreign banner,—or the Dalgetties again, who were not the least formidable of the formidable soldiers of the great Gustavus,—rivalled at best the far-famed Irish brigade, who under like circumstances helped to win Fontenoy for the French. And Irish Scots of later date, such as Marshal MacMahon, still preserve a kind of lingering echo of the like fame, somewhat tarnished indeed of late by the Pope's Own at the catastrophe of Spoleto. But the continental reputation of a Scot during the earlier centuries we have named was of a nobler strain than any that warlike glory or even political fidelity can give. It was marked for bravery, but it was bravery in a heavenly, not an earthly cause. It was marked, too, by other characteristics equally Irish, with courage,—by a ready wit, and an intensity and depth of feeling; by an affectionate temper, a restless moveability, an enthusiastic and excessive rather than a steady zeal, an occasionally blundering impetuosity; by great and not always judicious efforts, not well organized or long sustained; by a lively though wild imagination, by hasty speech, by independence of thought. But all these qualities were ennobled and quickened by a fervour of religious life, and by a vigour and extent of Christian learning, which made the Scot of those days the missionary and the teacher *par excellence* of the northern Europe of the time. The traveller of the world, his travels were sanctified into pilgrimages; the great civilizer of northern Europe, his colonies were monasteries, which served at once as permanent fortresses to secure the advances of Christendom, and as the kernels of cities which in time converted forests into gardens and fields, and tamed barbarian hordes into Christian peoples. The extreme limit of the West poured back with interest the gifts of civilization and of the Gospel upon the Roman empire, to which it had stood but shortly before as the very symbol of remotest barbarism. The scarcely planted appendage of the Gallic Churches repaid its founders by becoming in its turn the strength and life of Continental Christendom. And beyond their own task, it was the Celts, and mainly the Scots, who handed on in time to their Anglo-Saxon fellow-labourers and pupils the office of furthering

and consolidating, by a more practical and less imaginative zeal, the great work of Christianizing and instructing the barbarian world, which Celtic enthusiasm so largely began. Developing with the greater freedom according to their own peculiar bent, because a barrier of Arianism, as well as the physical barrier of the Alps, shut them off, after their first planting, from Roman influence, the Scotch Churches of S. Patrick and S. Columba grew the more vigorously, because they looked to no foreign guide and leant on no foreign support. And first by armies of monastic missionaries, and next by learned teachers—first, by attracting pupils to Irish schools from all Christian Europe north of the Alps and the Pyrenees, and next, by sending forth men to become the founders of schools or monasteries or churches abroad, they stand out, from the sixth century forward, as the most energetic centres of religious life and knowledge in Europe—the main restorers of Christianity in paganized England and Roman Germany—the reformers and main founders of monastic life in northern France—the opponents of Arianism, even in Italy itself—the originators in the West of the well-meant, however mistaken, system of the Penitentials—the leading preservers, in the eighth and ninth centuries (though under strange guise), of theological and classical culture, Greek as well as Latin—the scribes, both at home and abroad, of many a precious Bible text—the teachers of psalmody—the schoolmasters of the great monastic schools—the parents, in great part, as well as the forerunners, of Anglo-Saxon learning and missionary zeal—the senders forth of not the least bright stars among the galaxy of talent gathered by Charlemagne from all quarters to instruct his degenerate Franks—the founders of the schoolmen—the originators, it must be confessed (to add a dark touch to the picture), of metaphysical freethinking and pantheistic tendencies in modern Europe, yet (we must maintain) not open as a Church to the charge of Pelagianizing so commonly laid against them—the hive, lastly, whence, long after Charlemagne, Germany and Switzerland drew a never-failing supply of zealous and learned monks, driven from home probably by Danish ravages and intestine brawls, down to the very time of the Normanizing of the Celtic Churches in the entire British Isles in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In a word, between the Roman and the Teuton there was, historically and morally, a gap, which (as M. Ozanam truly says) the Celtic races filled, and so preserved the chain of Christian civilization unbroken, not only by keeping decrepit Roman culture alive until the vigorous life of Teutonic manhood was ready to receive it, but by supplying elements also of enthusiasm, imagination, and affectionateness, which were needed to soften Teutonic barbarism.

Fortune has played a perverse trick, by flaunting in the face of modern Irish Romanism a theory of an Irish as well as a British Protestant Church (of all countries in the world), during the period thus described, which only a turn of the scale, humanly speaking, hindered from anticipating the Reformation itself. How far this was so, will partly appear by the sketch we propose to make of the foreign aspect of the Scotch Churchman of the period. M. de Montalembert has partially brought the question before a wider range of readers than are usually interested in Church history, by the account of Columbanus in his recent unfinished '*History of Western Monachism.*' We refer to the work of M. Ozanam, as supplying a learned and graphic outline both of the missions and of the schools of the Irish of the period in question, and so bringing the facts of the whole subject together, although as a part only of a much larger subject, and regarded from a Roman Catholic point of view. In modern histories of the Irish Church the question has been treated both from the anti-Roman (by Mr. W. G. Todd) and from the Roman side, with surpassing learning (by Dr. Lanigan). The assumption, indeed, of a British and Scotch Church independent of Rome, has established itself among historians generally, with the exception, of course, of Roman Catholics. It is assumed, for instance, by secular historians like Lappenberg. While native controversialists have sometimes carried it to the suicidal extent of actually implying Roman doctrine through the alleged existence of formal protests against that doctrine, or have mixed up real historical facts with groundless theories of a Greek or an Eastern Church in Britain. We propose at present to call attention to the part played by Britons and Scots externally to their own home, during this period, treating the controversial question incidentally, but bent rather on sketching a comparatively neglected portion of our own Church history, which yet appears to our minds by no means its least creditable or its least characteristic portion.

1. A reflex Celtic wave was thrown back upon the Continent by the mere onward progress of the tide of Teutonic-Saxon conquest, and broke with greater or less force and permanence upon each projecting headland thrust out by Europe into the Atlantic. Not as missionaries, but as fugitives, British Christians not only fled from Saxon invasion to kindred and neighbouring Ireland, but appear also upon the British (and Christian) rocks and wilds of Armorica—the shore whence the dead were ferried across the sea, according to the Byzantine historian Procopius—the scene where classic poets (Claudian) had by this time come to localize the visit of Ulysses to the shades,—and the cradle, in plain fact, of many a half-paganized Christian legend,—but already, before

this great immigration, possessed (notwithstanding M. de Montalembert's erroneous statement) of an organized and learned Christian British Church. They appear, also, even further from home, near that other more distant Cape Finisterre, in Gallicia; to say nothing of the conjectural trace of British immigration at Brittenberg, near the mouth of the Rhine, which sounds apocryphal. A see of Bretoña (near Lugo in Gallicia) from 569 onwards, an unmistakeable Welsh bishop there, named Mailoc, perchance the brother of the well-known Gildas (572), and a tonsure of the peculiar British cut (Conc. Tolet. IV. A.D. 633, can. xli.), present evidence of a back current of Britons, not, indeed, from Ireland, but from Wales, upon Spain in the sixth century, a little more solid, at any rate, than that for the better known legend of later date, which bears the imaginary Madoc across the Atlantic to a more distant west;—a current, however, speedily absorbed in the surrounding Gotho-Spanish Church, and annihilated altogether at no long time after (c. 830) by Moorish invasion. The Breton nationality in Armorica, it need hardly be said, was of a more permanent kind. Yet neither at home nor abroad can the patriotic pride, whether of *Breton Bretonnant* or of Welshman, legitimately claim a favourable verdict for their respective ancestors, however much disposed to do so. At home, the picture drawn by Gildas is reflected and continued in all its painful traits by the unintentional evidence of the cathedral records of Llandaff (the *Liber Landavensis*), and by the unimpeachable and still severer testimony of the Laws of King Howel, to say nothing of the *De Illandabilibus Walliæ* of the prejudiced Giraldus; while Bede's well-known accusation, answered perhaps as well as accounted for by the acerbities of a perpetual border warfare, is confirmed by the actual fact, that among the many Scots mentioned in connexion with the preaching of the Gospel to the Anglo-Saxons occurs not one Briton. The son of Urien, who, in the uncritical pages of the so-called Nennius, plays almost the precise part in the conversion of Northumbria that is assigned by Bede's more historical evidence to Paulinus, is probably a mere instance of the law of inversion common in legendary history. Omitting the Wessex and Cornwall Churches, which appear usually on friendly terms, the common character of Welsh incursions into Saxon England rather resembled, we must fear, that of S. Guthlac's nocturnal visitors, mentioned by Palgrave, of whom he was relieved to discover, in the morning, that they had been demons and not Welsh. Across the seas we have only a second Wales, a like continuity of murdered princes and disputed successions, of lax morality and wild superstition, of frantic insult to both Church and Gospel, bought

off by gifts of gold and land to monasteries—a second and continental Wales, with (strange to say) hostile Saxon, as well as other neighbours, to fight against, and under a like alternation of submission or hostility towards a foreign suzerain, but, in its Church aspect, of as little appreciable influence for good as the Celtic Church of the greater Britain. As in the case of the latter, the only known British missions, of S. Nynian to Galloway and S. Patrick to Ireland, drew their life, if not their existence, from Gallic saints and bishops; so, abroad, the great movement organized by S. Columbanus numbers scarcely one Briton among the armies of its Irish promoters. The Breton Church remains, with but scanty exceptions,¹ isolated and unexpansive. And the one Breton Church writer whose name and works survive, Faustus of Lerins (and he, too, accused of inclining towards Pelagianism), both lived in southern France, and belonged to the period antecedent to the great British immigration of the middle of the sixth century. The monasteries alone of Brittany itself appear to date their importance from that immigration; and among others the Glastonbury of Brittany was then founded—that great monastery, the final resting-place of the monastic exiles, who grew old but could not die in the wild paradise of their first settlement, and which also (to turn from legend to history) held fast its Scoto-British customs until the ninth century, Landevenech. Only one name appears, that of Maclovius (561-627), himself by a rare instance a Columban monk from Luxeuil, to rival, in a humble way, the Welsh S. David. And only one transaction of interest varies the uncomfortable record of Breton Church history, the vigorous and independent proceedings of that Breton rival of Henry VIII., King Nominœ, who, in the middle of the ninth century, placed and displaced bishops, and created bishoprics, in total disregard of the outspoken wrath of Pope Leo IV. Before another century was out, the Bretons still looked indeed for sympathy and support across the waves of the channel, but had transferred their affections from their Welsh kinsmen to him who had now become the suzerain of Wales itself, the Anglo-Saxon Athelstane.

But if Britons did little more for the spread of the Gospel than arose undesignedly from compulsory emigration, the case was

¹ Mansuetus, a regionary bishop (*Episcopus Britannorum*, possibly of Malo or S. Aleth) was at a Council of Tours in 461; Paternus was consecrated to the See of Vannes at a Council there in 465; Modestus, also Bishop of Vannes, was at a Council of Orleans in 511: and see also the Letters of Sidonius Apollinaris. After the great immigration of Bretons from Britain, dated by chroniclers in 513, Sampson and Paternus, who were connected with both sides of the channel, and were Bishops probably of Avranches and of Dol respectively, were at a Council of Paris in 555.

widely different with the Scots. It is recorded by chroniclers, as one might chronicle a good harvest, that A.D. 674, 'Ireland was full of saints.' S. Columba, the apostle of the Albanian Scots and northern Picts; S. Aidan, the apostle of the Northumbrian Saxons; S. Columbanus, the apostle of the Burgundians of the Vosges district of Alsace, S. Gall, the apostle of north-eastern Switzerland and Alemannia; S. Kilian, the apostle and martyr of Thuringia; Virgilius, the apostle of Carinthia, are the leading names among those who sought to sow abroad the seed of a still larger harvest of the like grain. These laid the foundation of Christian labours, which carried back the sway of the Gospel to the limits to which the Christianized Roman empire had formerly borne it, but which had since been effaced and overpassed by heathen Teutonic conquest. It is remarkable that 'Scottish' labours hardly reached or took no firm root beyond those limits. Neither did 'Scottish' zeal retain or propagate the impress of peculiar Scottish customs beyond a space of time singularly short when compared with its original fervour. And thus, although continual reinforcements from home perpetuated the national feeling, the remark seems true, that the work of mastering heathenism, unless among their own kindred or where traces remained of past Roman civilization and Christianity, and of founding permanent churches, was left rather to Anglo-Saxon or French successors of Irish zeal—to men who were less of hermits and more of monks, who had adopted a rule of life less exactly ascetic, and who handled their converts not with greater zeal or affectionateness, but with a greater power of practical organization and a more judicious estimate of human nature. Yet, even thus limited, the missionary work of the Scot was, for these days, of singular extent. Between the latter years of the sixth and the early ones of the eighth centuries it stretched along the borders of then existing Christendom, from the Orkneys to the Thames, and from the sources of the Rhine and the Danube downwards to the shores of the Channel, from Seine to Scheldt; while at Bobbio, near the river Trebia in Italy, was planted a Catholic Irish colony (c. 612) in the midst of Arian Lombards; and unknown but not less zealous missionaries bore the Gospel northwards, over stormy and icy seas, even to the Faroe Isles (725) and the shores of Iceland (795). And as Christianity pushed its frontiers forward, with the lapse of years, so did 'Scottish' zeal keep pace with that advance. The 'patron of Austria,' though he did little to earn the title, Colman, canonized at Melch on the Danube in 1025—and John the Scot bishop of Mecklenburgh, martyred by the heathen Slavonians in 1065—and the cluster of Scotch monasteries dependent on S. James of Ratisbon, the foundation of Conor-o-Bryan, king of Munster, and pushing

eastwards as far as Vienna, during the twelfth century—carry us still onward to the ever-receding frontiers of heathendom, at the later as at the earlier period. And ‘Scottish’ bishops, the subjects of epic poems and triumphal commemorations, whose existence, at least, may be believed if transferred to centuries when Scotch bishops in Europe were not only possible but common—Cataldus of Tarentum, not, indeed, in the second century, but in the eighth; his brother Donatus, of Lupisæ or Lecce; another greater Donatus a century and a half later, at Fiesole; a Frigidian, at Lucca—add to the Scottish wreath the yet further glory of supplying prelates to the very home itself (in earlier days) of letters, to Italy. We need not extend the limits of Irishism, with M. Ozanam, to the dubious locality of that one among the triple Sedulii, the numerous family of Shiels, of the fifth, the eighth, and the ninth centuries, who appears to have been Bishop of Oretó in Spain; or settle which of the many Shiels was the poet and which the commentator. We need not insist upon the possible Irishism of Ernulph and Buo, founding a church in new Norwegian Iceland in 874, in honour of the name of their great native saint, distorted by a strangely suggestive jingle of sounds into Columbus. With every allowance for legend—itself no small evidence of the celebrity of that nation which it finds everywhere, and to which it attributes everything—enough was undoubtedly achieved by Scots for the faith and for the Christian learning of the time, during the period from the sixth to the twelfth centuries, to gain them an undying fame in the Church of Christ.

We must strive to be brief in our enumeration of labours, so numerous as almost to compel us to a bare catalogue. Open the pages of Bede, and we find, on our own side of the Channel, extorting ungrudging praises from the honest but prejudiced Saxon monk, Scotch missionaries everywhere, either converting idolaters *ab initio*, or renewing effectively abortive attempts from Canterbury. The island of Hy, the centre of the Culdee movement for Albanian Scotch Christianity, is repeated, for Anglo-Saxon Northumbrians, in Lindisfarne; both of them monasteries under the rule of abbots, from which, as from Luxeuil afterwards, issued hosts of Episcopal, as well as other missionaries, looking with reverence to the parent monastery, but who would have stood aghast at the modern Presbyterian caricature which, as regards Hy, has imagined—nay, which still imagines—in the filial relation a parity of order. Further south, Scotch monks or Scotch bishops recover the lost ground of defeated Canterbury missions, and plant Churches in the wilds of Suffolk and on the coast of Essex, and at Tilbury and at London itself, with nothing but the Thames to sever them from the narrow limits of the

Kentish sees. The midland of England is converted wholly from Scotland, or by Scotch-taught Angles. A Scotch-taught bishop, though a Frank by race, presides over Wessex; and the great Wessex monastery of Malmesbury originated with a Scotch monk. If a learned *scholasticus* is mentioned, he is of course a Scot. If a prince, with a name by an appropriate prolepsis, little differing from that of Alfred, is of a studious turn, he seeks instruction, especially in the Scriptures, in Ireland. From Ireland the first Anglo-Saxon missionaries derive the impulse which sends them forth. Young Anglo-Saxons seek theological instruction, where it not only abounds, but is dispensed with unusual generosity, to pupils kept in free quarters, in Ireland. If Aldhelm has a learned friend, that friend has been studying in Ireland. If the erudite Anglo-Saxon Abbot of Malmesbury has to plead against wrong done to his abbey lands, he writes plainly and briefly in the simplest of Latin; but the flowers of his eloquence—language that, for enigmatic erudition and artificial rhetoric, rivals Armado and Holofernes, or Euphues—are reserved for Irish friends or Irish pupils. So in later times Alcuin, debarred from intercourse for a time by the Emperor Charles's politics, comforts himself by a correspondence with his Irish master, Colcu. So, later still, when Danes had overthrown the prosperity of the great Western university of the England of those days, of Glastonbury, it is Irish doctors under whom it is restored, and among the first fruits of whose labours is Archbishop Dunstan. Nor need we wonder, when the Anglo-Saxon deigned thus to borrow learning from a stranger, that Celtic Wales still, in the tenth century, chose Bishops of S. David's from Irish-taught monks. Even that which has been regarded as the special creation in the West of Anglo-Saxon prelates, the Penitential system, seems, in truth, to have been of Irish origin. That great but mistaken instrument for Christianizing barbarian tempers was devised by the overstrained and indiscreet zeal of Cumman and Columbanus, following probably the model of that which is attributed to S. Jerome, whom the West, according to the latter, so highly revered. And in foreign penitential collections, borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon, occurs accordingly the strange combination of Theodore and of Adamnan, of Egbert and of Cumman, all amicably appealed to as of like authority. Nay, S. David himself, if we may trust some rather questionable fragments in a MS. of the tenth century,¹ led the way for them all at a still earlier date. And the councils which figure in

¹ See the fragments of canons in Martene and Durand, purporting to be the work of a *Synodus Aquilonalis Britannia*, and of a second *Synod Luci Victorie*, and, lastly, to be taken *ex Libro Davidis*; and compare Ricemarch's legendary Life of S. David.

Welsh legend as the scenes of that prelate's stentorian triumphs over Pelagianism, where the metropolitanship, not of Wales, but of the 'whole British island,' was won by the loudness of his voice, and was duly confirmed at Rome, turn out most probably to have been busied in prosaic legislation respecting the appointment of penitential punishments, which looked for authorities no further than their own libraries, and had nothing to do with Rome, or with doctrine, or with metropolitan arrangements, at all.

Cross the Channel, and in the same seventh and later centuries 'Scotsmen' play a still grander part of the same kind. 'Armies of Scots'—'almost all Ireland,' crowded to the Continent: the 'whole nation had turned pilgrims or travellers' (*peregrinus* had not yet acquired its restricted sense)—such are the expressions used by contemporaries. And among these armies of pilgrims, in whom by a strange resemblance and as strange an unlikeness to the modern swarms of English travellers, the *mos peregrinandi* had become a second nature, were men who founded monastic orders and contended with popes, who held their own against a S. Gregory and a Benedict; who came like the sophists of old, but with a loftier temper and a nobler material, to proclaim their vocation to teach; who became apostles and founders of new Churches, embracing whole nations; who revived both zeal and learning among Frank and Gallic and English clergy, by contact with their own loftiness of soul and activity of mind; who led the van in the conversion of the Teutonic peoples, while they were within a turn of the scale of appropriating the honour of being the first to preach it to the Slavonian family of nations as well. The foremost figure in this noble group is that of S. Columbanus. Yet there are faint traces of earlier Scottish missionaries before him. It is observable, that intercourse between Ireland and France at this time was commonly through either the ports at the mouth of the Loire, or by England and the harbours of Flanders and Picardy; while Brittany appears very rarely as opening an inlet into France for the missions of its kinsmen. And of the first two localities, Tours, the city of S. Martin, and Poitiers, the city of S. Hilary, were additional attractions in favour of the former. From thence the nearest frontier of heathendom was to be found on the borders of the kingdom of Burgundy and Austrasia, from the Vosges mountains along the Rhine to the Lake of Constance, or in the Jura. Accordingly it is there that we first hear of foreign Scottish missionaries. Thither came from Ireland S. Fridolin, the pioneer of the future host. From Poitiers, his first halting-place, he passed by the Moselle and Strasburg, founding Churches dedicated to S. Hilary, first to Glarus, which still retains in its name the trace of his

presence, and finally to Seckingen, near Basle. A circle of churches in that neighbourhood, dedicated to S. Hilary or to S. Fridolin himself, seems proof of the reality of his history. The patronage of a Frank monarch, Clovis, including what was afterwards Austrasia within his dominions, and therefore the first of the name, marks his date, if one can trust the allusions of a legend, as not later than 511. We must pass onward to the end of the same century, before this isolated effort (if it be rightly dated) was renewed on a grander scale. Banished from his first foundation, Luxeuil (founded c. 590), through the hatred of Queen Brunehaut (the subject of Pope Gregory's flattery) against so stern and uncompromising a monitor, Columbanus had been transported to the mouth of the Loire in order to be sent across the seas to Ireland, had escaped his persecutors, and passed by a long circuit through Neustria and Austrasia, beyond the scene of Fridolin's labours, to the banks of the Lake of Constance (c. 610). Banished again from thence by political changes and local enmities, he crossed the Alps and the Po, to found at Bobbio (c. 612) another Luxeuil, destined to outlast its parent and endure to this present century (to 1803), and to preserve in its copious and valuable library, not classical texts only (as that of Cicero's '*De Republicâ*'), but others of more interest to our present purpose, an Irish Antiphonarium of (probably) the eighth century (so Schöll), and a Missal, written by Irish monks, commemorating Irish saints, enriched by Irish hymns, but containing a ritual like to that of Luxeuil; and besides these, Penitentials differing from, but based upon, the celebrated *Regula* itself of the founder. And here his memory still survives in the town of S. Columbano, near Lodi. Leaving, however, for the present the mighty work of Luxeuil itself and its countless colonies in France, and that also of Scottish labours in Italy, let us trace first the fruits of that last journey of the great Irish missionary in the labours of those whom he left behind in its course, and of their successors. Columbanus must have passed up the Rhine by the *Via Mala*, or over to the S. Gothard, a strange precursor of the insular travellers who now crowd through the Alpine passes with no higher motive than love of amusement or search of health. At Disentis, at the very head of the western source of the Rhine, above the old Roman bishopric of Coire, Sigisbert, banished with his master from Luxeuil as an Irishman, founded a monastery, destined also to last. Lower down, on the shores of the Lake of Constance, a greater Irish disciple of the same master, S. Gall or Callech, revived the dying embers of the Gospel in the ancient and then still existing see of Constance, and extended its sway (with his disciples, mainly Irish) far across the Black Forest into Alemannia or Württem-

berg, leaving his name also to a monastery, which in after days was to be still an Irish school, and the rival in fame of Fulda itself. Lower still, and at a later date (640—645), overleaping the double monastery (Irish fashion, of men and of women) of Fridolin, another Irishman (his name, however, throwing doubt upon his alleged Hibernianism), the anchorite S. Trudpert,—and something later, another, Landelin,—and possibly also one Offo, a Briton, strangely confounded in after days with the Anglo-Saxon Offa,—became founders of monastic colonies near Freyburg in Baden, and at Ettenheimmünster and Schuttern near Offenburg, in the same neighbourhood. Pirminius, another (probable) Scot, at the beginning of the eighth century (c. 724—730), the founder of Reichenau, the great twin abbey of that neighbourhood with S. Gall, and founder or restorer of fourteen or fifteen others in a circle, from Pfeffers between Glarus and Coire, by Gmund, to Weissenburg and the strangely named *Mauri Monasterium* in Alsace, and even, by a daring advance, at Upper and Lower Altach on the Danube as low as its confluence with the Isar, and at Monsee near Salzburg, restored and consolidated what the earlier Scots had begun. The more advanced inroads into heathen Germany made by the immediately subsequent preaching of the Anglo-Saxons under Boniface, left Alemannia thenceforward an inland and secure province of the great Christian Commonwealth. Yet as teachers and as monks, though not as missionaries, the connexion between Ireland and the abbeys of Reichenau, but above all S. Gall, was still maintained by fresh supplies of Irish pilgrims. The hermit Findan, who found his way by S. Martin's shrine at Tours, after many wanderings, to Rheinau (near Schaffhausen) about (probably) the year 800, was an Irishman. The *Codex Augiensis* (i.e. of Reichenau), a Greek MS. of S. Paul's Epistles, containing also a Latin translation, 'which is a mixture of the old Latin and S. Jerome's,' according to the best authority (Scrivener, confirming Davidson), is a member of the same Irish family of Scripture MSS. with the equally celebrated *Codex* of S. Gall, and the *Codex Boernerianus*.¹ And at S. Gall, the Irish names that fill its necrology in the ninth century—the MSS. of the eighth and of the ninth centuries, brought from Ireland or written at S. Gall by Irishmen, of

¹ Among other proofs of British and Scottish practical isolation and independence, the use among them of a Latin version of the Bible differing from the Vulgate, and also in some parts (judging by Gildas), from the other known ante-Hieronymian Latin versions also, is a curious one. Gildas in 560 knew the Vulgate, for he employs it in some books of Scripture. Yet 'Scottish' monks long after, and abroad, e.g. S. Kilian, and the writers of the '*Codex Augiensis*,' and of the '*Codex Boernerianus*' (which is now known to be the second volume, so to say, of that of S. Gall), employ a version *not* the Vulgate, although supposed in one case to have been partially corrected by it.

which so many still remain¹—the Scot, Eusebius, who visited S. Gall in 841, and whose little *Monasterium Scotorum*, at Mount S. Victor, in the Vorarlberg, was absorbed by charter of Charles the Fat in S. Gall itself, on its founder's death, in 883—the chance stranger who, of course, was a Scot, who found a refuge in S. Gall, when his company left him behind them sick, in the time of Walafriid Strabo, then Dean of S. Gall, and who suggests to that writer the remark (in *Vita S. Galli*) that all Ireland was wont to travel, about the same year, 841—the Irish bishop, Mark, who, with his sister's son, Moengal, came to S. Gall also in 841, the latter to become there a schoolmaster, celebrated for his pupils, for the artistic skill of Tutilo, for the liturgical and theological knowledge of S. Notker, for the learning of Ratpert—the Greek school flourishing at S. Gall, under Irish auspices, in the ninth and tenth centuries, when no other Greek school could (probably) be found in Germany, save for a brief space and under an Irish master at Utrecht—combine to prove at once the continued 'Scotticism' of the great Swiss monastery, and the abundant learning and reputation which that circumstance brought to it. Happily, abroad as well as at home, national antipathies also had died away; and the last link of connexion between S. Gall and these islands, with which we are acquainted, is in the curious brotherhood for funeral masses in the tenth century, of which the abbots of S. Gall and Reichenau were the heads, and in the roll of the members of which occur the names of Germans and Franks, of emperors, kings, and bishops, as well as of the monks of S. Gall and Reichenau themselves; and besides them those of Anglo-Saxon thanes and bishops, and of the great Anglo-Saxon monarch, King Athelstane.

But Irish zeal adventured beyond these half-Roman limits, even in the seventh century, and grappled, though with partial success, with purely heathen Teutonism. First, converting by their way the still heathen Varasques on the river Doubs on their own side of the Jura, Eustasius and Agilus, two members of the Irish Luxeuil, though the latter was himself a Frank, were formally sent forth by a Gallic Council (c. 620), and laid the foundation of a Church in Bavaria; to be revived and extended after an interval by Bishop Rupert of Worms, and then of Salzburg (c. 696),—whose Hibernianism, however, is as questionable as his brother Trudpert's already mentioned, and for a like reason,—and by Pirminius above mentioned, and then still more solidly by an undoubted Irishman, by the opponent of Boniface, the believer in the Antipodes, the intelligent and

¹ The best account of these is in recent numbers of the *Zurich Antiquarian Transactions*. See also Rettig's facsimile of the *Codex San Gallensis* of the Gospels, Zurich, 1836.

earnest Virgilius of Salzburg (c. 756); and to be carried subsequently by the latter yet further still, into the wilds of Carinthia. Yet, so far, these earlier missionaries encountered traces of an older Christianity, although one debased by various forms of Eastern heresy; and clung throughout to the outskirts of the old Roman Churches, while almost pushing far enough to meet Eastern missionaries advancing in the opposite direction. A more daring effort, about the later part of the century (687), carried S. Kilian,¹ with his priest Colman and his deacon Totnam, all Irish, to contend with outright heathenism in the heart of Thuringia, and, like another John Baptist before the wrath of another Herodias, to die a martyr at Wurzburg through a refusal to baptize the Thuringian Duke unless he put away his brother's wife—a not uncommon kind of stumbling-block in the path of missionaries to the Teutonic tribes (though it was commonly the father's widow whom the son was held bound to marry), and one which the Irishman Clement soon after met in Bavaria (like some modern missionaries in kindred cases) by concession. The Wurzburg Gospels, a MS. of an ante-Hieronymian Latin version, dating in the seventh century, preserve the memory, and indicate the Irish learning, of S. Kilian, by whom it is alleged that the MS. was brought to Wurzburg. And the Greek knowledge of Dobda, surnamed the Greek (unless, indeed, we adopt the not improbable supposition that the epithet is only a corruption of the real name, Dobdagreus), who established a school at Chiempsee in Bavaria—the unusually independent speculations of Virgilius, skilled in Martianus Capella, that quaint text-book of the Irish schools, and therefore, of course, believing in men on the other side of the world beneath our feet, to the horror of the somewhat narrow-minded Boniface—and even the heretical-looking notions of Boniface's other Irish opponents, Samson, Sidonius, Clement—point to a school of Irish learning,—as the ascetic zeal of Alto, the Irish founder of Altenmünster, near Freisingen, and of the more celebrated brothers, also Irishmen, SS. Erard and Albert of Ratisbon, and perhaps also of S. Hildulf, once Bishop of Treves, and conjectured to have been yet a third brother, and certainly S. Erard's companion, to whom may be added the name of yet another Irish hermit near Freisingen at the same period, viz. Declan, point to a school of Irish monasticism,—in Bavaria also. Anglo-Saxon vigour completed and confirmed what Irish zeal had thus begun. And the efforts of S. Boniface, although they evidently failed either to eject or even to discredit Virgilius,

¹ Arnval, an Irish disciple of S. Kilian, appears to have been left behind in France, where he flourished, according to Sigibert's Chronicle, A.D. 694.

who outlived the great Anglo-Saxon and was promoted to the see of Salzburg after his death, seem to have given a different turn for a while to the tide of Irishism. The Bishops of Bavaria and Alemannia, indeed, evidently did not pay attention to the exhortation extracted by Boniface from Pope Gregory III. (731—741), and which bade them reject not only '*gentilitatis ritum et doctrinam*,' but those also '*venientium Britonum*,' as well as of other 'false priests and heretics;' if at least such rejection was to be interpreted into a refusal to admit of Celtic fellow-clergymen. Possibly the terms were meant to refer precisely to 'Britons,' the Welsh Britons at that time alone retaining the British Easter. More probably it was a mere blundering result of S. Boniface's party zeal, which practically fell to the ground. At any rate, no characteristically Irish views make themselves visible among the Bavarian Scotch missionaries, although much that can be traced to Irish teaching. Virgilius' belief in Antipodes, which, however, was evidently so explained as not to interfere with the descent of all men from Adam, and so not with the doctrine of original sin, plainly came from those curious speculations of Martianus Capella, which almost anticipated Copernicus. Clement, the Scot, in 745, in addition to his defence (already mentioned) of marriage with a deceased brother's widow, held some Origenizing theories respecting the salvation of all, believers and unbelievers alike, at the descent of Christ into hell; and Samson, another Scot, in 747, is spoken of as holding that confirmation by the Bishop superseded the necessity of baptism: but neither of these heresies had any special connexion with Ireland, except as indicating the study of Greek theology, and the general intellectual activity, of which that country was now the centre. The occurrence of a married Irish Bishop was not so singular, and therefore not so characteristic, or so significant, in the eighth century, as it was in the twelfth. Boniface, indeed, did not even (apparently) reject the assistance of an Irish coadjutor himself, if Wittan or Albinus, made by him Bishop of Buraburg near Fritzlar in Hesse (741), is truly assigned to that nation. At the same time, the current of Irish zeal seems, in fact, to have been diverted, from the time of S. Boniface, into other localities than those where the Anglo-Saxon had reaped his own greatest successes; nor did it return to Bavaria, until the eleventh century saw the foundation there of that goodly cluster of *monasteria Scotorum*, which looked as to a centre to the abbey of S. James of Ratisbon.

Turn now further west, to the different but equally numerous offspring of the first and great work of Columbanus; to the white-robed monks of Luxeuil, to its uncompromising and

stern, yet not superstitious or narrow-minded rule, to its almost countless colonies—colonies, not of missionaries among avowed heathen, but of bishops and of monasteries among degenerate or half-converted Christians.

On the inner and western side of the Vosges Mountains, on the northern limit of what has since been called Franche Comté, but was then (590) the northern frontier of the Burgundian kingdom towards Austrasia, founded in the midst of forests upon the relics of wasted Roman civilization, between its dependencies (the first known priories) Anegray and Fontaines, stood the mighty renovator and second parent of Gallic monasticism, powerful at once as a seminary of bishops and as a school for the young,¹ the first great work of the ascetic, impetuous, affectionate Irish missionary, Columbanus, the Abbey of Luxeuil. Not far across the border into Austrasia, arose, after a few years, one of its earliest and greatest offshoots, the double monastery (for men and for women) of Remiremont, separated from its parent by the hills that form the watershed between the Saône and the Moselle, and which then were a political as well as a physical boundary. The foundation of Lure by Desle, or Deicolus, an Irish disciple of Columbanus, formed a humbler sister-monastery to that of Luxeuil, on its own side of the hills. That of Dichuill, or S. Diè, also an Irishman, seems to have stood in like relation to Remiremont on the other side. From this central cluster, southwards to the Lake of Geneva, and northwards and north-westwards to the Channel and the North Sea from Seine to Scheldt, clearing and cultivating forests and marshes, and civilizing and confirming the scarcely less rude and but half-Christianized people, monasteries arose thenceforward in profusion, not always or chiefly peopled by men of Irish birth, but holding (though not for long) to the Irish rule, although speedily combining it with the Benedictine, and looking to Luxeuil in the spirit in which, on this side the Channel, Scots and Britons looked to Hy or Lindisfarne, or beyond S. George's Channel, to the Irish Bangor; while fresh troops of 'Scots' flocked continually across the sea to reinforce their countrymen. First, along the plains on either side of the Saône and the Doubs in Burgundy itself, the foundations at Besançon, Romain-Moutier, Bèze, Brezille, Cusance, and that of Ursicinus the Scot at S. Ursanne, where the Doubs doubles to the south near Basle, and of Germanus the Frank in the Val Moutier (618—670), with the missionary labours, above mentioned, of Eustasius and

¹ It seems like a link between the past and the present, to find Columbanus (and others) relaxing from cares and serious thoughts into Latin verse. Familiarity with Latin classics, as well as with Fathers both Greek and Latin, shows itself in all the 'Scottish' writers.

Agilus, went near to unite the southern constellation of Luxeuil colonies with the older and Benedictine abbey of Condat in the south of the district, and with S. Gall's Alemannian labours in the east. Pass next from the Upper Saône over to the plains of Champagne, and follow the Marne downwards to the district of La Brie. There, close upon Paris, a second cluster of Columban monasteries was speedily formed. Jouarre, Reuil, Rebais, Faremoutier, the works respectively of three brothers, and of their cousin, 'the Burgundian Lady' (Burgundofara), in each of whom, when children, a single visit of Columbanus to their parental castles had left an impression such as the busiest of active lives could not efface; contemporary Luxeuil bishops, their kinsmen, at Laon and Meaux—another powerful instrument for spreading the Luxeuil influence; the nunnery of S. Maur-les-Fosses, near Paris; the Irish hermit, S. Fiacre, the first cultivator of the forest between Meaux and Jouarre; the abbey of Lagny, founded by Furseus, the Irish apostle of the East Anglians;—here grew up a second good store of 'Irishism,' close to the future capital. And between La Brie and the parent Luxeuil, there lay yet another line of like foundations, linking the two together, from Montier-la-Celle, near Troyes, by Epernay (near which lay other Columban monasteries, Hautvillers and Montier-en-Der), to the nunnery of S. Salaberga, and the monastery of Baresy, near Laon; while monasteries of greater name still, in the same neighbourhood, as, *e.g.*, that of Corbie, either combined the Columban rule with the Benedictine, or sought Luxeuil abbots. A third cluster still, and this time of two stars only, but those of greater magnitude, was constituted at Fontenelle and Jumièges, on the Lower Seine, under the fostering care of S. Ouen, the youngest of the three brothers already mentioned, and now bishop of Rouen; through whom the Irishman, Sidonius, also founded in the same neighbourhood a smaller monastery, near S. Saens. So far, however, the Irish character of these foundations was of a very transitory kind—singularly so, indeed, if compared with the enthusiasm of the originators of the movement. Not only did Franks and Anglo-Saxons, and men of yet other races, speedily fill these monasteries, but Irish customs, which rested on no moral or doctrinal grounds, and the Irish rule, which was impossibly austere, dropped out of sight almost within the century. Pass, however, to the north of the line we have just drawn across France, along the countries bordering upon the Channel, where idolatry still retained its hold more and more as the frontier was approached of the Frank empire; and both 'Scots' themselves occur in greater numbers, though not exclusively, and foundations specially for their benefit become numerous.

At S. Valery, on the mouth of the Somme, a Luxeuil monk of that name; at Centule, near Abbeville, the noble Frank, Riquier, on the suggestion of two Scots, Cadoc and Frichor; at S. Bertin, afterwards S. Omer,¹ at the request of the Luxeuil Bishop of Terouenne, three of his monastic brethren, one with the British tonsure (S. Mommolin), and one with the Roman (S. Bertin), working harmoniously together; extended the Columban influence over what was afterwards Ponthieu and Picardy (594—667). About the like period, the Scot Roding established himself at Beaulieu, in the forest of Argonne; S. Judoc, at Quentovic; Ullan and Foillan, two brothers of S. Furseus, the latter at Fosse in the diocese of Cambray, the former at Peronne on the Somme (c. 690) and at S. Quentin; and S. Wiro of Ruremond, at Odilieberg, near Liège (after 680). And the still better known Livinus—if we may trust a legendary life (written, too, by the Anglo-Saxon, Boniface), which makes a Scotch saint god-child to S. Augustin of Canterbury—passed over the sea to Ghent, in the latter half of the century, to preach the Gospel and meet his martyrdom in Brabant. Besides these greater names, preserved commonly through the greatness of their several foundations, the nameless crowd of like missionary wanderers was so numerous, that richer Scots founded throughout northern France special *Hospitalia Scotorum*, wealthy enough to require canons and capitulars,² before a second century had passed, in order to recover them from the spoiler to their proper use. Scots, too, were the fashionable teachers in Psalm-singing, as well as in divinity; as at Nivelles, where the widow (with her daughters) of Pepin of Landen founded a double monastery, and ruled as abbess over men as well as women. This double system was itself a 'Scottish' custom, originating at Kildare, copied in northern England, and repeated at Remiremont, already mentioned, and at Maubeuge, as well as Nivelles, in Flanders; yet one, we fear, more likely to lead to other not so creditable results than to the peculiar combination of chivalry and politeness in the French character which M. Ozanam attributes to it. The Scot, Dysibodius, founding a monastery (c. 674) near Spanheim, in the diocese of Mentz; the Scotch bishops at Strasburg, Arbogastus (also in 674), and his successor, Florentius, brought thither by Dagobert of Austrasia, who had himself, in his youth,

¹ The Breton, S. Winnoc, who belonged to this celebrated monastery (so strangely different in the nature of its relations to these islands in the seventeenth century), deserves mention as an instance of a Breton saint connected with a monastery out of Brittany.

² Capitul. Caroli II. No. 40. Pertz iii. 390; being one of those canons of the Episcopal Councils of Meaux and Paris in 846, which the Emperor sanctioned at Epernay in the same year. See also the canons of Chiersy (Syn. Carisiaca) in 858.

found a refuge and a school in Ireland; and the Scotch monastery of S. Thomas, founded before 687 by Florentius at the same place; and, a little later, the Scotch monastery of S. Martin, at Cologne, founded by Pepin d'Heristal and Queen Plectrude—stretch out a hand in either direction, to link the north and the south, the tributaries of the Lower Rhine with the Alps and forests round its upper course, those Scotch *hospitalia* and monasteries of north-eastern France and of the Netherlands with the Scotch martyrs of Wurzburg and the Scotch anchorites of the Black Forest and of Switzerland. Nor did Irish zeal cease to find room for its labours in these regions, or find itself unable to co-operate, as with the Franks, S. Amand and S. Eloy, so with the Anglo-Saxon missionaries also, who, with the advancing Frankish empire, found their way both to Frisia and to their own mother land, further east. S. Rumold, the Scotch bishop, the apostle of Malines, and murdered there in 775, and the see of Verden in Lorraine, founded in 786, of which the first bishop was an Englishman, Suitbert, while his two successors were the Scotch abbots of the Scotch monastery of Amarbaric, close by, are instances, not of Irish missionaries only, but, in the latter case, of Irishmen in conjunction with Anglo-Saxons, which take us on to the days of Charlemagne.

One more offshoot remains to be mentioned, striking out to the south-west of that mass of Luxeuil monasteries which we have traced from the Lake of Geneva to the mouth of the Seine. A treacherous friend, converted into a bitter enemy, by name Agrestius, assailed the rule of Luxeuil, was heard, and was condemned, at a Council of Maçon in 624. His grounds of attack were much like those of modern English attacks upon Churchmanship. Having no doctrinal grounds which it was convenient or possible to put forward, and the Easter question having been apparently given up even at that early date by Columbanus' successor at Luxeuil, the assailant went off upon popular topics of ritual and habits. The Luxeuil monks crossed themselves too much to please their quondam brother. They could not lick a spoon without that ceremony. And the rule of Columbanus betrays the fact that the founder's stern cruelty punished each omission by six stripes, often, doubtless, suffered by the indignant Agrestius. Moreover, they could not enter or leave the refectory without a formal blessing. And they had too many collects. The Lord Ebury of the day would have been wearied out by their lengthy prayers. Nor did they conform precisely to the Gallic ritual. And they cut their hair in the British and Scotch fashion, that which embittered Anglo-Saxon adversaries had called the fashion of Simon Magus. Happily, the Gallic bishops held such charges cheap, both in themselves,

and as set against missionary and revival work hardly to be equalled. And the greatest of those bishops, S. Eloy, gave a practical answer to the defeated malice of the assailant, by adopting at once the Columban rule for his new monastery of Solignac near Limoges; while five others also, in Berry and the Nivernois, carried the same rule, in conjunction, however, with that of S. Benedict, into Aquitaine. Into the north-west corner of France, although occupied by their own kinsmen, and retaining till the ninth century (the time of Louis le Debonnaire), what were called 'Scotch,' but were really British customs, strange to say, Columbanus's influence scarcely extended. A few scanty traces of it are said to be discoverable in Brittany; the greatest of Breton bishops, for instance, Maclovius, was of Luxeuil; but, as a general statement, it is as true as it is singular, that Britons and Irish had already so far diverged in national character, and in the zeal and energy of their respective Churches, as to make the former sterile in that combination of religious and imaginative enthusiasm with restlessness of body and mind, which planted the Continent with the missions of the latter.

The time of Charlemagne brings us to another phase of the continental reputation of the early medieval Scot. We have considered him hitherto chiefly as a missionary, who had, indeed, some untenable fashion of reckoning Easter, and who cut his hair after a fashion unknown south of the Channel, and who took upon him occasionally (as in the case of Columbanus) to lecture collective Gallic Councils and to rebuke Popes, as well as to defy the abnormal profligacy and savage cruelty of Frank or Burgundian courts and nobles, with a spirit of unwonted independence; but who, nevertheless, though with somewhat of a penchant for the wildest forest he could find, yet won barbarian hearts to the Gospel by a mingled affectionateness and loftiness of soul, by a combination of manly honesty with a rugged and sublime austerity, such as the Celtic race perhaps could alone at that time produce. But missionary work had by this time accomplished its task among the lingering remains of Paganism in France and Italy, and had passed into other hands on the Saxon or eastern borders of Charlemagne's far-reaching empire. And 'Scots,' in his reign, stand forward rather as among the great intellectual leaders of that empire, the era of educational as well as political greatness for the countries within its sweep. We have no space to speak here of Irish learning generally, curiously interesting as the subject is:—of that oddest of books, Martianus Capella, '*De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiæ*,' transplanted from its African home to become the text-book, the Aldrich, not of one but of all

sciences, to remote Irish monastic schools,¹ and to be copied and re-copied and commented by Irish monks in foreign Irish convents—a work commencing with two books of stilted narrative, stuffed with classic mythology, and resembling Sir P. Sydney's 'Arcadia,' respecting the loves and marriage of Mercury and Philology, and then plunging outright into the commonest elements of A B C, and of logic, and dialectic, of arithmetic, astronomy, geometry, music—in short, of the Trivium and Quadrivium—in a fashion which, for bald metaphysics and bad Latin, equals Aldrich himself;² or again, of that style so suited to this artificial matter, which Ireland borrowed from the schools of Toulouse, and of which the echoes may be heard in the letters of Anselm, a style invented by that mockery of a great name, by one Virgilius Maro, of which the mildest form consisted in affected Græcisms,³ and almost unconstruable efforts at alliteration, while its mightiest effort was the creation of no less than twelve artificial vocabularies, twelve Latinities, unintelligible to the uninitiated layman. But our present subject must confine us to the theological side of Irish learning, and to the part taken by Scots, as independent thinkers in divinity during that era, both as school teachers, and as supplying leaders, though not always on the right side, in the great controversies of the time; as in that respecting image-worship, and in the profounder, yet not less important, dispute respecting Predestinarianism. Hear how the chronicler, himself very probably an Irishman, and at least a monk of a Scotland-loving monastery, describes in Herodotean style the advent of the new sophists of a true wisdom, dropping as it were from the clouds upon the benighted Continent. Modern writers, indeed, moved (as in the case of Tiraboschi) by patriotic wrath at the contemptuous allusion to the then degeneracy of Italian schools among others, have unreasonably denied the substantial veracity of the story, as they might well deny the accuracy of the quaint colouring which the monk's simplicity, and perhaps national feeling, have given to it. But it is the statement of a writer of barely above a century subsequent to the event itself, and it harmonizes in its substance with all we know of the persons and localities spoken of. And we cannot but think, therefore, that both M. Ozanam and Dr. Lanigan are right in accepting the kernel of the tale as true. We give

¹ Although, with all respect to M. Ozanam, not exactly among the snows and glaciers which he fancies abound in Ireland, and to which he attributes the attractiveness of Alpine scenery to the Irish hermits.

² The logic is curiously like Aldrich, both in its language, and in the second or third hand metaphysics, which are crudely thrust into it.

³ The Græcizing habit is palpable in British writers as well as in Irish or Saxon, from Gildas down to Ricemarch.

then the flourish of trumpets (following chiefly Dr. Lanigan) with which our Irish sophists are brought upon the scene:—

‘When he [the illustrious Karolus] began to reign alone in the western parts of the world, and literature was everywhere almost forgotten, and the worship of the true Godhead was accordingly feeble, it happened that two Scots of Ireland came over with some British merchants to the shores of France, men incomparably skilled in human learning and in the Holy Scriptures. As they produced no merchandize for sale, they used to proclaim to the crowds flocking to purchase, “If any one is desirous of wisdom, let him come to us and receive it; for we have it to sell.” Their reason for saying that they had it for sale was, that, perceiving the people inclined to deal in saleable articles, and not to take anything gratuitously, they might by this means either rouse them to the purchase of wisdom, as well as of other things; or, as the sequel shows, might by speaking in that manner excite their wonder and astonishment. They repeated this declaration so often that an account of them was conveyed, either by their admirers, or by those who thought them insane, to the king Charles, who, being a lover and very desirous of wisdom, had them conducted with all expedition before him, and asked them if they truly possessed wisdom, as it was reported to him. They answered that they did, and were ready in the name of the Lord to communicate it to such as would seek for it worthily. On his inquiring of them what compensation they would expect for it, they replied that they required nothing more than convenient situations, ingenious minds, and, as being in a foreign country, to be supplied with food and raiment. Charles, having heard their proposals, and filled with great joy, at first kept both of them with himself for a short time. After some interval, when obliged to proceed on a military expedition, he ordered one of them, whose name was Clemens, to remain in France, intrusting to his care a great number of boys, not only of the highest noblesse, but likewise of the middling and lower ranks of society, who were by his orders provided with victuals and suitable habitations. The other, by name Albinus, he directed to Italy, and assigned to him the monastery of S. Augustin’s near Pavia, that such persons as chose to do so might there resort to him for instruction.’

And what wisdom did these wise men bring from their distant isle, in the year of grace 772? We must look for the answer, mainly, to what is known of Irish learning, from other sources. Of these two teachers of it, little more than the bare facts of their personal history are recorded. Clemens, apparently, became teacher in the Palace School of Charlemagne, where competitive examinations seem to have flourished, as stimulants to aristocratic dunceness, under the eye of the Emperor himself; wrote a treatise still existing, ‘*De Partibus Orationis*;

¹ Mon. SanGallensis, *De Gestis Caroli* M. 88—888, who proceeds to distinguish the Irish from the English Albinus or Alcuin, by adding:—‘On hearing how graciously the most religious king Charles used to treat wise men, Albinus, an Englishman, took shipping and went over to him.’ The name of the second Irishman is a little doubtful in the MS., and some writers in consequence have identified him with Dungal his successor; not remembering that over fifty years elapsed between the first arrival of the great pair of Scots (772) and the appointment of Dungal at Pavia (823), and that Albinus was appointed by Charlemagne, Dungal by his successor.

learning under his imperial patron, the other two being the Saxon Alcuin (himself Irish-taught), and the French Theodulph. The history of Albinus takes us back to Italy, where an Irish school at Pavia, first under himself, and in 823 under Dungal, another Scot, from the abbey of S. Denys, revived the memory of the still older Irish school, in the same neighbourhood, of Bobbio. Of this successor of Albinus a little more is known. Laying the foundation of his fame by a letter to Charlemagne on the solar eclipse of 810, he stands forward, after Charlemagne's death and his own removal to Italy, as the opponent, in a work still existing, of Claudius of Turin (once himself untruly held to be a Scot), and in defence of the cultus of images, taking the opposite side to the wiser and sounder Caroline Books and the Council of Frankfort. Upon his death, apparently in the monastery of Bobbio itself, he left to that abbey his valuable library, containing, it is supposed, among other precious MSS., the Irish Antiphonarium already mentioned. The Irish connexion, indeed, of Bobbio, had never wholly ceased. Between Columban and Dungal, one monk, at least, of Irish birth, and of the Irish name of Cummian, had so lived there in the odour of sanctity, that at his death (between 713 and 744) the Lombard king, Luitprand, adorned his tomb with precious stones. The still more precious ornaments of Dungal's, and other MSS., remained in the same venerable shrine, a storehouse of classical as well as theological and liturgical treasures, until the comparatively modern days of Cardinal Borromeo.

The teaching and life of Joannes Scotus, or Erigena—to pass on a little later to the days of Charles the Bald, and to a time when, it would seem, the Irish Scot was beginning to require an additional epithet, in order to distinguish him from the Albanian Scot of the isle of Britain—would need an article to themselves to do them justice. They claim notice here, only in the light they throw, not merely upon the literary and intellectual, but upon the theological position of his contemporary countrymen. The great Scot, indeed, appears among his continental rivals or opponents as a member of a totally different intellectual world. He had been nourished upon different traditions, and trained in a wider and more independent line of thought. His heresies indeed—for he fell into many—were his own. His mind was too original, to allow us to make it the measure of the common views of his countrymen. He 'Erigenized'—to coin a word—not in the particular speculations with which he astonished the Continental Church, but in the tone of mind and line of reading which led to those speculations. His love of dialectic, and his daring metaphysical theories, in which he foreshadowed the still distant schoolmen, prove nothing of either

pantheistic or any other tendencies in his native Church. They do prove the exceeding freedom with which Irish thinkers at that period were wont to handle the great themes of the Divine attributes, and the various problems of metaphysical theology; and they harmonise with that dialectic reputation, which attached to the 'Scholastici Scoti' of the day, the questionable credit of a special '*sylogismus delusionis*,' in reference to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.¹ A like inference may be drawn from the broad and dangerous rationalistic principle applied by him to the solution of the purely theological question of predestination, viz. that '*quadrivio regularum totius philosophiæ quatuor, omnem questionem solvi*.' Again, his strange theory on Predestination itself is simply the creation of a powerful but not clear thinker, wholly free from Augustinian tradition, and learned rather in the Greek patristic school; recoiling from the outright anticipations of extreme Calvinism put forth by Goteschalk, and applying to the question theoretical views drawn from Origen or from Dionysius the Areopagite, or from Neo-Platonism. Dionysius, indeed, he had himself translated (and, let it be said in passing, had not sent a copy of his translation to the Pope, who complained bitterly of the omission, and claimed a right of censorship over theological publications); and his doing so is another among the many proofs that cross the literary historian of the age, of Irish Greek learning, and of Irish familiarity with Greek fathers. His translation of the Greek Scholia of Maximus upon S. Gregory of Nazianzum, points in a like direction. His sympathy, again, with Ratramn in the Eucharistic controversy which originated with that monk and Paschasius Radbert, is noticeable as another instance of a mind free from the traditional orthodoxy on the subject, that had been growing up gradually in the Continental Churches, and was to develop, in due time, into Transubstantiation. Yet neither on this subject, nor in respect to Pelagianizing, can views so stamped with the individual theories of the man, as were those of John, upon Predestination certainly, and probably also on the other question, afford grounds for attributing them to his native Church. The Roman clergy, indeed, in 640, in a letter rather distinguished by blunders, had imputed Pelagian heresy to the Irish. And the legendary life of S. Kilian shows also a belief on the Continent in the truth of that imputation at the time the life was written. But neither evidence is worth much in opposition to the language quoted by Ussher from a sermon of S. Gall's, preached almost at the time the accusation was made, and to the distinct claim of orthodoxy in *all* points,

¹ Mentioned in a letter of Benedictus Anianensis.

put forward by Columbanus a little earlier, in writing to Pope Boniface. Nor did the imputation survive in the days of John, in any more serious form than the adoption by the French Council of Valence, in 855, of S. Jerome's hard words against the Scot Cœlestius. Moreover, John's view agrees with that of Pelagius only in its negative aspect, and not in its affirmative positions. And with respect to Eucharistic doctrine, we cannot see in Dr. Lanigan's laboured collection of proofs any evidence whatever of Irish speculation upon the Eucharist, or of any other doctrine there than that of a pious but undefined belief in the Real Presence, with not a syllable to imply either the special doctrine of Paschasius or its contradictory, or still less that of Transubstantiation, nor yet any resembling what probably may have been John's own theory, which more likely was akin to Ubiquitarianism than to anything else, only taking that side of the Ubiquitarian dogma which would lean against a special sacramental Presence. We regard, then, the profound and original speculations of the Scot as the introduction into the intellectual world of a new and powerful element, in the Neo-Platonic views which thus became known in the West; as they were also incidentally the introduction of a new patron saint to France, in the confusion produced between the S. Denys of Paris and the S. Denys (so called) of the Areopagus; and as owing this character to the special studies and freedom of Irish schools: while the current anecdotes respecting John and his imperial patron show, likewise, that the metaphysical Irish thinker had his full share of Irish love of fun and quickness of repartee.

A few words must catalogue the Irish names that continued still to attain to fame, whether for learning, or for asceticism, or for metaphysical theories, pushed sometimes to the verge of heresy, mostly in France or Lorraine. Helias, indeed, Bishop of Angoulême (died 875 or 876), pupil of Theodulph, and tutor of Eric of Auxerre,¹ lived a little south-west of the common Irish localities. Probus, the Irishman, who died in 859 in S. Alban's monastery in Mentz; Macarius, of the family perchance of the Meaghers, who out of Averroes devised a theory which opponents said made all men have but one soul, and whose name Ratramn impertinently transliterated into *Bacharius*, about 867; another of the numerous Columbani, of no greater range of literary reputation than might be attained by versifying the genealogy of the Frank emperors; Mark the Briton, educated

¹ In the Preface to Eric's '*Vita S. Germani*,' occurs the passage so commonly quoted on the subject of Irish learned men abroad:—'*Quid Hiberniam memorem, contempto pelagi discrimine, pene totam, cum grege philosophorum, ad litora nostra migrantem? Quorum quisquis peritior est, ultro sibi indicit exilium, ut Salomoni sapientissimo famuletur ad votum.*'

in Ireland and a Bishop there, of whom Eric of Auxerre tells us, and whose name is mixed up with the authorship of the so-called Nennius, and who about 870 became an anchorite at S. Medard's near Soissons; Maimbodus and Anatolius, made saints of in the diocese of Besançon about 900; and, half a century later, one Duncan, who commented on Martianus Capella at Rheims; and another Columbanus, at Ghent, about the same date (957); to whom may be added one Dermot at Liege, in 1115, who wrote a tract called 'Exhortatoria';—form the characteristic though not numerous list of those who kept up the fame of Scotticism in the neighbourhood of its older haunts.

But the tenth and following centuries saw a much more permanent and general Scotch colonization, a little more eastward, in Lorraine, and thence, in course of time, still further east, to the very extremities of Germany. An Irish Bishop, Israel, of Verden, a learned scion of Irish schools, himself the teacher of Bruno who became Archbishop of Cologne, was at a synod of Verden in 947. And Gerard, Bishop of Toul, in 986, gave a refuge in his diocese to certain Greeks, who, in conjunction with Scotchmen, observed Eastern Greek rites; reminding us of the still stranger apparition, mentioned by Ussher, of a Greek Church at Trim in the heart of Ireland itself, and of the Greek learning so continually apparent in Irish scholars. But these were isolated cases. An organization of Scotch monasteries now became common, which form an ancient precedent for close foundations, and were tied up by charter to Scotch, *i.e.* Irish monks. One Cadroe, a British Scot, after founding with Macallin, an Irishman, an abbey at Walciodorus or Vassor, on the Meuse between Dinant and Givet, about 949, where we find another (Irish) Scotch abbot, Forannan, in 970-982, betook himself to Metz, where he became abbot of an abbey of S. Clement or S. Felix, until his death in 975 or 976. His successor, Fingen, who was an Irish Scot, became Abbot of S. Symphorian's at Metz, in 992, of which the deed of foundation by Otho III. in that year confines the monastery to 'Hibernienses monachi' (the change of the name in lieu of Scots is remarkable) if they can be had. And the same Fingen founded also another monastery at Verden, for Irish monks, under the patronage of S. Peter and S. Vitonus, now called S. Vannes, a revival of the Scotch monastery founded near that place two centuries before, which had already perished. At the same period a little further east, the Scotch abbey of S. Martin's, at Cologne, was revived by one Ebergerius or Warinus, bishop of that see, who 'iterum immolavit Scotis,' as the chronicler has it, A. D. 974; and was governed, often in conjunction with that of S. Pantaleon in the same city, by a succession

of Scotch abbots, whose names and dates are expressly recorded in the chronicle of Marianus the Scot, himself a monk of S. Martin's before he migrated to Fulda. In 1036 a *monasterium Scotorum* was founded yet further east, at Erfurdt, by Bishop Walter de Ghysberg; and another, S. Martin's, at Mentz, in 1037. And even in abbeys that were not Scotch by foundation, there were at this time many Scots, the uneuphonious names of two of whom, Anmchad and Tigernach, have been preserved at Fulda; while another, Paternus, whose name tempts us to consider him a Briton, but who is specially termed 'Scotus' by Marianus, was at Paderborn in 1058. And the Scot, John, Bishop of Mecklenburgh, kept up the older Irish reputation by securing the crown of martyrdom among the Slavonians in 1065. There were envious people, no doubt, who looked with an evil eye at these Scotch foundations. Pilgrinus, Archbishop of Cologne, threatened expulsion to the Scotch of S. Martin's in the early part of the century, and was met by a wrathful pun between *pilgrinus* and *peregrinus*, involving a prophecy (which, of course, came true) that the threatener should not return alive to Cologne from the court whither he was going in order to fulfil his threat. And the capitulars of the Emperor Louis are quoted by Lappenberg, as pronouncing Scots to be pseudo-bishops and vagabonds. Yet Scotch foundations spread and flourished in Germany. And one cluster yet remains to be mentioned of a more enduring and widespread kind than those which preceded it. In 1067 or 1068, one Marianus (not the chronicler), with John, Claudius, Clement, all Irish, following one Muricherdac, an hermit already in the neighbourhood, established the Scotch monastery of S. Peter's at Ratisbon, to be governed in succession by six abbots from the north of Ireland, and then subordinate under one Domnus, a south Irish abbot, to the greater foundation of S. James in the same city, built by the aid of Conor-o-Bryan, King of Munster, 1119—1124. An Irish monastery at Wurzburg appears to have existed a little earlier than the last-named date, as Gilda-na-Naomh, formerly Bishop of Glendalough, is mentioned as its abbot, dying in 1085. But an Irish monastery, dedicated to S. Kilian, was certainly founded there by one Macarius in 1130; another, to S. Egidius, at Nuremberg, by Declan in 1152; another, to S. Mary and S. George, at Vienna, about 1155; another about the same period at Eichstadt, built there by Bishop Walbrun for the '*gens Scotorum*,' and distinguished by a round church, after the model of the Holy Sepulchre; all of which were in some degree dependent upon the great central monastery of S. James of Ratisbon. Another also existed at Prague. Nor did these monasteries fail, at first, of their ancient fame. Under yet a third

Marianus, early in the twelfth century, Nicholas Brakspeare, the one English pope, received his training, to become Adrian IV. in 1154. Symptoms of their need of 'protection' begin to occur as early as 1212, when Frederic II., by charter, confined the 'Monasteria Scotorum' to 'Scoti' only. Sad complaints follow, of Scots, in the modern sense of the term, taking advantage of the equivocal to oust the original and proper Scots. And at length, centuries afterwards, Scots are ousted altogether, in any sense of the name, from Vienna and Nuremberg, so late as 1413. And at Wurzburg, after an almost entire decay of the abbey, through probably the closeness of the foundation coupled with the failure of a supply of even British Scots, the last abbot of Scotch origin died in 1497, and the ancient Scottish foundations came to an end: one link more broken of the connexion between old and new, between the earliest and latest ages of the ante-Reformation Church, snapped just in time, before the earthquake of the Reformation itself should create a wholly new world, and give Scots and Irish, in common with all western Europe, a totally new character.

II. Are we to suppose, then, that there is truth in the vision which has arisen before the eyes of sundry ardent Protestants, dabbling in history, of a full-grown Protestantism in the ancient Celtic Churches of these islands? Are we to trust even Ussher's hasty sketch, based in part upon quotations from Claudius, who turns out to be no Irishman at all, and which does not definitely specify whether the learned Archbishop (who had simply poured out his common-place book into a not thoroughly digested essay) intended to affirm the participation of the Irish Church in the freedom, common to the whole Church of the time, from subsequently defined Roman dogma,—which is indisputably true—or a special anticipation by her of equally subsequent Protestant dogma—which is equally indisputably false? The truth, as usual, seems to lie in a mean. Removed out of reach of the Papacy, teaching her clergy in her own schools with a traditionary learning that had not come through Rome, standing in marked contrast with the Anglo-Saxon Church after Theodore, as feeling for Rome no filial affection—for Ireland looked to Gaul and S. Martin more than to any Roman bishop, and the legend of St. Patrick's connexion with Rome had little practical weight—the whole tone of the theology of Ireland is self-originated, and independent both of Rome and of the course of thought elsewhere. And the real and solid testimony borne by the historical attitude of the Irish Church, in respect to modern Romish controversy, is simply, that in the gradual development of the Papal power, she remained in her isolation a standing proof of the novelty of theories unknown to the Church in earlier

times, a living instance of what had formerly been held for truth, an island not absorbed by the rising waters of the Papacy, until, indeed, the twelfth century.

First of all, it must be remembered that there was no formal division between the Irish and the Continental Churches for more than the very few years required to bring fairly to the knowledge of the Irish the real merits of the points in dispute. In Wales the schism was, indeed, a real one. It was embittered by national hatred, and by the angry attitude of Augustin and Theodore, and their successors. And there, no doubt, we read of such epithets as 'Romish wolves,' hurled at the heads of the unlucky Saxon priests. In Ireland itself matters went in a different spirit; and much more on the Continent. The question there went upon its own merits, and was no bone of contention between opposed Churches, still less one of receiving or rejecting a Papal injunction as such. The main point in dispute, that of Easter, was indeed of much wider extent than Ireland or Wales. In Spain and in Gaul, quite as much as among the Celtic races, all manner of different modes of reckoning Easter prevailed in the sixth century, which councils were for ever striving to reduce. Gregory of Tours tells us of one year in which Spain and Gaul kept their Easters almost a month apart, that writer congratulating himself that certain miraculous fountains in the former country, which filled spontaneously at Easter, were unpatriotic and orthodox enough to fill duly on the Gallic day, and not the Spanish. Neither country, moreover, in that year kept the true Easter according to the Roman reckoning. Yet no question arose of schism, nor does any one assume an antipapal feeling in either Gallic or Spanish Church. And both the Irish at home, and more speedily still the Irish abroad, soon gave up their custom, and conformed to that which had at length prevailed in the Western Church. Columbanus individually refused to give in, either to Gallic Council or Roman Pope. But within some thirty-four years of the foundation of Luxeuil, the absence of all mention of Easter at the Council of Maçon is reasonably inferred to prove that the successors of Columbanus had done so. Even the Rule of Columbanus did not stand its ground against that of Benedict much above the century. The Council of Autun, in 670, is alleged with apparent reason, as evidence by its silence, of the decadence of that Rule even in that early year. Only in Brittany did Scotch (not necessarily Columban) rules last (as at Landevenech) into the ninth century. And the other points in dispute were matters of ritual, and tonsure, and the like, some of which lasted, doubtless, longer, but were too insignificant to disturb Church communion.

But if there was thus no spirit of either doctrinal or other

opposition to Rome in the Irish Church, there is nevertheless ample proof—1. That, as in every part of the Church at that time, so in Ireland, any form of the Ultramontane theory of the Papacy was wholly unknown; and 2. That even those growing notions of submission to the Apostolic Church of S. Peter, which were then coming into fashion, and which the Anglo-Saxons did so much to propagate, did not command much weight in Ireland. The conception of a Church, every pulse of the remotest part of which beats in unison with the great central heart at Rome, every act of which derives its sanction solely from Rome, and every bishop of which draws his authority directly from Rome, existed nowhere in those centuries. It is preposterous to assert its existence in a part of the Church, which was so far distinctly more independent than its neighbours, that it never troubled the see of Rome about any one of its native bishops, or sought that symbol of subjection, which the pall came to be, until the Synod of Holmpatrick, A.D. 1145. And if we take views which fall far short of such as Roman Catholic nineteenth century Ireland would maintain, but which really were gaining a hold on the Western Church in the sixth and following centuries—such as the confusion between S. Peter's personal authority and the current practices and present authority of the see of Rome, or the submission due to Rome as the leading see of the West—here, too, we find such sentiments weighing little with Irishmen. The fact which told upon the Irish mind in inducing the surrender of their peculiar Easter after the Council of Leighlin in 634, was not the practice of the see of Rome, although that too had its weight, as it ought to have had. It was the visible proof of the consent of the whole Church, except themselves and the Britons, brought home to the eyes of the Irish delegates (who were sent to Rome to see what the fact was) by their finding there in one inn with themselves, a Hebrew and a Greek, a Scythian and an Egyptian, all united in their day of observance with the see of Rome, while the unfortunate Irishmen were a whole month out, and not one companion to keep them in countenance. The Pope, himself, Honorius, had urged them with no other argument a few years earlier. Bishop Colman again, at Whitby, refused, in 664, to accept as conclusive the claim rested by the Anglo-Saxon disputants upon the superiority of S. Peter. Columbanus, however, is the case most in point. His very admissions enhance the force of the refusal to submit, which is made in the face of them. He speaks of Pope Gregory as ‘*Petri cathedram Apostoli et Clavicularii legitime insidentem*,’ against whose opinions it is ‘*ridiculous*’ to set those of one so insignificant as himself. But he proceeds to tell this representative of S. Peter, that he had better make out the

Papal doctrine to agree with that of S. Jerome if he can; for, 'Simpliciter ego tibi confiteor, quod contra sancti Hieronymi auctoritatem veniens, apud occidentes ecclesias hæreticus seu respuendus erit; illi enim per omnia indubitatam in Scripturis Divinis accommodant fidem.' He admits again, in his letter to Boniface IV., the reverence due to the Apostolic See of Rome—'caput ecclesiarum';—but it is a reverence expressly subordinate to that rightly due to the Holy City of Jerusalem, —'Salva loci Dominicæ resurrectionis singulari prærogativa,'—and a reverence therefore of the same kind with that; not a duty of canonical obedience or submission at all, but a sentiment of honour towards a place rendered sacred by religious associations. And what sort of notion of Papal infallibility could that writer have had, who tells the Pope that 'a living dog is better than a dead lion,' and that 'a living saint may profitably mend the work of another although a greater than he;' the dead lion and the greater saint being Pope Leo? or, again, who declares his own dissatisfaction with the summary dictum of the Gallic bishops—'Cum Judæis Pascha facere non debemus,'—and subjoins, 'Dixit hoc olim et Victor episcopus, sed nemo orientaliū suum receptū commentum?' or who, lastly, exhorts Pope Boniface to watch more vigilantly over the orthodoxy of his Roman Church; for, 'Vigilius forte non bene vigilavit?' And—what is still more to the point—observe how no one, not even the Pope, objects to this language as contrary to the faith, or regards Columbanus as outraging in any way the feelings of churchmen. There was a growing sentiment no doubt in favour of the Apostolic See of Rome; but it had not yet issued into the formal shape of laws and canons, albeit forged ones, neither was it as yet strong enough even to feel moral indignation against those, who not only did not participate in it, but went counter to its stream altogether. Contrast, too, the Irish with the Anglo-Saxon Church. The stream of Saxon pilgrims set steadily to Rome. Their foreign Saxon school was at Rome. From Rome they borrowed ritual, and psalmody, and fashions of Church ornament. And to Rome Saxon Archbishops looked for their pall. And if they held to certain notions of English independence (as they did), it was mainly because, after Wilfrid's business, little occurred to bring about a collision between Rome and themselves, and to test the strength of those notions. But the stream of Irish travellers set in other directions than that of Rome. Only one or two of their early saints, Kilian or Findan, are taken thither, and that only by legendary lives, written abroad, the testimony of which, on such a subject, is discredited by their locality and date. Rome occupies the least possible share in their thoughts or writings. Their liturgy, and their hymns, and

their psalmody, were their own. Every name of great note in the list of Irish saints or doctors abroad, save the one instance of Dungal, is found either in collision with Rome, or taking a line wholly independent of her. There are no interferences of Popes in Irish Church affairs, no letters of Popes¹ to the Irish Church, before 1085, save the two already mentioned of Honorius and of the Roman clergy in 640; and these are simple exhortations, such as any bishop might send to another. In a word the Irish Church up to the twelfth century paid probably that kind and degree of respect to Rome, which was paid to her during the fourth century or the fifth; but she had learned no new lesson on the subject since the days of her own first planting, and bears testimony therefore, in the stationariness of her sentiments, to the degree in which other Churches, more within Roman influence, had gradually overpassed both her, and their own former position.

Of special doctrines and articles of faith, it would take too long to speak in detail. No doubt many who clutch at Columbanus and his Church as opponents of the Popedom, would be shocked out of all propriety by many practices and notions prevalent among their protégés. Invocation of saints dates certainly from Cengus Kelida, at the end of the eighth century. And there is an instance of it in one of the hymns in the Bobbio Antiphonarium already mentioned. It would be hard we believe to find an earlier instance. And conceptions of a purgatory of some kind or other speedily grew up among an imaginative and speculative people, even so early as Bede's time, though as floating and informal 'pious beliefs,' and little more, and certainly not exhibiting the special characters of the full-formed Roman dogma. On the whole, it does not appear that the Irish were specially either before or behind the other parts of the Western Church in the growth among them of like opinions to those which like circumstances were generating elsewhere. Roman dogmas have not commonly grown into being at Rome itself. That see has simply set her seal upon dogmas that had already grown generally in the Church, and has thus kept at the head of opinion by following it, and by stamping it when full fledged as her own. And Ireland had sufficient intercourse with the rest of the Western Church after the beginning of the sixth century to share the influences of the common bent of men's minds from age to age. The difference between her and other parts of the Church, lay chiefly in her possession of a wider and more self-grown learning, and in the consequent boldness and independence of her speculations. If

¹ The two letters of Gregory I. commonly entitled '*Ad Hibernos*,' belong clearly to the *Iberi*, near Armenia. The letter, to which one of these is a reply, was lost by the bearer of it on his way to Rome, at Jerusalem.

then it be true that the chief positive and visible difference of that Church lay in her retaining a married clergy, it is true also that negatively she was impregnated with a spirit not against but independent of Rome, of far wider and deeper range than is symbolized by that one external mark—a mark, by the way, that lasted longer in her than elsewhere, but which had only been gradually, and not entirely, effaced, even in the twelfth century, in other parts of the Church besides Ireland.¹ It would be far nearer the truth, to compare the relations between the Irish and the Roman Churches, from the sixth to the twelfth centuries, to those which existed between the Roman and the Eastern Churches during the earliest part of the same period. Both followed their own lines of thought and development of theology in lines unconnected and occasionally divergent. In both the same corruptions, varied by circumstances, grew up from the same causes. Both were on terms with one another, as parts of the same Church. An intercourse more or less prevailed between them. But there was no question of government and submission from the one with respect to the other. There is, indeed, one difference between the cases, viz. that Rome was confessedly the leading see of the West, and Ireland was part of the West. On that ground there was a certain deference due to her. If the Church collectively were called to act, she on that ground rightly claimed to lead.² But of practical or habitual interference in Irish Church affairs there is no trace at all. Of claim to superiority, and canonical obedience, there is no trace at all. And of influence in Irish Church measures, there is the one instance and no more of the Easter question, where the point was to persuade one part of the Church into giving up a singularity which threatened to interfere with communion, not to enforce on a subordinate the command of a superior.

¹ It is absurd to say, with M. Ozanam, that Rome 'permitted' this license to the Irish Church, as she 'permits it now' in certain oriental bodies in communion with her. Celibacy of clergy was at that time, everywhere, a mere sentiment, gradually establishing itself in men's minds as being the religious and right thing, but very partially enforced. And Rome had not yet gathered her strength to seize the apparently right time for enforcing it as a necessary and fundamental law, anywhere. *That* was waiting for Hildebrand to do. A formal permission of a married clergy in Ireland in these centuries, is not only a mere invention as a matter of fact, but an impossible anachronism.

² Two 'Scotch' bishops, described as 'Fergusus Episcopus Scotiæ Pictus,' and 'Sedulius episcopus Britanniae de genere Scotorum,' subscribed the Council of Rome in 721, under Gregory II. about illicit marriages. The Welsh Church seems to have had more and earlier communication with Rome than the Irish. Howel's laws were taken by him to Rome to be confirmed in 928. Connexion with the Anglo-Saxon Church no doubt caused this.

NOTICES.

WE have received from Paris a discourse entitled 'Union Catholique de Paris et de Londres, Sermon prêché à l'Eglise de Saint-Roch, le 14 Avril 1861, en faveur de la Mission Anglaise de Paris; par le Très-Révérénd Mgr. Manning, D.D., Pronotaire Apostolique, Prévôt de Westminster, etc. etc.' (Paris: Douuiol). Theologically, this sermon is—what was to be expected. Intellectually, it appears to us very poor, so poor that, in the course of our perusal of it, we have several times mechanically turned to the title-page to see whether we really had in hand a sermon by Archdeacon Manning. Philologically, it is somewhat unequal. In some parts, the French—in spite of certain *hardiesses* or *négligences* which, though admissible in the writings of a Guizot, a Lacordaire, or a Hugo, are scarcely to be tolerated even in a *Prévôt de Westminster*—is idiomatic and excellent; in others, it bears a strong resemblance to Mr. Archer Gurney's. As to some of the assertions contained in this sermon, we must express our astonishment at their ever having been made, especially by Dr. Manning. Let us give one or two specimens. 'J'ai toujours désiré pour ma patrie deux très-grandes bénédictions: d'abord la conversion de l'Angleterre à la foi, et secondement son alliance cordiale, intime, avec la grande nation française.' (P. 23.) 'Le protestantisme [*i.e.* the Church of England, of which, by the way, even Montalembert speaks very differently] achève son cours naturel; le culte officiel a déjà beaucoup perdu, et il perd encore tous les jours de son influence, intellectuelle et morale, sur le peuple anglais (!) . . . La réforme se dévore elle-même, et toutes ses diverses formes de contradiction finissent par se résoudre en rationalisme, en incrédulité pure et simple.' (P. 24.) 'La vraie gloire de la France, c'est sa suprématie dans la famille des nations catholiques; c'est sa mission de gardienne de l'Eglise, de lumière du monde; c'est son office de champion de la foi, de restauratrice des sièges de Cyprien et d'Augustin; de protectrice des chrétiens de la Syrie, de pionnier de la croix parmi les nations orientales.' (P. 25.) Another of the glories of France, according to Dr. Manning, is—'la foi de ses laïques'! Comment is superfluous. Surely this is a case of—*Cela nous fait rire en France!*—though it suggests at the same time some most painful reflections.

Very different from Dr. Manning's is the appreciation, by one who ought to be regarded as a more unexceptionable witness, of the Church of England and of their own. Previous to devoting, in the *Union Chrétienne*, a series of articles to the French edition of the 'Theophilus Anglicanus,' just published by the Anglo-Continental Society, the Abbé Guettée tells us he thought it advisable to pay a visit to this country, in order to assist at the celebration of our services, and to see something of the practical working of the English Church. The Abbé went to London and Oxford, and his account of his

visit—which is intended to serve as an introduction to his articles—appears in the number of that periodical for December 7th. He bestows the warmest eulogiums on our Churches and mode of celebrating Divine Service, which both surprised and delighted him, on our educational establishments and religious institutions; and he contrasts what he saw and learnt with the condition of things in his own country. With regard to the state of religion and theological learning in the 'Catholic' world generally, he expresses himself more fully in his Introduction to '*La Papauté Moderne condamnée par le Pape saint Grégoire le Grand*,' which he has recently published:—'Si l'on jette un coup d'œil franc et impartial sur la société catholique, on ne peut s'empêcher d'avouer que le niveau intellectuel ne peut guère y tomber plus bas. On comprend que nous ne voulons pas parler de l'intelligence en général, mais de l'intelligence de la vérité religieuse. Tant d'écrivains, pour des motifs plus ou moins honorables, se sont appliqués à fausser les croyances catholiques, à répandre leurs systèmes, à remplacer la pure et simple vérité chrétienne par leurs théories de circonstance, que l'on rencontre à peine, parmi ceux qui s'honorent du titre de catholique, quelques personnes qui aient une notion exacte des principes de leur foi. L'immense majorité n'a qu'une foi de convention, où le divin et l'humain, les dogmes et les opinions, forment un mélange confus, un chaos sur lequel planent les plus épaisses ténèbres.' (Pp. 5, 6.) As to the faith of French laymen, we believe the Abbé Guettée, in common with all those who know anything of France, would tell a very different tale from Dr. Manning. In '*La Papauté Moderne*,' the Abbé has added to his extracts from St. Gregory some very apposite comments of his own. Like all M. Guettée's works, this pamphlet, besides possessing the merit of *à-propos*, is written with great clearness and vigour.

The last publication of the Anglo-Continental Society is also its best. Dr. Godfray has brought out a French edition of '*Theophilus Anglicanus*,' in as perfect a form as could be issued. The translation is very exact and elegant, the references have been verified anew, the index has been revised, and the dates of the authors quoted have been added. The Editor has also prefaced the work with a very valuable introduction, referring to the present state of the Papal Church and the special character of the Anglican Church, which deserves to be reprinted separately. Amongst ourselves '*Theophilus Anglicanus*' has long since become a standard work. It is undoubtedly one of the most learned, the most sound, the most useful manual of instruction respecting the Church that we have in the English language. We have no new judgment to pass upon it. But it is very interesting to see the view taken of it by an intelligent French ecclesiastic of the Gallican school. M. l'Abbé Guettée, in reviewing the French edition in the pages of the *Union Chrétienne*, speaks of it in a way which we shall allow our readers to judge of by making the following extract:—'The Anglican Church deserves on all accounts to be studied seriously, deeply, impartially. It is little known on the Continent, for which reason, as also on account of its importance and influence in the religious world, we ought to seek out its true character. We have already had occasion

to state, when reviewing the work of J. Jebb, Bishop of Limerick, that on the point of the Catholic Rule of Faith the English Church is perfectly orthodox. . . . The learned Dr. Wordsworth's work will enlighten us still further on very important questions.' Having paid a warm compliment to the style and matter of Dr. Godfray's preface, the Abbé analyses and comments on Dr. Wordsworth's volume. His idea of the Church is 'parfaitement exacte,' and the explanation of its attributes, unity, holiness, catholicity, apostolicity, is approved. 'This doctrine is, we hold, perfectly orthodox, agreeable to the doctrine of the Primitive Church, of the existing Oriental Church, and of the ancient Latin Church before the Pope had identified it with himself, and had imposed on it the epithet *Roman*, which, however, he has not yet dared to put into the old creeds of the Apostle and of Nicæa.' On the Church, visible and invisible, militant and triumphant, 'the doctrine of the English Church agrees with that of the Oriental and Latin Churches. It is entirely orthodox and agreeable to the traditional teaching of the first Christian ages, as the learned theologian proves clearly in his note taken from the Fathers of the Church.' On the subject of a visible Head of the Church, 'the doctrine of the English Church is agreeable to that of the Eastern Churches, but is diametrically opposed to that of the *existing* Latin Church. We must recollect, however, that the ancient Latin Church, down to the seventh century, maintained the doctrine which is still professed by the Oriental and Anglican Churches.' On the subject of episcopal government and Councils, 'all that our learned author says is very exact, but it is not complete.' The Abbé desiderates the acknowledgment of the authority of unwritten tradition. He also objects to the right of governing the Church recognised as existing in princes. 'We regret that this point has not been more clearly elucidated. Every one knows that it is a common reproach thrown on the Church of England that she is governed by the sovereign. These accusations are pushed to the utmost limits of exaggeration. It is desirable, then, that the English Church should state her doctrine clearly and authoritatively.' On salvation only in the Church, the Abbé objects to the doctrine of Hooker and Saunderson, that 'all who outwardly profess the faith of Christ are within the pale of the Church.' He thinks it 'defective and contradictory,' 'a confusion between Christianity and the Church.' In respect to errors in the Church, 'Dr. Wordsworth's statements are quite sound, and we give our complete adhesion to them. But we disagree from this distinguished author in his theory of the possible fall of the representative Church, that is, the Church represented by General Councils. . . . We cannot simply say, with Dr. Wordsworth, that it is to be presumed that the representative Church will not fall into error; we believe positively that it cannot, and that that was the belief of the Christian Church of the first ages.' With respect to heresy and schism, the Abbé approves Dr. Wordsworth's definitions, but objects to his (or rather S. Augustine's) statement that heretics and schismatics still belong in some sense to the Church. M. Guettée's criticisms have not as yet proceeded further. They continue to appear from time to time in the *Union Chrétienne*. The fact of such questions being discussed at all in a French periodical, and discussed in such a spirit, is a thing which a few

years ago we would not have contemplated as possible. The volumes which Dr. Godfray has edited for the Anglo-Continental Society have done good service in France.

'Une Crise Religieuse en Angleterre' (Paris: Douuiol), by the Abbé Meignan, is a reprint from the *Correspondant* of a series of papers on the 'Essays and Reviews.' The Abbé has achieved some celebrity in France by sundry works bearing upon Biblical criticism and exegesis, in special connexion with French and German rationalistic theories; and in taking up the present volume, we had hoped to find a learned refutation, from a French point of view, of some of the more noxious principles put forth in the work which forms the subject of M. Meignan's criticisms, as we certainly also expected to meet with the usual amount of blundering about England and her Church. We are sorry to say that our hopes have not been realized, though our expectations have, even to an extent that we little expected. M. Meignan's refutation is not first-rate; indeed, it is not so much a refutation, as an exposition, of the rationalist principles of the Essayists. With regard to our expectations, the Abbé, as we naturally thought he would do, regards the rationalism of the Essayists as the logical development of the principles of the Reformers, as he considers the present 'crisis' in the English Church the direct and inevitable result of the Reformation. Again, as we had a full right to anticipate, M. Meignan confounds Lutheranism, Calvinism, and nearly every other species of ism, religious and irreligious, with Anglicanism. As we expected also, he intimates that the English Church was founded by Henry VIII. But his work abounds in blunders of another character; and it is, after all, not much to be wondered at that the Abbé should betray a most lamentable ignorance of the principles and position of our Church, and fall into the most absurd mistakes on the subject of 'Essays and Reviews,' when he appears totally unable to transcribe correctly even the very names he sees printed in large letters before him. Thus we have, *passim*, Godwin, Tilloston, Buffler, Chandelers, Keiths, &c. &c. As to Dr. Williams, M. Meignan sometimes calls him M. Villiam, sometimes M. William, and sometimes again, possibly for the sake of variety, M. Rowland. The Abbé has translated many lengthy passages from the 'Essays and Reviews.' We will give one specimen (out of many that might be selected) of his ideas of a translator's duties, and which affords a capital illustration of what is usually meant in France as a *traduction libre*. 'Davison, of Oriel,' says Dr. Williams, 'with admirable skill, threw his argument into a series, as it were, of hypothetical syllogisms, with only the defect (which some readers overlook) that his minor premise can hardly in a single instance be proved.' ('Essays and Reviews,' p. 66.) The Abbé Meignan gives us the following translation of the passage (p. 25):—'*Dawisson ET Oriel, malgré leur admirable habilité, se sont perdus dans les syllogismes hypothétiques, qui n'ont qu'un défaut, à savoir, que les prémisses ne sont pas susceptibles de preuves.*'!! Whatever may be the case with that of Messieurs Dawisson et Oriel, we certainly cannot compliment the Abbé on his own *admirable habilité*!

Dr. and Mrs. Gatty have published a series of letters from Ireland, addressed to their children, under the title of 'The Old Folks from Home;

or, a Holiday in Ireland in 1861' (Bell & Daldy). The work is thoughtful, lively, and interesting, and we are not surprised at its having reached a second edition in a very short time.

Of the many Sermons elicited by the death of the Prince Consort, not the least remarkable, in point of oratorical power and practical usefulness, is that of the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (Murray). It is entitled 'The Thought of Death,' and was preached on the day of the funeral. We have seldom read a more solemn or touching discourse.

'Is it the Best?' (Masters,) by the authoress of 'Nevenden Court,' is a well-written and highly principled little tale. It is admirably adapted to old and young, and rich and poor alike, and we cordially recommend it for distribution in parishes.

'Two Years of Church Progress' (Mozley) is the reprint of an article from our last number, which, together with one published in these pages two years ago, under the title, 'The Church Cause and the Church Party,' will form a reliable and accessible account of events which have left their mark on the Church and world. The papers are remarkable for their style; but what chiefly recommends them is the sort of anticipation of an historical judgment which they convey.

Incidentally, the 'Two Years of Church Progress' brought our own columns into connexion with the great American Civil War. The subject is one upon which Churchmen may well agree to take opposite views—that is to say, opposite views on the interpretation of the constitution of the United States, and the limits of the States'-Right, and the duties of a Federation. But opposite views on the wickedness, and folly, and utter uselessness, for any political purpose, of the war, it is impossible for a reasonable Christian to take. Mr. Beresford Hope is a consistent and able advocate of Southern policy, and in three remarkable pamphlets, all published by Ridgway—1. 'A Popular View of the American Civil War;' 2. 'England, the North and the South;' 3. 'The Results of the American Disruption'—and all originally delivered as lectures, he condenses a vast amount of that sort of information which is usually called floating, because, perhaps from its lightness, it so soon floats away.

In the plentiful literature to which 'The Revised Code' has given birth, we take leave to specify a very able 'Letter to a Friend' (Rivingtons), by Mr. Menet, Chaplain of the Hockerill Training College, which is far above the average of the hundred and one publications on the subject.

We are indebted to Mr. Earle, formerly Anglo-Saxon Professor at Oxford, for a remarkable and handsome work on 'S. Swithun and S. Mary of Egypt' (Longmans). It is at once historical, biographical, palæographical, and antiquarian, and relates as much to history and English archaeology as to hagiology. In the stock phrase, it is a monograph; that is to say, it is a memoir thoroughly exhausting the subject; and, which is an unusual merit, Mr. Earle has thrown a great deal of life and vigour into a subject which in most hands would have been only dry and repulsive.

A [new and greatly improved edition of Kitto's 'Bible Encyclopædia' (Black) is in course of publication, which we regard rather as a parallel than a rival to Dr. Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible.'

Among the many important, and some few unimportant, works which the English public owes to the indefatigable activity of the Edinburgh Socii, the Messrs. Clark, we wish to specify an extremely useful one, 'The Religions before Christ,' by a French minister, M. de Pressensé. The title recalls Archdeacon Hardwick's series, but the treatment is original as well as learned and full.

The name of Mr. Wright is synonymous with learning, instruction, and interest in all that concerns the literary and domestic archæology of our country. Mr. Wright is not an historian, but he gives just that information without which history is impossible; or rather he is an historian of a special department. In his recent handsome volume, 'History of Domestic Manners' (Chapman and Hall), he runs through the life and minor morals of our forefathers. The publication is not original—that is to say, a good deal of it has appeared in some of the periodicals of the day—but we know no manual so full and varied as the present, the value of which is enhanced by a profusion of woodcuts, taken from illuminated MSS. of the period. We noticed one or two oddnesses, which we hardly like to call mistakes. At p. 89 is 'An Anglo-Saxon Dinner Party.' It is one of the Gospel Feasts, probably that at Cana; and though it is quite true that it serves very well as an illustration of costume and furniture, as scriptural subjects were always represented by the illuminators in the costume of the time, it is absurd, and something worse, to speak of these sacred figures, with the cruciform and other nimbri, as 'a dinner party.' At p. 159, another 'Dinner Scene' is palpably the Marriage Feast at Cana. The cut at p. 139 must have been an anticipation of the famous incident recounted by Sydney Smith, in which he says he was knocked down by the late Archbishop of Canterbury, in the days of his youth, for check-mating the future canon of S. Paul's. At p. 409 is a misprint of 'Macbeth' for 'Lear.'

The second volume of Mr. W. Denton's connected 'Commentary on the Gospels for Sundays and Holy-Days' (Bell and Daldy) has appeared. In plan, execution, and value, it seems to be quite on equality with its predecessor. It is a work to which the term practical especially applies, and Mr. Denton's object is only to suggest reflection and thought. For such an object he is right in neglecting the critical spirit; otherwise we might have offered the caution that a good many of the passages to which patristic names are attached are not genuine. For the present compiler's purpose this is of little consequence; and the grouping together of the various writers reflects credit on Mr. Denton's industry.

It may, perhaps, be enough to announce another volume of Scriptural commentary from the respected pen of Mr. Isaac Williams, 'The Beginning of the Book of Genesis' (Rivingtons). This is much more than a cento of other men's thoughts, which is all that Mr. Denton's plan aims at.

Mr. Isaac Williams, while using the wise men of old, fuses, by the grace of his own style and richness of his own thoughts, his materials into a whole, which is marked by a distinct character as well as aim.

Mr. Burgon's elaborate volume on 'Inspiration and Interpretation' (J. H. and J. Parker) will come under notice when we once more recur to the literature of 'Essays and Reviews;' a subject which we postpone till it reaches at least the first stage of a judicial decision.

'No Antecedent Impossibility in Miracles,' by Mr. Granville Forbes, (J. H. and J. Parker) is, we think, a very unhappy attack on 'Essays and Reviews,' from what the Germans call a stand-point, which admits the facts of so-called spiritualism. Mr. Forbes is now quite an authority with the *Spiritual Magazine*. To be sure, he wrote before the high authority of Mr. Coleman and Mr. Howitt, to which he implicitly defers for his facts, was contrasted with the experiences of Mr. Foster, which have lately been published.

Among 'Sermons,' we can select a volume of great depth and feeling, by Mr. Carter, of Clewer (Masters); and one of great vigour and sense by Mr. M. Sadler, of Bridgwater (Bell and Daldy).

The third edition of Segneri's 'Sermons,' by Mr. Prebendary Ford (Masters), shows that our original estimate of the value—a real though peculiar value—of this work has been ratified by public opinion.

The same diligent writer is going on with his series of New Testament Commentaries. In his 'Epistle to the Romans, Illustrated' (Masters), Mr. Ford innovates somewhat on the plan adopted in his 'Commentary on the Gospels and Acts.' Now he admits only Church of England writers, and selects from them at great length. We doubt whether this method is as suitable to a doctrinal as to a practical and exegetical commentary. Besides, Mr. Ford cannot get all his writers to step together.

However, the whole volume presents a favourable contrast to Bishop Colenso's unhappy 'Commentary on the Romans' (Macmillan), which, we fear, will incur further and more painful notoriety.

From the same publisher, the second and enlarged edition of Bishop O'Brien's 'Lectures on Faith' reaches us too late to pronounce an opinion upon. The whole subject is now almost a popular one; and the lively discussions in the 'Tracts for Priests and People' (Macmillan) almost lead us to believe that the highest subjects of theology are to be treated as subjects for leading articles in newspapers.

The extremely interesting, if occasionally exaggerated, 'Tales illustrating Church History' (J. H. and J. Parker), which have for some time appeared in a scattered series, are now beginning to fall into historical groups. 'England, Vol. I.' presents a connected set, embracing the earliest historic period. We find that these tales tell admirably in evening schools.

Two little tracts, from one who knows what working men want and will use—M. E. S., author of 'Ploughing and Sowing'—have been published

by Messrs. Mozley. 'An Address to Farm Servants,' and 'Short Prayers for the Hard-Working,' we can heartily commend.

And from the 'Monthly Packet,' the most sensible and varied of all our monthlies, and which in real stuff will bear comparison with the most popular of them, we are glad to see, in a collected form, 'Biographies of Good Women' (Mozleys). Among the contributors are the authors of the 'Heir of Redclyffe,' and 'Magdalen Stafford.' It is a delightful gift-book for girls.

The defeat of the Marriages in Affinity Bill was, of course, received with great satisfaction by the clergy generally; but it is a mere matter of justice to say that this result is due entirely to the perseverance and energy of the Marriage Law Defence Association. Left last year without resources, and largely in debt, the Committee did not hesitate, on the introduction of Mr. Monckton Milnes' Bill, again to renew the campaign with as much vigour as though they had the inexhaustible purses of their opponents; and they have had their reward in the defeat of the bill, and in the privilege of paying all the cost of victory. We must say, that the course which this measure has run, and the proof which it gives of what may be done by the activity of a few earnest persons, is at the same time an encouragement and a warning. It is perfectly disgraceful to the Church and to the clergy generally, that a few noblemen and gentlemen and London clergy should have been left to do all this work with so little of assistance in subscriptions or petitions from the country. If these considerations should influence our readers to assist the Society, their Secretary is Mr. W. Trollope, 31, Abingdon Street, Westminster.

A volume, somewhat new in plan—new, that is, to recent theology—has been published by Mr. Karslake, of Merton, with the title, 'An Exposition of the Lord's Prayer' (J. H. and J. Parker). As we propose to give an article on the subject, it will be enough at present to say that Mr. Karslake's scheme is comprehensive; and that while he selects from all sources, patristic, Anglican, and German, he at the same time preserves a clear theological line of his own in his commentary.

The full bearing of recent speculations on the subject of Inspiration will not be complete, without looking at a volume which has attracted but little attention, 'A Brief Examination of the prevalent Opinions on the Inspiration of the Old and New Testaments' (Longmans). This work is by a layman, and consists of a full and, in its way, an able account of what is intended by 'a free and scientific inquiry in matters of theology.' If there were any doubt about the meaning of this new method, Mr. H. B. Wilson, the author of the most offensive of the 'Essays and Reviews,' furnishes it in an 'Introduction' to this volume, which is infinitely worse than anything contained in the 'Essays and Reviews' themselves.

'Hymns of the Eastern Church' (Hayes). There is no man in England who unites the qualifications for such a work as this which Mr. Neale—Dr. Neale, we believe—possesses. There might be, but there are not, historians of the Eastern Church who are Dr. Neale's equals: and though we

think highly of the poetical powers which have been exhibited in the translations and adaptations of many of the Latin Hymns, some of which, such as 'Jerusalem the Golden,' are already part of the home life of the English Church, yet Dr. Neale is not the greatest poet in England; but he is among our very first liturgical authorities, and in Greek Liturgies he is absolutely without a rival. The Greek Hymns do not give such scope for the higher poetical diction as the Latin Hymnology; but there is in this little volume great ingenuity, great learning, and great poetical skill. It deserves a very high place in the author's works.

NOTE TO ARTICLE II. JANUARY.

Mr. Bright, the author of the 'History of the Church,' reviewed in the present volume, pp. 26—66, explains that whereas the Reviewer (p. 65) complains that he had not 'produced' a certain document, viz. the Tome of S. Leo; the fact is that in an Appendix he had given 'the most important passages' of the Tome, &c.; and therefore, Mr. Bright argues, the charge made by the Reviewer that he 'had made the doctrinal part give way to the merely historical,' is not sustained. What the Reviewer meant was that Mr. Bright should make use of what was originally *the* Tome; viz. the whole of S. Leo's correspondence on the subject. The word *tome* has got within the last two centuries to be taken in the very different and restricted sense of one particular letter of the Tome, which letter undoubtedly Mr. Bright quotes. It would have been better for general readers, perhaps, to have pointed out this distinction between the Tome of S. Leo in its full and in its narrow sense, but to Mr. Bright the information was superfluous. We can quite understand Mr. Bright's sensitiveness on the faintest suggestion that he had postponed the doctrinal to the historical aspect of his subject; but surely the whole tone of our article must have showed to Mr. Bright how far we were from making a general charge of this nature, still less that we should have founded it upon a single instance, which presents itself under different aspects to Mr. Bright and his Reviewer.

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